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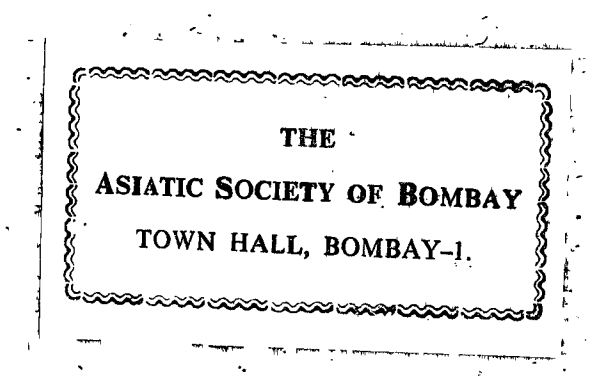

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A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.

BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

85528

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER-ROW;

AND CADELL AND DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1809.

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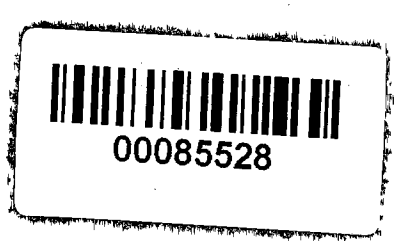

CONTENTS

OF THE

SIXTH VOLUME.

	Pa
R[illegible]CK's *Travels through Germany,*	
Cox[illegible] *[illegible]avels in Denmark,*	2[illegible]
Travels in Norway,	3[illegible]
Travels in Sweden,	3[illegible]
Travels in Russia,	5[illegible]

LIST

LIST OF THE PLATES [illegible].

Page

ROCK on the River [illegible], 261

Stockholm, 391

View in Finland, [illegible]-6

[illegible] Figures,

Petersburg,

[illegible] GENERAL

A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

TRAVELS THROUGH GERMANY,

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS;

Written in German by the Baron RIESBECK.

AND TRANSLATED BY

The Rev. Mr. MATY.

Late Secretary to the Royal Society, and under Librarian to the British Museum.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following letters were written in the German language by the Baron Caſpar de Riebeck, a native of the Dutchy of Wurtenberg.

As the author has aſſumed the character of a Frenchman, it has been preſumed, that he was of that nation: But, beſides that the work was never publiſhed in France, the freedom and severity with which he every where treats the natives of that country, convey ſufficient proof that he did not belong to it himſelf. He died February 5, 1786, of a fever, at Aan, in Switzerland, aged thirty years.

The many inaccuracies which may be found ſcattered up and down in the tranſlation, will meet with ſome apology in the boſom of the candid, when they are pleaſed to conſider the painful and tedious illneſs, under which the tranſlator laboured, and which at laſt put a period to his life. And if the reader, in the peruſal of the work, ſhould meet with paſſage which have the appearance of indelicacy, he may be aſſured that many more are omitted, which may be found in the original, and even thoſe which remain, hardly ſufficient to give offence to the moſt ſcrupulous, were intended to have been expunged by the tranſlator, whoſe purity of thought could only be ſurpaſſed by the

purity of his life. In ſhort, whatever inaccuracies may have eſcaped the attention of the tranſlator of theſe letters,

——— *quas aut incuria fudit,*
Aut humana parum cavit natura—

it is preſumed that they will be amply compenſated by the entertainment and information with which they abound.

TRAVELS, &c.

LETTER I.

DEAR BROTHER, *Stutgart, April 3, 1780.*

HERE I have pitched my firſt camp, and intend to make excurſions from hence into the different parts of Suabia, according as opportunities offer.

I have made it a rule to myſelf to take particular parts of Germany as middle points, and from thence to ramble round the country till I have ſeen all that I think worth notice. It is my intention to ſtudy Germany thoroughly, without, however, extending my inquiries to the numberleſs landgraviates, margraviates, baronies, republics, &c. &c. As to theſe, it is doing them honour enough to ſay that they exiſt.

You know that I ſtayed ſome time in Straſburg, as well for the ſake of learning to ſpeak a little German, as to make myſelf acquainted, by the help of maps and books, with the country I mean to travel through. In this purſuit I found more aſſiſtance than I could have expected, and it is certainly not the fault of the German geographers and politicians that their country is ſo little known by foreigners.

Having ſometimes been ſo kind as to allow me a genius for the obſervation of men and manners, you may reaſonably expect ſomething more in my letters than what you have commonly met with in our French and Engliſh travellers. Theſe, indeed, have uſually been gentlemen, who having travelled in cloſe poſt-chaiſes to the great courts, as if (as Yorick ſays) they were riding poſt from death, have given us the few anecdotes they have picked up, either at the poſt-houſe, whilſt they were changing horſe, or from their bankers, or from their opera-girls, as true accounts of the ſtate of manners, legiſlation, religion, &c. of the country.

A man who would know all orders of people, ſhould mix with them all; but this is what a common traveller ſeldom either can or will do. On the contrary, they are generally compelled to live in a narrow circle, where they hear of nothing but the pleaſures and occupations of the company; therefore, again, a man muſt be a ſtudious traveller by profeſſion, to enter into the peculiarities of a whole people. After all, let him be ever ſo willing, and ever ſo well prepared, he will find it more difficult to know Germany than any other country; for it is not here as in France, where, as all ape the manners of the capital, by going thither you ſee all, as it were, in the compaſs of a nut-ſhell. In Germany there is no town which regulates the manners of the whole, but the country is divided into a numberleſs variety of large and ſmall ſtates, differing from each other in religion, government, opinions, &c. and which have no band of union whatever, except their common language.

You

You know that I commonly travel on foot when I cannot get into a public land or water carriage; but theſe are inexpreſſibly pleaſant to me on account of the company I meet in them, even ſhould that company happen to conſiſt only of Jews, Capuchins, and old women.

You know too that I am enough a citizen of the world to find ſome good out of my own country, and not to be outrageouſly out of humour when all is not as it is at home.

You may depend on receiving one letter at leaſt every week, in which you will have an account either of a German town or of ſome part of the country. General obſervations I muſt, of courſe, defer to the end, when I ſhall have put together the ſeveral broken parts of the narrative. I ſhall not trouble you with any of the nonſenſe which you muſt have enough of in our daily publications.

LETTER II.

Stutgart, April 10, 1780.

I HOPE that you received my letter of the third, which was intended as a kind of introduction to our future correſpondence. Though I know how odious letter-writing is to you, I muſt nevertheleſs inſiſt on an anſwer to every ſix of mine, and if you cannot bring yourſelf to ſit down to work, deſire Nannette to do it for you.—But to my diary: As I was geting into the poſt-waggon at Straſburg, who ſhould come in, in a poſt-chaiſe and four, but Mr. B——! No doubt, you muſt have ſeen him at Paris at Madame H————'s. 'Whither,' ſays he, 'ſo faſt?' 'A pilgrimage through Germany,' ſays I. 'Out upon the ſtupid country,' ſays he; I have juſt travelled over it, but in truth it is not worth the trouble.' At firſt I thought that he muſt at leaſt have made ſome ſtay in ſome of the principal German towns; but when I came to inquire, I found that what he called having travelled over the ſtupid country, was a ſmall excurſion from Switzerland, through part of Suabia and Bavaria, as far as Munich, and from thence into France again by Augſburg, Ulm, and Friburg. As there happened to be a map of Germany behind the door of the poſt-houſe, with the point of my ſword I traced the parts of the country he had been over, and ſhewed him, that far from having travelled through Germany, he had ſcarce ſeen any part of it; but this did not affect him at all: 'Go you,' ſays he, 'go you; for my part I have ſeen it.'

My company conſiſted of a wine-merchant from Ulm, with a melancholy face, who was always ſhaking his lips as if he had taſted ſour wine, and an elderly lady, who ſaid ſhe was hired as a governeſs in a great houſe at Vienna. As neither of theſe companions had any peculiar charms for me, I amuſed myſelf as we travelled along the banks of the Rhine, with conſidering the idea perſons who live in the great Pariſian world entertain of what they call with us *le Nord*. I had been led into this by the gaſconade of M. B——, and the ſight of the German poſt-map. Here, then, thought I to myſelf, (as I run over in my mind that track of country which reaches from the ſpot I was then on to the frozen ſea,) in ancient times dwelt the Cimbri, the Goths, the Franks, the Saxons, the Suabians, and the Allemanni; and here now are the Swedes, the Pruſſians, and the Ruſſians; and all this great country, together with the formidable poſſeſſors of it, we diſpoſe of in a word that conveys much the ſame ideas to the readers as *les Pais Bas*, the low countries. *Les Pais Bas* and the *Nord*, a Frenchman conſiders as only ſo many dependencies on the omnipotent France. There is really nothing to be ſaid to this but what Triſtram Shandy ſays upon a like occaſion: 'The French have a pleaſant way of treating all great matters.' I could not help laughing inwardly as theſe thoughts

came into my head, and the sight of the ruined fortifications of Kehl gave me fresh force, from the recollection that the mighty Louis, whose great mind [illegible] temptation to annex the small dependencies of the Word and the pen [illegible] Italy, Spain, &c. to the French monarchy, had built this fort as a key to his conquests on the other side the Rhine. 'By my troth,' said I, as I considered the barracks and vestiges of the old fortifications, 'this is pleasant.'—And it is pleasanter still, that Beaumarchais meant to print his Voltaire in these barracks. 'In the name of merriment,' said I, (and my internal laugh then broke out,) 'is the great France grown too small since the days of the mighty Louis, to hold a dozen letter presses in it?'

The small contraband trade with Strasburg excepted, France has nothing to fear from this lame Kehl. The place, which is contemptible in every respect, belongs, with some other villages, to the margraves of Baden, but the states of the Holy Roman Empire claim a right to the ruined fortifications.

The way to Carlsruhe raised many thoughts in my mind. On sight of the castle of Rastadt, where a termination was put to the war between France and Austria in 1714, I felt myself a Frenchman all over. All the great chiefs and statesmen, who from the beginning of the last century to this period had adorned our annals, and set us far above the nations of the earth, seemed to rise before me, and I sat for some time in a kind of trance, fighting their battles and inventing their civil improvements over again. In an unlucky minute, however, I was awakened by the recollection that this was now all at an end; that in 1714 our greatness terminated; that my country no longer produced great men; and that the powers whom we had then sunk so low were now rising, nay, that some of them had already risen, to sink us. I would then have wished to have forgotten that I was a Frenchman, and sought for consolation in the thought of being a citizen of the world, and that much as we had lost, Europe in general had gained still more in the time that had elapsed; but this was impossible, the traces of desolation which many of our generals had left in the places I was travelling through, made me lament my having been so proud of their exploits before.

I stayed some time at Carlsruhe, and was lucky enough to get acquainted with a gentleman, who, to the best of hearts, an excellent understanding, and unremitting exertions in the service of his prince, unites a very fine taste for German, French, and English literature. The court of Carlsruhe possesses many such persons, some of whom I had been fortunate enough to know at Strasburg. With this gentleman I went to Spires to visit some of his relations. Our way lay by Bruchsal, the residence of the bishop of Spires. The country we went through had many woods, which, however, were broken by a few well cultivated vales. These woods, the timber of which is carried to Holland (where it sells very well) by the Rhine, makes a great part of the revenue of the courts of Spires and Carlsruhe. The wood through which we travelled afforded a striking instance of the advantage an hereditary kingdom has over an elective one. The woods of Baden are kept up with the greatest œconomy and attention, because the prince knows they will be sources of wealth to his remotest descendants; whereas at Bruchsal, where the descendants of the prince have nothing to hope, every thing gives way to present enjoyment.—It is needless to add that in this respect the woods are an emblem of the whole country.

Bruchsal is a pretty little town, and the bishop's palace a handsome building. The present prince bishop, some effusions of ill humour only excepted, is no bad governor. His humour principally shews itself against the young women. I am assured that if he could he would make all the girls nuns. He cannot see one without falling into a passion. His revenue is about three hundred thousand florins, or thirty thousand

pounds per annum, and I am ſorry to add that he is by no means one of the richeſt biſhops in Germany.

Spires is a ſmall free city, which was formerly handſomer than it is now; towards the end of the laſt century it was entirely deſtroyed by the French army; ſince that time it has long lain in ruins, and is now hardly above half built up again. It was one of the firſt Roman colonies on the banks of the Rhine, and many Roman coins are ſtill found in the country.

Here, brother, I was in the midſt of that theatre from whence, in the laſt century, our troops ſpread deſolation from the Rhine to the Moſelle; where Melac, appearing not as the leader of a mighty hoſt, but the head of a murderous band, laid ſixty flouriſhing towns in aſhes, and made a deſert of one of the fineſt countries on earth! Where Turenne, the greateſt general of the greateſt monarch in the world, anſwered the generous elector, who, ſtruck with the wrongs his country was enduring, would bravely have riſked his life for his people, and challenged the incendiary to ſingle combat, with a bon-mot, ſaying, 'that ſince he had the honour to ſerve the king of France, he fought only at the head of twenty thouſand men.' How little in my eyes did then appear the great Turenne, whoſe bon-mot, turned into common-ſenſe, amounted to no more than this: 'Theſe twenty thouſand men give me a right to lay your country in aſhes!'

My friend carried me to the cathedral, half of which is ſtill in ruins. Here I ſaw the tombs of the old emperors, whoſe ſepulchres our ſoldiers plundered, and whoſe bones they ſtrewed on the ground. 'This happened,' ſaid my friend, 'in your golden age, under Louis the fourteenth, when your greateſt poets, reaſoners, and philoſophers flouriſhed; when you was ſuppoſed to have arrived at the higheſt pitch of poliſh of which a nation is capable; when we Germans were no more in your ſight than ſo many Cherokees; and ſome of your academicians had the inſolence to propoſe, as a queſtion fit for diſcuſſion, "Whether it was poſſible that a German ſhould have any *eſprit?*"—Brother, I was almoſt aſhamed to be a Frenchman.

Both at Spires and Bruchſal I found, in the few houſes where we made our flying viſits, more eaſe and knowledge of the world than I expected. I remarked that people are very fond of ſtrangers in this country.

I reckon the few days I ſpent at Carlſruhe amongſt the happieſt of my life. I ſaw a prince who truly lives only for his people, and ſeeks his own happineſs in theirs; one whoſe active and enlightened mind pervades the whole country, and by its influence makes all thoſe who have a ſhare in the adminiſtration patriots like himſelf. Education, police, encouragements to induſtry and agriculture; every thing, in ſhort, here breathes a ſpirit of philoſophy and the warm love of mankind. O that I could make many millions as happy as the margrave of Baden makes two hundred thouſand men!

After the electors, and the houſes of Wirtemburg and Heſſe Caſſel, the margrave of Baden is one of the greateſt potentates in Germany. The princes of Bareith and Darmſtadt are the only ones who can enter into any competition with him; his revenue is one million two hundred thouſand florins, i. e. one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds per annum. The margrave's country extends along the right ſide of the Rhine from Baſil to near Philipſburg, and from thence through part of Alſatia to the Moſelle. If it all lay together it would be more productive.

They carry on a large trade in cattle, wood, and wine, which laſt is extremely good in the environs of Baſil. The country, likewiſe, produces a kind of marble, which ſome think equal in goodneſs to the Florentine or Carara; but this is exaggeration. The mildneſs of the government ſecures to the people the quiet enjoyment of the rewards of their induſtry. There are not indeed opportunities of making great fortunes,

as

as the court is very œconomical, and lives at a ſmall expence; but the ſame cauſe prevents the preſſure of extreme poverty from being felt by any one. The facility of exporting their labours, which is afforded by the navigation on the Rhine, is a great incitement to induſtry. The manufactures in conſequence increaſe every year, and ſome of them, particularly the earthenware one at Durloch, are in high eſtimation. They have likewiſe made ſome ſucceſsful experiments in making ſilk.

The margrave is as amiable in private life as he is reſpectable in public. He and the margravine, who is a princeſs of D'Armſtadt, have every polite accompliſhment, ſo that the court is the beſt ſociety in Carlſruhe. Strangers find little difficulty to gain admiſſion there.

This court has been much reflected upon for its œconomy, and poſſibly may have gone rather beyond the line in ſome points; but whatever the exceſſes may have been, the prince himſelf is not chargeable with them. The fact is, that the debts of the family were numerous and great. Thoſe in the hereditary dominions have ariſen from frequent wars, and the neceſſary proviſion for the younger part of the family; but beſides theſe, when the margrave ſucceeded to the government of Baden, which fell to him by the extenſion of another branch of the family, he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion. Prieſts, miſtreſſes, huntſmen, and cooks, had long vied with each other for the honour of accelerating the bankruptcy of the court of Raſtadt *; and in the laſt adminiſtration every thing had been purpoſely left to go to ruin, on the principle that the ſucceſſor was a proteſtant. Under theſe circumſtances the prince's mother thought the greateſt œconomy neceſſary, and ſhe carried it ſo far as to cauſe the flowers which grew in the court garden to be ſold, inſtead of permitting her daughters to wear them in their boſoms. For this, though without the ſtricteſt œconomy the family muſt have been ruined, ſhe was much laughed at; perhaps in ſome degree deſervedly; but the mirth was kept up by ſome *beaux eſprits* in the neighbourhood, whoſe mercenary expectations the court had failed to gratify.

Carlſruhe is a neat little town conſiſting entirely of wooden buildings. It is built on a regular plan, and ſtands in the middle of a large foreſt, the remnant of that which, in the time of Tacitus, covered all Germany. Through this foreſt there are thirty-two regular avenues extending to a great diſtance. The town, built in the ſhape of a fan, ſtands upon nine of theſe; but you will have a better notion of it from the plans, which are ſold upon the ſpot, and are very well worth purchaſing, than from any thing I can ſay.

I cannot omit an anecdote which happened about forty years ago, and does the prince of that time great honour. A traveller who paſſed through expreſſed his ſurpriſe at ſeeing a palace entirely of wood. 'True, Sir', ſaid the prince, 'you may think it ought at leaſt to have been of brick; but I could not be more magnificently lodged without laying expenſive taxes on my ſubjects, and I wanted only a roof to lay my head under.' Certainly the difference between a king of France and a margrave of Baden is very great; and yet it would not have been amiſs if the builders of the Louvre, Verſailles, and Marli, had attended a little more to ſuch conſiderations.

* Radſtadt is worth paſſing through by ſtrangers who have occaſion to go from Manheim to Straſburg, were it only to ſee the little cloſet in which Eugene and Villars ſigned the Treaty of Utrecht, and ſome rather uncommon monuments which ſtand in the middle of the ſtreet.

LETTER

LETTER III.

Stutgart, April 14, 1780.

FROM Carlſruhe I returned here on foot, through a romantic, but in general very well cultivated country.

When you come into Lorraine from Champagne, you are ſtruck with a remarkable difference between the circumſtances of the farmers in old France, and thoſe of the newly acquired country, notwithſtanding that the governors have of late years done every thing that they could to make them alike; but in Alſace the contraſt is ſtill greater. The farmer of Alſace is quite a gentleman when compared with the old Frenchman. You will hear indeed heavy complaints of high taxes even at Straſburg; but it is only from ſuch as have no opportunity of eſtimating the advantage of their ſituation by compariſon.

In the part of Germany I have hitherto travelled through, the inhabitants are ſtill happier than in Alſatia. The form of government protects them from oppreſſion in the larger ſtates, ſuch as Wirtemberg, &c. and the emperor himſelf frequently interpoſes in the ſmaller ones. In my way from Carlſruhe hither, I could not ſufficiently admire the thriving ſtate of the people.

Before I give you any account of my excurſion into the neighbouring parts of Suabia, I muſt make you acquainted with the preſent ſtate of this court. No doubt, from what you have formerly heard, you will expect accounts of ſumptuous feaſts, balls, illuminations, hunting parties, concerts, and the like, but with any thing of that kind I ſhall not be able to entertain you. They no longer make artificial lakes on the tops of hills, and compel the peaſant to fill them with water, for the purpoſe of hunting a ſtag there; they no longer light up immenſe foreſts, and bring out fauns and dryads to dance midnight dances in them; you meet with no more winter gardens abounding in all the flowers of an European ſpring: even the famous opera-houſe, where Noverre exhibited when his fame was at the higheſt, is now a ſolitary ruin. This change aſtoniſhes you. I cannot explain it better than by giving you the duke's own words.

In 1778 this worthy prince took the opportunity of his birth-day to publiſh a manifeſto of which the following is the ſubſtance: "Being a man, and, from the condition of my nature, far removed from the ſtandard of perfection, and likely to remain ſo, it could not but fall out, that partly from the weakneſs incidental to human nature, and partly from the want of ſufficient ſagacity, and other cauſes, many events ſhould have taken place, which had they not happened, things would have been very different from what they now are, or are likely to be hereafter. This I acknowledge freely, as it is the duty of every upright thinking mind to do, and the conſideration of it reminds me of duties obligatory to every man, but ſtill more ſo to the anointed of the Lord upon earth. I conſider this day, in which I have entered into my fiftieth year, as beginning the ſecond period of my exiſtence.—I aſſure my loving ſubjects, that every ſucceſſive year of life, which it ſhall pleaſe divine Providence to beſtow, ſhall be dedicated to the promotion of their happineſs.—Henceforwards ſhall the proſperity of Wirtemberg be eſtabliſhed on the joint and firm baſis of the ſovereign's love for his people, and of the people's confidence in the affection of their ſovereign.—A ſubject, who thinks as he ought to do, will ſee that many circumſtances muſt ariſe, in which the good of the individual muſt give way to the good of the whole, nor murmur if things do not always take the turn which he would have wiſhed them to do.—We truſt that every man will, for

the future, live in the confidence that he has a provident and anxious father in his prince: yes, may the conteſt who ſhall do moſt to make his native country happy, be from this day forth the only conteſt that ever ariſes between us."

The duke is now quite a philoſopher; he founds ſchools, farms, cultivates arts and ſciences, and eſtabliſhes manufactures: in ſhort, he endeavours in every way poſſible to make up for what has been wrong.

Many cauſes had contributed to miſlead this prince in the earlier parts of life, and to give his mind, naturally a lively and impetuous one, a falſe direction. Amongſt the foremoſt, we may reckon the faſhion of the times, the bad examples ſet him by the courts of Manheim and Dreſden, the taſte for falſe magnificence, which he had acquired in Italy, and the corruption of thoſe who ſurrounded him; many of whom, I am aſhamed to ſay it, were French. Theſe were the cauſes of that diſſipation of which Europe has heard ſo much. The conſequences were ſuch as might naturally have been foreſeen; debt, oppreſſive taxes, reſiſtance on the part of the ſtates of the country, and finally, a commiſſion of inquiry iſſued by the imperial court. The debts, upon examination, were found to amount to 1,200,000l. The evil counſellors, you may think, were removed; but this would have done little, but for the change which about this time took place in moſt of the leſſer courts of the empire, the princes of which, from being oppreſſive and expenſive tyrants, ſuddenly contracted a taſte for political œconomy and philoſophical purſuits. Into theſe the duke ran with as much ardour as he had formerly done into juvenile diſſipation.

I ſhould now give you an account of the ſeveral new eſtabliſhments for education, and particularly of the military academy; but I believe that you are already acquainted with them, and as to myſelf, I muſt confeſs ingeniouſly, that they do not pleaſe me. I ſuppoſe that as things are now circumſtanced, it is neceſſary to pour a great deal of knowledge into boys, before the mind is fit to receive it; ſtill I own that I cannot bear to ſee the intention of nature ſo perverted. My children, if I am bleſſed with any, ſhall grow up to theſe years like young Coſſacks.—But I ſhall take another opportunity to give you my ſentiments on education—at preſent ſomething more concerning Wirtemberg.

The greateſt part of the dukedom conſiſts in an extenſive valley, which is bounded on the eaſt by a chain of hills called the Alps; on the weſt by the Black Foreſt; on the north by a part of the mountain of Oden-Wald, and an arm of the Black Foreſt; and on the ſouth by the joint arms of the Alps, and the Black Foreſt *. On the whole it inclines to the northward, and is watered in the middle by the Necker. Several ſmaller arms run off from the ſurrounding chains of hills towards the centre, croſs each other in various directions, and form little vallies, which are watered by an infinity of rivers. The land is rendered exceedingly fruitful by theſe leſſer hills, which ſhelter the vallies from the cold winds, and collect the heat of the ſun between them. The ſouthern ſides of theſe mountains and hills are planted with vines very high up, and above there is excellent dyers' wood, and bruſh wood; and at the bottom is a grey coloured light mould, which yields all kinds of corn, but particularly barley, in aſtoniſhing plenty. Upon the whole, this country very much reſembles the middle part of Lorrain; but the ſoil is much better, and there are not ſo many ſtones in it. Excepting ſalt, which it is obliged to have recourſe to Bavaria for, it abounds in all the neceſſaries of life. What corn is not conſumed in the country is ſent to Switzerland, and the wine goes as far as England.

* The Black Foreſt is the largeſt wood of Germany, being ſixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth.

The

The whole extent of the country does not contain more than two hundred German, or two hundred and ſixty-ſix French ſquare miles. In this circuit there are about five hundred and ſixty thouſand inhabitants; that is, about two thouſand eight hundred to every German ſquare mile. Excepting thoſe parts of Germany which are in the neighbourhood of ſome capital cities, and ſome diſtricts of Italy, and the Netherlands, there is certainly no country in Europe ſo populous in proportion to its extent, as this is. It is however ſo fruitful as to be able to ſupport as many more inhabitants.

The income of the duke amounts to three millions of florins *, or about 300,000l. per annum. I know that many printed calculations make the ſum ſmaller. But as there are few parts of Germany in which the taxes are not eſtimated at five florins per head, and in ſome th[illegible] much more, why ſhould it not be ſo in Wirtemberg, which is [illegible] ories in Germany, and in which the ſubject is not more

[redacted]

e is beyond compariſon the greateſt prince in Germany, Caſſel, who has not above two thirds of the ſubjects or uence in the empire, on account of his connection with

om is not ſo ſimple and unmixed, as that of the territ- of counſellors, ſecretaries, proctors, and advocates, ſpared; but the nature of the government allows idleneſs. Many of them, it is true, belong to the thority of the prince; but notwithſtanding the many s ſtill much too large for the duke's circumſtances. of fourteen thouſand men; and if his debts were erat[illegible] ſuch an eſtabliſhment might always be ſup- venues of the country appear to allow it. At the time change, however, they were reduced to about five thouſand men, and thoſe ſeem none of the beſt troops.

Stutgart contains about twenty thouſand inhabitants, and ſince the duke is returned, e population has been conſtantly on the increaſe. During the conteſt, in which Stutart took a very violent part, he removed to Louiſburg. Stutgart was inſtantly ſenſible of her loſs by it; ſhe made every poſſible effort to obtain his return, but all in vain: but after a reconciliation between the prince and the ſtates, the wiſh of the Stutgarders was at laſt accompliſhed.

The city is well built: the inhabitants are a handſome, ſtout people. The women are tall and ſlender, with fair and ruddy complexions. The natural riches, the eaſe with which a maintenance is to be procured, either at court or in the country, cauſe them to live exceedingly well. What would provide for twelve of our people, ſeems here to be only the portion of ſix. The Stutgarder is ſo attached to his home, that if you remove him but thirty miles from it, he is immediately ſeized with the *maladie du pais*.

Though the country throughout is proteſtant, and the Duke alone a catholic, there ſtill prevails a great deal of ſuperſtition and bigotry. The clergy are members of the ſtates, have a juriſdiction of their own, and are very wealthy.

The affection of the Wirtembergers towards their prince is remarkable. Even when the duke ſeemed to have no other care than how he ſhould load them with new taxes, he did not forfeit their attachment. The curſes of the people fell on his ſervants, and the crew of projectors who led him aſtray. But ſince theſe have been baniſhed, he is become the idol of his ſubjects; and he deſerves to be ſo. —— Farewell.

* A German florin is two ſhillings of Engliſh money.

LETTER IV.

Stutgart, May 20, 1780.

MY excurſions in the neighbouring ſtates of the circle of Suabia, did not produce the rich booty I had promiſed to myſelf. I viſited a dozen free imperial towns, in which, notwithſtanding the republican form of government, not a ſpark of liberty or patriotiſm was to be ſeen. The inhabitants of theſe have, through the oppreſſion of more powerful neighbours, long ſince loſt all ſenſe of the value of independence; but though aſhamed to mention the name of their native country out of their ov[illegible] within them they mimic the forms of old Rome, and after the manner of tho[illegible]d, inſcribe their public buildings of ſtate with *Senatus Popu[illegible]* *Nordlingenſis*, &c.

In the fifteenth century, the imperial cities of Suab[illegible] They were then united in leagues, not only with each [illegible] conia and the Rhine. Even the Emperor had ſomet[illegible] increaſing power, which indeed made Charles V. diſu[illegible] aſſociation of the Hanſe towns, the gold had flowed f[illegible] Theſe were the excluſive ſeats of induſtry, and their[illegible] the neighbouring princes, who at that time lived by [illegible]

If the ſpirit of trade which then prevailed, had ſ[illegible] th[illegible]e poſſeſſion of landed property, they would to [illegible] ther[illegible]r former ſplendour, as with their power they m[illegible] with th[illegible]eir wealth many purchaſes.

All hopes are n[illegible]ow vaniſhed of their ever becoming [illegible] the princes diſcovered the value of induſtry, and gave [illegible] free encouragement [illegible] dominions, it fled into their protection, and abandoned th[illegible]e dark walls of cities in [illegible] a ſyſtem of monopolies, little policy, and narrow-minded envy of the ſucceſsful, laid under ſo many reſtraints. In conſequence, the towns are ſo reduced, as to be oblig[illegible] to ſell the little landed propeſty they have, to diſcharge their debts. This has late[illegible] been the caſe with Ulm; the largeſt town in Suabia, next to Augſburg. Of the im[illegible]perial towns which I have viſited, I can ſay nothing particular, but that Heilbron is beautifully ſituated, and Halle has a ſalt manufactory, which brings in three hundred thouſand florins, or thirty thouſand pounds per annum.

Having left theſe ſtates, I ran over in a very ſhort time, about a dozen principal[illegible]ies, and prelacies, with the names of which I ſhall not trouble you. Almoſt the w[illegible]hole country conſiſts of well-wooded mountains and hills, and fertile vales, all in high cultivation. The great population which prevails here is wonderful, when you conſider the untoward circumſtances of the country. By untoward circumſtances, I mean the extortions of petty maſters, who all keep their miſtreſſes, their ſtag-hounds, their French cooks, and Engliſh horſes; the perpetual quarrels amongſt neighbours, which ariſe from the various perplexed governments of the empire; the ſmall profits attendant on induſtry within ſuch a confined ſpot; and laſtly, the conſtant decreaſe of coin, owing to the ſums of money expended by the governors of the country in ſearch of foreign luxuries. As religion, manners, attachment to the native ſpot, temperance, and frugality, all of which I am willing to allow that theſe people poſſeſs, do not appear to me ſufficient of themſelves to counterbalance theſe evils, I have but one way of accounting for the proſperity I ſee; which is this:

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The right of holding property of their own, which the country people of these parts enjoy, could not of itself prevent these states, which exist entirely by agriculture, from [illegible] because the extraordinary fruitfulness of the women would in time require such a partition of property, as would not leave enough to each farmer to buy beds for his children. I believe therefore that it is the emigrations, joined with this, that are to solve the phenomenon I am endeavouring to explain. Though Suabia is the most populous country in all Germany, there is no one of the inhabitants of which migrate in such large quantities.

These emigrants are of two kinds. The major part are an idle set, who sell their property to furnish themselves with money to travel into foreign countries, in search of imaginary projects of fortune. The others are young men, who go out to try their fortune as mechanics, and when they succeed, part with their land to their other brothers for a small consideration. By these causes no greater load is thrown upon agriculture than it is able to bear; and it is well that there is not; for the sole resources of such small districts as those we are now speaking of, are in their agriculture. For the limits of their luxury are too narrow to admit of that variety of employments, and ways of gain, which diversify the callings of men so infinitely in other countries; nor is it possible that manufactures should thrive among them, whilst they are circumstanced as they are; that is, surrounded by powerful princes, who lay great duties on their imports, in order to protect their own establishments, and situated in a country which supplies them with few, if any, of the prime materials for work. They must therefore depend entirely on their agriculture, and they do so. I do not however mean to say, that, cultivated as it is, this country is not susceptible of a much greater degree of improvement. It certainly is; and much more might be done.

Still, what has been done is [illegible]zing; nor is the cause less worthy of admiration. For [illegible] is owing to a steady administration of justice, and a set of political regulations which are to be met with [illegible] smallest parts of the country, and which raised my wonder as often as I had occasion to consider them. We not only hear nothing here of the oppressions of private individuals, but there are instances in which causes have been given against the petty lords of the country in their own courts. Indeed they have need to be careful; for no man who is not strong enough to bring a force in the field against the emperor, to whom there is always an appeal, would be suffered to go on long with impunity. It is but a few years since, that redress was obtained against a petty prince of Suabia, who was going to drive his subjects out of their possessions, in order to make way for his stags and wild boars. But it must be owned, that such extreme remedies as these are seldom necessary. There is an integrity still adherent to the German character, and a kind of jovial humour about them, which makes the princes of the country start from the acts of wanton oppression and cruelty, which, with the same powers, would no doubt be exercised in Spain, Italy, and even in France. Give a German prince but room and food for his dogs and horses (for about the welfare of these he is uncommonly solicitous) and you have little to fear from him in other respects; — that is as an individual, for in the gross they will clip you as close as they can.

There is, however, one object in which there is great need of reformation, and that is the administration of criminal justice. The torture is not yet abolished in these countries, and they still behead, hang, break upon the wheel, and impale *secundum præcepta legis Carolinæ*. It is not very long since they burned a woman for being a witch; but that I believe is over. The civil law too, is not yet reduced to that perfect state which might be desirable. Not that I am for getting rid of all forms, with your modern philosophers, and leaving every thing to the wisdom of the judge, under the pretence that

forms conſume too much time and money. That they conſume time and money I am ready to allow; but theſe are well employed when ſlow inveſtigation brings ſecurity in the final deciſion, and the neceſſity of abiding by forms prevents cupidity from practiſing on avarice. Give me a Socrates for a judge, and I will be content to abide by his deciſions; but whilſt judges are what they are, whilſt philoſophy comes out of the mouth and expires on the lips, it is better to truſt to a mode of proceſs, which leaves little room for the bad paſſions to play. I own that ſome of the Gothic forms ſtill practiſed in moſt of the German tribunals, might be aboliſhed without doing miſchief. But there are many in which the Gordian knot has been cut inſtead of being looſened. —— Fare thee well.

LETTER V.

Augsburg.

I HAVE made you wait thus long for a letter, as a puniſhment for your intolerable lazineſs; but as you appear penitent in the ſhort epiſtle I received yeſterday, and Nannette intercedes for you in the poſtſcript, ſhall reſume the correſpondence.

At Stutgart I met with a friend with whom I made an excurſion very far into the Black Foreſt. The inhabitants of thoſe parts of it which belong to the dutchy of Wirtemberg are not near ſo handſome, well-made, or lively, as thoſe who live near the Necker, and in the adjoining vallies. The men are clumſy, and the women yellow, ill-ſhaped, and wrinkled at the age of thirty. They diſtinguiſh themſelves from their neighbours, by a more frightful taſte in dreſs, and a ſhocking want of cleanlineſs. Kalb is the beſt town in theſe parts. It has conſiderable manufactures, and the inhabitants diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the conteſts with the duke, in an uncommon degree, by ſpirit, love of liberty, and attachment to the conſtitution.

I am not able to account ſatisfactorily to myſelf for the uglineſs of this people. Hard labour and little food may contribute to it, but cannot be the only reaſon; for in the country of Furſtemberg, and particularly in the Auſtrian parts of this great chain of hills, we ſaw very handſome people who did not ſeem to live better than the Wirtembergers do. Poſſibly the uglineſs of the latter may be owing to the ſituation, and depth of the vallies, to the air, and perhaps to the water.

Theſe journies over the mountains had particular charms for me. I fancied myſelf in a new world. One inchanting proſpect exceeded another in variety and beauty. Mountains, and chains of mountains of the moſt extraordinary forms, cataracts, woods, ſmall lakes in the deep hollows, precipices; in ſhort, every thing I ſaw was in ſo grand a ſtyle, that I am not vain enough to attempt to deſcribe it in a letter.

After reſting ſome days with my friend at Stutgart, I ſet out for the lake of Conſtance, where my wiſhes had long gone before me. In my way thither, I came over another chain of hills called the Alps, which run through the middle of Suabia from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt. This chain ſtretches from the frontiers of Suabia, between Bavaria and Franconia, as far as Fichtelberg, and joins with the mountains of Bohemia.

The object moſt worthy notice in this journey, was the family ſeat of the King of Pruſſia. Who would believe that the great Frederick, who withſtood the united ſtrength of the greateſt powers of Europe, and preſerved the balance in the north, was the deſcendant of a younger branch of the houſe of Hohenzollern, the ſmalleſt principality of Germany, the two ſurviving branches of which, Hechingen and Siegmaring, have not together

together ſeventy thouſand florins, or ſeven thouſand pounds, income? The younger brother of one of our marquiſſes being informed of this by a Pruſſian, gave a ſnap with his fingers, and ſaid, *Voila un Cadet qui a fait fortune.*

We travelled directly through the princedom of Hohenzollern, the breadth of which is little more than ten miles. It may be about fifty miles in length, but, including the detached part of Siegmaringen, does not contain more than twelve thouſand people. The country is exceedingly full of hills and woods, and the princes have always been great hunters. Thoſe who now ſway the ſceptre are amiable men, who, you may ſuppoſe, do not forget that the King of Pruſſia is their relation. If I miſtake not, a count of Hohenzollern was not long ſince made coadjutor to the chapter of Ermeland by the King.

We viewed the caſtle of Hechingen, which ſtands on a high mountain, and commands an extenſive proſpect over the dutchy of Wirtemberg, and the neighbouring country. I have heard that one of the ancient governors of this ſmall territory, could not forbear ſaying, as he was walking with his attendants on the caſtle terrace, and ſurveying with delight the wild and beautiful country round him, "The *little country* of Wirtemberg would be a pretty addition to the territory of Hohenzollern." If this anecdote ſhould not be true, it is not ill invented, the *little country* of Wirtemberg being at leaſt thirty times as large as the whole territory of Hohenzollern.

I was tranſported at the ſight of the lake of Conſtance; but ſhall not attempt any poetical deſcription of it, as I ſhould uſe a very rough crayon indeed, to portray a ſcene of infinite variety and beauty. I ſhall therefore only give you my philoſophical and political reflections on the country and its inhabitants. Indeed you well know, that where my feelings are the moſt intereſted, I am leaſt happy in expreſſing them.

What at firſt ſight is moſt ſtriking in this great piece of water, which divides Germany from Switzerland, through ſo great a length of country is, that there ſhould be no town of any importance about it. Conſtance, which is the moſt reſpectable, hardly contains ſix thouſand inhabitants, whilſt Schaffhauſen, St. Gallen, Zurich, and ſome places which are not far diſtant, though leſs advantageouſly ſituated, are very flouriſhing cities. It has no trade to ſignify, nor the ſmalleſt manufacture of any kind. This is more extraordinary, becauſe, throughout the country, the Bavarian peaſant ſeems not only more alive and alert than the Swiſs, but has an advantage over him in morals and induſtry.

In Conſtance one is ſtrongly induced to conſider this want of induſtry, the neglect of the advantages which nature holds out, and the vices which prevail as entirely owing to the religion. In Alſace, and among the lower Suabians, I had already found more ſpirit of trade in the proteſtants than in the catholics, whom numerous holidays, pilgrimages, holy fraternities, the immoderately inculcated doctrine of the contempt of worldly things, the expectation of ſome wonderful ſupport from God, the eaſe of finding a proviſion in cloiſters, and laſtly, very narrow and contracted minds, all contribute to corrupt. Theſe diſadvantages, however, as far as concerns the peaſants of the two countries we are ſpeaking of, are compenſated by the heavineſs and ſavageneſs of the reformed Swiſs; ſpecimens of which, I ſhall at a future time lay before you; but in the towns, the greater number of churches and cloiſters, added to the above cauſes on the one ſide, and the greater degree of knowledge on the other, create a difference which is very ſtriking, and is infinitely increaſed by a number of other cauſes beſides religion.

It is evident, I think, from the example of France, the Auſtrian Netherlands, and various Italian ſtates, that the Roman catholic religion does not of itſelf ſtifle induſtry, of which there may exiſt a great deal with a ſtrong tinge of ſuperſtition, juſt as the

knight of La Manca, when taken out of his quixotiſm, ſhewed himſelf both a gentleman and a philoſopher. In this country likewiſe, religion is not ſo much the principal as the acceſſary cauſe; and it is owing to local circumſtances, that the German catholic is not ſo induſtrious as the French or Genoeſe.

The chief of theſe is certainly the mode of education. You would be aſtoniſhed to ſee the difference of education in the German proteſtant, and the German catholic towns, as well as between the French and German catholic. All I need to ſay on the ſubject is, that the Jeſuits, to whom we owe ſo much on this head, and whom all our patriots ſo much wiſh for back again, are in Germany the protectors of every thing barbarous and ſavage. They ſtrive as ardently to ſuppreſs every emanation of genius here, as thoſe of their order endeavoured to kindle it amongſt us.

But another obſtacle to induſtry in this country, is the ſtupid, ridiculous pride of the nobles. Whilſt the Swiſs merchant and manufacturer bears a part in the government of his country, the Canon of Conſtance looks with contempt on the citizen who is indebted for his riches, not to a doubtful genealogy, but to his underſtanding and induſtry. This makes a deep impreſſion on the citizen; who, inſtead of increaſing his capital by his induſtry, purchaſes a title, endeavours to put on the noble, and then with a pride ſtill more contemptible, inſults his fellows.

In the next place the frugal way of living of the Swiſs very much contributes to the increaſe of their manufactures. The daily repaſt of an inhabitant of the middle ſtation of life in Conſtance, would make a ſumptuous feaſt for one of St. Gallen. True it is, that as every ill has its attendant good, their conviviality may be the cauſe why the Suabians are evidently ſo much better tempered than the Swiſs. Add to all this, that Conſtance is in a manner neglected, on account of its diſtance from the Court of Vienna. The Swiſs, it is ſaid, made overtures to eſtabliſh manufactures there, but they failed. I am ignorant whether the failure was owing to the intolerance of the court, to the jealouſy of the ſenate of Conſtance, which is conſtantly ſolicitous to preſerve ſomething of its former importance as a free imperial town, or to the above mentioned pride of the nobles.

The biſhop reſides at Moerſburg, a ſmall town on the oppoſite border of the lake. He has an income of about ſeventy thouſand florins, or 7000l per annum. He has very conſiderable poſſeſſions in Switzerland. The other places worth notice on the German ſide, are Uberlingen and Lindau.

The Swiſs ſide of this ſmall lake is more pleaſant to view than the German. The beautiful mixture of the neighbouring hills planted with vines, the ſtraggling appearance of the farm-houſes with orchards round them, the ſmall and varied patches of all the different kinds of agriculture, make it more agreeable to the eye than the Suabian villages, the houſes of which ſtand together as in towns, and are often encompaſſed by a great corn field or a wide meadow. Upon the whole, I believe that both ſides of the lake are equally well inhabited. The Swiſs ſoil is more ſtony and heavy than the German, and though the Thurgau is one of the beſt parts of Switzerland, it is indebted to Suabia for a part of the prime neceſſary of life, to wit, corn, which it repays in wine and fruits.

They little think in Holland, how much they owe to the lake of Conſtance. As matters even now are, they can hardly guard againſt the ſand, which being waſhed down from the Alps by the Aar, and other rivers into the Rhine, threatens to ſtop up the mouth of the latter, and already leaves room to apprehend ſome violent revolution, by the great ſand banks it has raiſed. But if the great reſervoir we ſpeak of did not intercept by far the largeſt quantity of ſand, which the rapid ſtream of the Rhine waſhes from

from the high Buntnerland, Holland muſt have been already buried under a new ſand, and the courſe of the Rhine, being altered by it, muſt have totally changed the figure of the country. It is true that theſe changes muſt neceſſarily happen. However conſiderable the depth of this lake may be, it muſt at laſt be filled up, and the ſooner, becauſe the ſtream, as it flows from Conſtance through the upper parts of Germany, is always deepening its bed, and the lake loſes exactly ſo much water as it gains in ſand. On the other hand, if we reflect how much ſo great a baſon as this lake may contain; if we calculate its contents as De la Torre did thoſe of Veſuvius, we ſhall think that the Dutch are ſecure for many generations.

It was impoſſible for me to leave this country without viſiting the famous Fall of the Rhine at Lauffen, where I beheld the fineſt ſpectacle I had ever ſeen. As no painting or print of this magnificent ſcene of nature had ever come in my way, and I knew it only from general report, that which probably happens to all who do not carry with them ſome diſtinct idea of it happened to me. My imagination had deceived me. I had fancied to myſelf one of the wildeſt ſpots of the world, and the Rhine falling from a great height into an unfathomable gulf. The contraſt between the reality and my idea, made the ſurprize more agreeable. Indeed the circumſtance took place here, which generally attends all great works of nature and art, the true greatneſs and beauty of which do not ſtrike at firſt ſight, but are felt on cloſer obſervation and compariſon of their parts. I found the fall not near ſo high, but far more beautiful than I had expected. The amphitheatre of hills covered with trees; the two rocks, (on one of which is placed the caſtle of Lauffen; on the other, a village, with a mill before it,) which, like the two front pillars of a theatre, ſtand on each ſide of the fall; the breadth of the fall; the beautiful diviſion of its different deſcending waters; the rich baſon underneath; the agreeable, and almoſt artificial mixture of wild cultivated country; in ſhort, every thing was more delightful than my expectation had formed it.

The height from which the water falls, is near fifty feet, including the little inclination it makes preparatory to its precipitation, which can only be ſeen from the riſing ground above it. It was formerly conſiderably higher, and many perſons ſtill living remember a piece of the rock in the middle of the precipice, which has been worn away by the water. I think I could obſerve, from the rock on which the caſtle of Lauffen ſtands, that the ſtream was gradually deepening its courſe. It follows therefore, as I ſaid before, that the lake of Conſtance muſt diminiſh in proportion as the Rhine deepens its bed. In my journey hither, I ſaw evident marks of new land near Lindau. The lake of Conſtance has this in common with all lakes, which lay high. This diminution muſt be the moſt remarkable in the lake of Neufchatel.

I made an agreeable little tour to the iſland of Meinau, a commandery of the Teutonic order at a ſmall diſtance from Conſtance. The commander's houſe is a handſome new building, and commands an excellent proſpect over all the lake of Conſtance. Mr. Coxe ſeems not to have underſtood the plan of the caſtle gardens. He conſiders it as a want of taſte to have obſtructed the free view of the lake, by plantations of ſhrubs; but theſe lead a ſtranger imperceptibly to the deſired ſpot, where he is ſurpriſed with the proſpect, and ſees the whole lake, and all the ſplendid landſcape around, in full beauty. An uninterrupted view of the water from the garden would not be very pleaſing, as it may be conſtantly enjoyed from the windows of the palace.

Before I leave Conſtance, I muſt recal to your memory, a man, who, for ſome years paſt, has made ſome noiſe in the public papers. It was on this ſtage that the celebrated Geſner began his career, who in a ſhort time expelled ſo many millions of devils, and cured ſo many hundred bigots. An order of the biſhop of Conſtance having prohibited

ſuch miracles in his dioceſe, forced him to take refuge under the protection of the prelate of Salmanſweiler, who, by the ſtrength of hard gold, always purchaſes of the pope an exemption from the biſhop's power. In oppoſition to the biſhop, the prelate eſpouſed the part of the refugee with much warmth; and his fortune was made by the perſecution he underwent. The prelate's ſteward ſupplied him with ſome barrels of ſtinking oil, and other commodities, which he uſed for the purpoſe of his cures, and in the furniſhing of which the other found his account.

LETTER VI.

Augsburg.

AFTER having gone all round the lake of Conſtance, I directed my journey from Lindau hither, and paſſed through ſome decayed imperial cities, which had been under the neceſſity of requeſting from the emperor an exemption from furniſhing their proportion of tax for the public exigencies of the empire, and were now actually dwindled into villages. Memmingen, however, is an exception. It has ſome manufactures in it, and ſtill reſembles a town. I met, by accident, with an extract from the chronicle of this little town, which runs in the ſame old womaniſh ſtyle with all other chronicles of ſmall towns. I will tranſcribe ſome paſſages from it, as they paint the character of the people.

'In the year 1448, the taverns of the town were exhauſted of wine; the ſenate ſent a formal deputation to the Necker, to procure this indiſpenſible neceſſary for its ſubjects. As the waggon with the wine was approaching, the body of the citizens went in proceſſion to meet it, with drums beating, and colours flying, and there was a public bonfire ordered.—'

'In the year 1449, there happened, on St. Galen's day, in the church of St. Martin, ſome diſpute among the women concerning the pews, which at laſt bred a fray amongſt them in the church itſelf. The clergy imagined it neceſſary to new conſecrate the church, which had been thus prophaned; but the ſenate oppoſed it with all their power, as it had only been a fray of women.'

Both theſe characteriſtics of the people ſtill prevail. The Suabian has ſtill the ſame veneration for wine, and the ſame maſtery over his wife.

From hence I came through numberleſs earldoms and lordſhips, the moſt conſiderable of which are the poſſeſſions of the counts Trucchſeſſe and Fugger; theſe might be conſidered as principalities, were they not divided among ſo many branches of the families.

The whole tract of country, from the lake of Conſtance here, is not near ſo well cultivated as lower Suabia. The manners of the people alſo are much inferior. There is a ſtriking difference in the perſons of the men. The inhabitants of theſe parts are ugly, and their features are ſo diſtorted that the ſight diſguſts one. Nature too has done ſtill leſs for them, than for their neighbours. The whole of their country is a plain, which is interſected only by one ridge of woody hills, between Lindau and Leutkirchen. The ſoil is only fit for tillage; whereas, in Lower Suabia, the mixture of mountains, hills, and valleys, allows of every kind of agriculture.

The efficient cauſe of the ruin of this country is its being parcelled out into ſo many ſmall baronies; many of the owners of which live at the great courts, and draw the money out of the country. It is needleſs for a traveller to aſk, if the maſter of theſe poſſeſſions reſides upon his property; as one can eaſily diſcover in the looks of the people, and

and the forſaken aſpect of the country, that he does not. Whilſt the baron is making a figure at court, his vaſſals are expoſed to the oppreſſions of a rapacious ſteward, who generally contrives, in the ſpace of a few years, to amaſs ſo much wealth as to enable him to reſign his office, and commence baron himſelf.

If a life of extravagance, and a ridiculous paſſion for titles, was not ſo univerſal amongſt them; if they had more love for the arts and ſciences; if they had a taſte for more elegant pleaſures than horſes, equipages, and ſervants can afford; if they could bring over from France ſomething more becoming than a ſtiff carriage, an affected walk, a taſte for gaming, and a wretched jargon, the German nobles might be the happieſt claſs of human beings. Almoſt entirely independant, as the nature of the conſtitution makes them, they might become, in the fulleſt ſenſe, the creators of the happineſs of their ſubjects, and in return receive their adoration. But they appear not to have ſufficient ſenſibility to follow ſuch a line of conduct. Nature takes her revenge, and the conſequence of their idle extravagance at the court is, that their eſtates run gradually in debt, and their reſources vaniſh.

Augſburg is one of the oldeſt towns in Germany, and one of the moſt remarkable of them, as it is there, and at Nuremberg, that you meet with the oldeſt marks of German art and induſtry. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the commerce of this town was the moſt extenſive of any part of ſouth Germany, and contributed much to the civilization of the country, by the works of art, and variety of neceſſaries to the comfort and convenience of life, which it was the means of introducing. Many things originated in this town, which have had a great influence on the happineſs of mankind. Not to mention the many important diets of the empire held here; here, in 952, did a council confirm the order for the celibacy of prieſts; here, in 1530, was the confeſſion of faith of the proteſtants laid before the emperor, and other eſtates of Germany, and here, in 1555, was ſigned the famous treaty of peace, by which religious liberty was ſecured to Germany.

Many of the houſes are old and ugly, and are built with ſo little attention to the rules of modern taſte, that Winckelman renounced living in Germany after he had ſeen them; but this is what the Engliſh call peeviſhneſs; and to be ſo much taken up with beauty and form, as to be blind to every other conſideration, is folly and vice. The houſes in Augſburg muſt not be conſidered as Roman and Greek temples, but as monuments of the architecture of the times in which they were built. Whoever conſiders them in that light, and compares them with the houſes built at Lubeck and Nuremberg in the ſame century, will ſee to what a much greater degree of magnificence Augſburg had arrived in thoſe early times. He will ſee, too, a great deal of real beauty of proportion, uniformity, correſpondence of parts, &c. &c.

The looks of the inhabitants of Augſburg have ſomething very ſtriking in them. They are a compound of the Suabian and Bavarian features. The proteſtants are moſt like the Suabians, and the catholics the Bavarians. It is an obſervation, which has been frequently made, and undoubtedly a true one, that you may diſtinguiſh a proteſtant of Augſburg, from a catholic, by his looks and manner. Any perſon who goes into their reſpective churches, will ſee ſtriking characteriſtical differences in the face. As the catholics are more catholic at Augſburg than in any other part of the world, and as the followers of the ſeveral religions ſeldom inter-marry, this difference may the more eaſily be accounted for.

The beſt account of the ſucceſſive variations of the government of Augſburg, which is ariſtocratical, is to be met with in *D. Langemantel's Hiſtorie des Regiments der Stadt*

Augsburg, fol. and in *P. von Stelten des altern Geſchichte von Augsburg*, 2 vol. in 4to which carry it down to the year 1649.

The police of the place is very good, and though the town has no territory, it has no debts. The water works of Augſburg deſerve notice much more than thoſe of Marly, the mechaniſm of them is much more ſimple, and the advantage of them much more conſpicuous.

Augſburg is, however, no longer what it was. It no longer has a Fugger, and a Welſer in it, to lend the emperor millions. In this large and handſome town, formerly one of the greateſt trading towns in Germany, there are no merchants at preſent to be found, who have capitals of more than 20,000l. The others, moſt of whom muſt have their coaches, go creeping on with capitals of 3 or 4,000l. and do the buſineſs of brokers and commiſſioners. Some houſes, however, carry on a little banking trade, and the way through Tyrol, and Graubundten, occaſions ſome little exchange between this place and Germany.

After theſe brokers and doers of buſineſs by commiſſion, the engravers, ſtatuaries, and painters, are the moſt reputable of the labouring part of the city. Their productions, like the toys of Nuremberg, go every where. There are always ſome people of genius amongſt them; but the ſmall demand for their art affords them ſo little encouragement, that to prevent ſtarving, they are moſtly confined to the ſmall religious works, which are done elſewhere by Capuchin monks. They furniſh all Germany with little pictures for prayer-books, and to hang in the citizens' houſes. Indeed the arts meet with little ſupport in this country. The man of faſhion had much rather keep horſes and hounds, and a uſeleſs train of ſervants, by whom he is cheated, than provide for an ingenious artiſt, and even when, in obedience to faſhion, he is compelled to make ſome ſacrifice to genius, he reſts no confidence in the abilities of his countryman. As he is ſeldom poſſeſſed of taſte and diſcernment himſelf; he is directed in his choice by the reputation of ſome foreign artiſt, and leaves merit in his own country to ſtarve. In other provinces of Germany, matters appear to be no better ordered; Mengs, Winckelman, Gluck, Haſſe, Handel, and many others, were obliged to acquire reputation abroad, before their merits were acknowledged at home.

There is an academy of arts inſtituted here, under the protection of the magiſtrates. It ſeems, however, like its patrons, to have no other aim than to produce good mechanics, and preſerve the manufactures of the city. The ſenate, for ſome time paſt, has been deliberating on ſimilar projects, for the encouragement of induſtry. As I take part in any improvement for ſocial happineſs, I was extremely mortified to ſee theſe intentions thwarted by the very governors of the town themſelves.

The grounds of this inconſiſtent oppoſition, ariſe in a great meaſure from the form of government. The patricians, who, with a very ſmall addition of the mercantile part, govern the town ariſtocratically, cannot bear to ſee the plebeian enabled by his induſtry to carry his head above them. Though they extol induſtry in the ſenate, they hate and perſecute it in the workſhop. One Shulin, who has made his fortune by a great cotton-work, is a lamentable example of this duplicity. As the millions his induſtry has brought, allow him to live more ſplendidly than the patricians with empty titles, he is become the object of their moſt furious perſecution *.

* Mr. Nicolai is of a different opinion, he ſays that the burghers take great part in the government, and that this is one of the free imperial cities in which there is moſt liberty, infinitely more than at Nuremberg or Ulm.

This

This deſpicable policy takes its origin in the general corruption of the country. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants are the moſt infamous raſcals imaginable, fellows, who, on the leaſt ſignal, are ready to cut one another's throats on account of religion; who ſpend their week's wages every Sunday in ale-houſes, and never reflect on the greatneſs of their predeceſſors, but when the liquor is fermenting in their brain. I have told you already, that the government is partly catholic, and partly proteſtant. Upon the whole, the catholics may, I believe, be more numerous than the proteſtants. It is quite impoſſible to give any idea of all the ridiculous incidents occaſioned by the religious diſputes. Every day produces ſome unexpected occurrence, which makes one both laugh and complain. They never bruſh a cobweb from a public building, without mingling religion in the buſineſs. The catholics, who are more zealous than the proteſtants, ſupport a controverſial preacher here, as they do in all the towns, where the religion is of the mixed kind. This man, at certain times, ſets one half of Augſburg a laughing, the other a raving. He who fills this part at preſent, is an ex-jeſuit; who is of one the beſt comedians of the kind I have ſeen. The exceſſive poverty and indolence of the people, make them regardleſs of their own rights. The ariſtocracy would not be ſo powerful if the people had more underſtanding and attachment to their conſtitution. But liberty is no dearer to them than the chaſtity of their daughters, whom their canons, whoſe incomes are about 200l. per annum, purchaſe every year by dozens.

The other tenth of the inhabitants conſiſts of ſome patrician families, amongſt whom there are ſome very polite people, of the merchants, artiſts and clergy. But there is too much idle extravagance amongſt even the moſt prudent, and too many jealouſies about them all for true patriotiſm to take root amongſt them. This town, which is nine miles and a half in circumference, contains hardly thirty thouſand people*, and their collective capital ſcarcely exceeds 1,500,000l. ſo that their yearly decreaſe becomes more and more apparent. If ſome fortunate circumſtances do not ariſe, another century will ſee them reduced to abſolute beggary.

The more modern part of this town is truly beautiful; and the ſenate houſe is one of the handſomeſt buildings that I have ſeen in all my travels. One would believe, that in proportion as the internal reſources had diminiſhed, the magiſtracy had become more attentive to external decoration. But it is as with the falſe bloom on a courtezan's cheek, it may beguile the paſſing ſtranger, but whoever ſees her at her toilet will ſoon be undeceived. A ſhort time ſince, on the publication of an order for the water ſpouts, which uſed to ſpout the water upon the ſtreets, and injure the pavement, to be in future carried through their houſes, a company of merchants entered a proteſt, beginning with theſe words: "The Romans were not arrived at the pinnacle of their greatneſs when the Appian way was made." I know not whether the writer of the remonſtrance was in jeſt; but, as the common proverb ſays, "that every compariſon is lame," this is ſo indeed.

The city has its drinking water from the river Lech, which runs at ſome diſtance from it. The aqueducts which convey the water are much to be admired. As the court of Bavaria has it in its power to cut off this indiſpenſible neceſſary; by threatening the town with doing ſo, it often lays it under contribution. But as it has, beſides this, other means of keeping the high council in a ſtate of dependance, to ſecure itſelf from this oppreſſion, the city ſeeks the emperor's protection, upon whom it makes itſelf as dependant on the other ſide, ſo as to be indeed only a ball, which both courts play with. The emperor's miniſter to the circle of Suabia, generally reſides here, and by ſo doing ſecures to his court a perpetual influence. There are always Auſtrian and Pruſſian recruiting parties quartered here, and the partiality of the government to the former is very

* Mr. Nicholai makes them 34 or 35,000. and ſays there are 28,000 houſes.

remarkable. In the war of 1756, the citizens were divided into equal parties for the two courts. The catholics conſidered the Emperor as their god; and the proteſtants did the ſame by the King of Pruſſia. The flame of religion had almoſt kindled a bloody civil war amongſt them.

The biſhop takes his name from this town; but reſides at Dillingen. He has an income of about 20,000l. per annum. As a proof of the catholiciſm of this place, the pope, throughout his whole progreſs, met no where with ſuch honours as he did here. This he owed to his friends the jeſuits, who have ſtill great influence.

LETTER VII.

Augsburg.

OF all the circles of the empire, Suabia is the moſt divided; it contains four eccleſiaſtic, and thirteen lay principalities, nineteen independent prelacies and abbeys, twenty ſix earldoms and lordſhips, and thirty-one free cities. The prime directors of the circle, as they are termed, are the Biſhop of Conſtance, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, which laſt has the ſole direction of all that relates to war.

The mixture of the various ſorts of government and religious ſects, the oppreſſion exerciſed by the great on the leſſer, the game conſtantly played by the emperor, who poſſeſſes many pieces of detached country in Suabia, which depend not on the circle, and can, in conſequence of his privileges as Archduke of Auſtria, extend his poſſeſſions in it by various ways, are circumſtances which give the cultivation of the country, and the character of the inhabitants, a moſt extraordinary caſt. In ſeveral of the poſt towns where you ſtop, you ſee the higheſt degree of cultivation in the midſt of the moſt ſavage wildneſs, a great degree of knowledge and poliſh of manners, mixed with the groſſeſt ignorance and ſuperſtition; traces of liberty, under the deepeſt oppreſſion; national pride, together with the contempt and neglect of the native country; in ſhort, all the ſocial qualities in ſtriking contraſt, and oppoſition to each other.

Thoſe parts of Suabia which belong to the greater potentates, ſuch as Wirtemberg, Auſtria, and Baden, are certainly the moſt improved. The whole of Suabia may comprehend about nine hundred ſquare miles, and two millions of people. More than half of theſe are ſubjects of the three above mentioned houſes, though they do not own, by a great deal, one half the land.

If the ſmall German lords would reſtrain themſelves within due bounds, if they would not appear greater than they really are, if they were more affectionate to their ſubjects, if they were not inſenſible to the ſofter feelings of humanity, and ſo hoſtile to the muſes and graces, the very ſmallneſs of theſe ſtates might conſtitute their happineſs. For although a ſmall country muſt neceſſarily part with ſome money to procure what it wants from abroad, yet if the governor does not require many luxuries, a prudent œconomy and management will keep this within due bounds. Beſides, as moſt of the ſovereigns in this part of the world are catholics, and the rich foundations in the neighbourhood lay open to their younger ſons, they are not incumbered with the care of making other proviſion for them. Many of themſelves too belong to the church, and their preferments there might prevent their laying any burthens on their ſubjects. But the happineſs of their people is never the ſtudy of theſe gentlemen; who, from the want of family ties, conſider themſelves as unconnected with the country, and think their only buſineſs is to act like generals in an enemy's land, and plunder what they can. Were it not for this, their exemption from ſupporting any military eſtabliſhments, the eaſe with which a ſmall county may be governed, the diſtance from the political diſtractions of the greater ſtates, the ſecurity that the other powers of Germany cannot

day the great conqueror over them, and many other circumſtances, might be improved into bleſſings on theſe ſmall ſocieties.

The courts of Stutgard and Carlſruhe are the only ones I have met with, which ſeemed to have any ſenſe of the duty of making the ſubject happy. The reſt appear vain enough to conceive their people created for them, not themſelves for their people. The treaſurers of theſe petty lords, with ſome of whom I was well acquainted, make a very eſſential difference between the intereſts of the court and thoſe of the people; and though the ſubject is under no apprehenſion, as I have ſaid, of groſs tyranny, yet he is by no means ſafe from having his pocket picked by the nicer operations of finance.

The education of moſt of theſe lords is ſo thoroughly neglected, as hardly to admit of better hopes. It is almoſt univerſally in the hands of prieſts. Part of theſe are monks, whoſe knowledge is in a manner all wrapped up in their cowls, and part are young *abbes*, who are juſt come from ſchool, and only ſeek to make their fortunes by the connections of their pupils. The monk teaches that a reverence to Saint Francis, Benedict, or Ignatius, a regular attendance on maſs, the telling beads, and giving alms to monaſteries, are objects which will make amends for many tranſgreſſions of another kind.

LETTER VIII.

Munich.

THE road from Augſburg to Munich, lies through Dachau, which is two miles from Augſburg and Nymphenburg. Great part of the country, which you ſee on this road is entirely uncultivated. There was a project to bring the Memnonites from the Palatinate to cultivate it, but failed, becauſe the court confeſſor exclaimed againſt any introduction of different religions. The buildings at Nymphenburg are magnificent, and deſerve to be viewed.

The caſtle of Nymphenburg was began in 1663, by the Electreſs Adelaide, conſort of the Elector Ferdinand Maria; but much has been added to it by the ſucceeding electors. Many things are worth looking at in the palace; and the gardens are the largeſt in Germany; but what is moſt remarkable, are the rooms which contain the picture of the ſixteen miſtreſſes of the Elector Maximilian Emanuel, and the Emperor Charles the Seventh. The public exhibition of theſe portraits is an offence to public manners, which has not, perhaps, its like in Europe.

In the gardens there is a cloyſter of nuns of Notre Dame, and under the ſame roof, parted only by a wall, an hoſpice of capuchin friars. This cuſtom of building convents and cloyſters near each other, was very common in the tenth century.

There is a china manufacture here, but it ſeems fallen to decay.

On my arrival at the inn, a pretty hoſteſs ſtepped up, looked me very ſuſpiciouſly in the face, and put ſeveral queſtions; which, for want of ſufficient ſkill in her provincial dialect, I could anſwer but by halves. As I cannot endure to be much queſtioned by innkeepers, I deſired her, ſomewhat roughly, to let me know, without any more ceremony, whether I could lodge and board in her houſe for ſome days? With a great deal of difficulty, ſhe at laſt gave me to underſtand, that ſhe had taken me for a Jew, and had ſworn to ſome ſaint or other never to entertain a Jew. I was, as you may ſuppoſe, near leaving the houſe; an explanation, however, took place, and the next day, after my beard, which was rather of the longeſt, had been taken off, we were fully reconciled, and have agreed very well ever ſince.

In

In my way hither, I ſtole ſufficient time to remark, that the agriculture of this part of the country is not in ſo improved a ſtate as even that of Suabia. I ſaw ſeveral Suabian villages, which deſerved the appellation of towns much more than ſome of the miſerable holes I have met with ſince my arrival in Bavaria. There are ſix of theſe about Munich, in which the wide ſcattered houſes are far more numerous than the inhabitants.

I am ſtill too little acquainted with this court and country, to be able to ſay any thing confidently about either. But as I propoſe ſtopping here ſome time, ſhall impart to you, in due order, the reſult of my enquiries. In the mean time, as I am a diligent frequenter of the German theatre, I feel a deſire to entertain you, as far as my ability yet goes, with a ſtate of the dramatic part of German literature.

Thoſe who underſtand German, perceive even at Straſburg, that Germany has, for ſome years paſt, been ſtruck with a rage for theatrical exhibitions. The bookſellers' ſhops are from time to time over-run with new plays and theatrical almanacks; and writings of the dramatic kind, always occupy a third part in the catalogues of new books. Dramatic poetry is certainly the higheſt ſpecies of poetry, as hiſtorical painting is the higheſt ſpecies of painting; nor can any thing be more uſeful than to repreſent man in his various characters, and ſituations, with truth and juſtice. But ſuch men as appear at preſent in moſt of the German plays, are rarely met with in the world; and when here and there ſuch do make their appearance, the police of the place, if there is any police, takes the charge of them upon itſelf, and lodges them in Bedlam, or a workhouſe.

You muſt know, my dear brother, that the characters moſt frequently on the German ſtage, are frantic lovers, parricides, highwaymen, miniſters, miſtreſſes, and men of faſhion, with their pockets full of daggers and poiſon, melancholy and raving men of all ſorts, and incendiaries, and grave-diggers. Perhaps you will not believe me, but I could name to you above twenty pieces, the chief characters in which are mad, and where the poet has endeavoured to exhibit his *forte* in the diſplay of folly, and diſtraction of mind. I aſſure you too, upon my honour, that that part of the German public with which I have had the honour to be acquainted hitherto, admire, and moſt violently applaud thoſe ſcenes which ſhew the madman in his wildeſt tranſports. There are plays in which the chief character ſucceſſively murders from twelve to fifteen people; and by way of crowning the meritorious deed, plants a dagger in his own breaſt. It is a fact, that the pieces which have moſt madmen and murderers in them, meet with the greateſt approbation; nay, ſeveral actors and actreſſes have complained to me how difficult they found it to invent new ways of dying on the ſtage. It muſt be difficult, for there are ſcenes in which the principal performers muſt remain for half an hour in the laſt agonies, uttering broken words, and under continued convulſions, and it is certainly no eaſy taſk to ſuſtain ſuch a death with propriety. I have often ſeen no leſs than five people at once dying on the German ſtage, one ringing out his knell with his feet, another with his arms, a third with his belly, and a fourth with his head, whilſt the pit ſeemed agonizing with joy, eſpecially if the ſport laſted, and clapped every convulſive movement.

The next in rank on the German ſtage after the madmen and murderers, are drunkards, ſoldiers, and watchmen. Theſe characters correſpond too much with the national humour not to be welcome to the audience. But why the phlegmatic Germans, who are troubled with ſo few violent paſſions, and delight ſo little in deſperate tranſactions, and tragical events, ſhould take ſuch pleaſure in the dagger and bowl, is not

at firſt ſo eaſily accounted for. Let us ſee what is to be ſaid for the audience and the poets.

On the part of the public it may ariſe from ignorance of life and manners. The different claſſes of people do not mingle ſo much in the German towns as they do in France. To every thing which belongs to nobility, or which has the name of nobility, or is in any way attached to the court, the German in middle life can have no acceſs. His knowledge of life, and taſte for ſocial pleaſures is much more confined than that of our people; nor does he, like the inhabitants of a moderately large French town, enter into the innumerable incidents and accidents of common life. This want of intereſt in uſual virtues and vices, this inſenſibility to the little events of ordinary life, oblige the German to look for ſtrong emotions and caricatures to entertain him on the ſtage; whereas the Frenchman is contented with a piece of a much finer wrought plot, and willingly ſees the people he lives and is acquainted with, repreſented on the ſtage. The Saxon dramas are not ſo monſtrous and extravagant as thoſe which are exhibited in the weſtern and ſouthern parts of Germany, becauſe a more enlightened morality, and a freer intercourſe than there is here, obtains in that part of the country, and conſequently the picture of a ſcene in common life is more ſtriking than it can be here. In general the majority in this part of the country conſiſts more of *mob* than in France, and the mob, you know, are notorious for running to ſee an execution or a funeral.

On the part of the poets, the extravagance ariſes from a variety of different cauſes. Moſt of the preſent writers for the German drama are as ignorant as the mob, of the ſprings which actuate mankind. Many of them are ſtudents, who are ſtill at ſchool, or juſt come from it, and have choſen play writing for their trade. Theſe perſons, who have never ſeen any thing, ſit in their chimney corner, and enveloped in the fumes of their tobacco, invent whatever happens to come uppermoſt. Their creatures have, conſequently, neither beauty, ſhape, grace, or proportion; but are either men without heads, or barbarians. The writers of this claſs, who aim at nothing but getting their bread by gratifying the public, write tragedy, becauſe it is moſt eaſy; for, independently of the aſſiſtance which may be derived from the marvellous, it is always eaſier to write a good tragedy than an equally good comedy.

Another ſet of writers for the buſkin, ſuffer themſelves to be led away by the taſte of the times. A few years ago one Goethe, of whoſe works you muſt certainly have ſeen tranſlations, brought out a piece, which, although it has very great beauties in it, is, upon the whole, the moſt extravagant that ever was acted. To give you an idea of it, I need not ſay more than the ſubject is, the peaſant war under the Emperor Maximilian, and that the burning of villages, firing towns, &c. &c. are repreſented in it to the life. This piece, which is called Gots of Berlichingen, *with the iron hand*, has, notwithſtanding the great outcry for it, not yet been exhibited on the ſtage, becauſe the infinite changes of the ſcenery, and the incredible heap of machinery, and decoration neceſſary, are too expenſive, and would make the performance too long. Goethe is undoubtedly a genius, and I have ſeen other pieces of his, which ſhew that he can draw men in common life, and walking on their legs, as well thoſe who ſtand on their heads. His Elvin and Elmire is an exquiſite little opera, and there is much merit, though with ſome excreſcencies, in his Clavigo, a tragedy on the ſubject, you know, of Beaumarchais' adventures in Spain. Goethe, however, has had too many imitators. His Gots of Berlichingen was a kind of magic wand, which, with a ſingle ſtroke, produced a hundred geniuſes out of nothing. Blind to the real beau-

beauties of the original, his imitators have endeavoured to diſtinguiſh themſelves, by copying his extravagancies. As in Gots of Berlichingen the ſcenery is frequently changed, it is now neceſſary for the poet to carry the ſpectator through every part of the town. Goethe was rather laviſh of executions in his pieces; and now there are innumerable hangmen on the ſtage. Shakeſpear, whom Goethe, probably from whim, or with the view to draw the attention of his countrymen to that great poet, propoſed as his example in his Gots, became inſtantly the idol of the German dramatic writers; but not that Shakeſpear, who, like Raphael, paints man as he is, under every circumſtance, and expreſſes every movement of the muſcles and nerves, and every emotion of the paſſions; but he, who, for want of ſufficient acquaintance with originals, and due education, gives himſelf up to his own wild whims, flies over ages and countries, and worlds, and in the purſuit of his fluctuating objects, does not trouble himſelf about either unity or order. An hiſtorical painter may fail in what is called *la compoſition du groupe*, or harmony of the piece, and ſeveral other things, and yet merit great praiſe for his excellence in the delineation of ſingle figures; but the ſcholar who copies theſe faults, is truly to be pitied.

Rules, it is true, do not fetter a genius; he either wears them like wreaths of flowers, unconſtrained, eaſily and gracefully; or, when he does not know the value of this ornament, and will come forth in his own wildneſs, makes up for the omiſſion, by the vigour with which he lays hold of his object. But ſuch untractable geniuſes are very ſcarce, and not the proper objects of his imitation. England, or rather we may ſay all Europe, has produced but one Shakeſpear during many centuries. The greateſt number of artiſts are doomed to acquire reputation by ſtudy, and rules have been made to regulate that ſtudy.

This ridiculous taſte of deſiring to excel by the neglect of order and rules, by the affectation of extravagance, unnatural events, abominable grimaces, and pitiful diſfigurations, has ſince this time infected every department of literature and the arts. We ſee crouds of young pretenders to genius, who, in their different walks, in muſic, painting, and other parts of poetry, think to acquire fame by departing from the eſtabliſhed rules, and giving up ſtudy. But the ancients thought otherwiſe on this ſubject, and the works which they have left behind, will never be eclipſed by theſe weak and pretended originals. Virgil, it is well known, compared his productions to the unformed cub of a bear, which could only receive its proper ſhape by frequent licking; and it is eaſy to ſee, by the writings of Terence and Plautus, that they were not finiſhed over a pipe of tobacco. You know that Shakeſpear has now, for ſome time paſt, had his partizans amongſt us; but his extravagance will not ſo eaſily be adopted for a rule; and though Arnaud has opened the way for monſters on our ſtage, as yet they appear too ſeldom for there to be any danger of our ſeeing our old friends and acquaintance in common life baniſhed by them.

This corrupt taſte has produced a wonderful revolution in the German language. When we read the writings of Geſner, Wieland, and Leſſing, we perceive that it was improving under their culture, and would gradually have received the poliſh and perfection which are indiſpenſably neceſſary to make it claſſical. But theſe new geniuſes have not been ſatisfied with the mutilation of ſingle words, but have contracted whole periods in the ſame manner. They have aboliſhed all conjunctions and connectives of every kind. In many of the more modern works, the ſentences are all ſeparate, like the ſeparate *effata* of an oracle; nor are any ſtops or diviſions admitted, except full ſtops, and ! ! ! and ? ? ? and — — —. Beſides, every writer made a point of inventing

venting new words to expreſs his new ideas; in ſhort, you would burſt with laughter if you were to read ſome literary productions of Germany, which paſs with many for maſter-pieces.

When I ſay this, I do not mean to be underſtood to affirm, that there are no perſons of better taſte in Germany than thoſe I have been deſcribing; but they are overtalked, becauſe they are the ſmalleſt number, and attempt only to convince by moderation and reaſon, whilſt the others ſtun them with noiſe. It was but yeſterday that I ſaw a new piece, entitled 'Quick before any one knows it,' which was remarkable for the ſimplicity of the fable, the truth of the characters, and the chaſteneſs of its dialogue; and I have ſeen other comedies and tragedies equally good; but the pit muſt have madneſs, and murder, and trumpets, and thunder, and the actors only interpoſe ſuch a piece, in order to have time to recover their breath, and recruit for freſh raptures of inſanity.

This is the ſixth company of comedians I have ſeen in Germany. You will wonder perhaps at ſo many in ſo ſmall a tract; but you muſt know, that for ſeveral years paſt, innumerable ſmall ſtrolling companies patrole Germany as they do in Spain and England: they erect their ſtages in the barns, or in the cow-houſes of villages, or market towns, and borrow the mayor's night-gown and ſlippers, to play Julius Cæſar in his toga, or, which is the ſame thing to them, to repreſent a ſultan. I ſaw four of theſe companies in Suabia. They are made up chiefly of vagabond ſtudents, and idle, diſſolute mechanics, who are alternately actors and ſoldiers, ſometimes in the work-houſe, and ſometimes in the hoſpital. The company which is here at preſent is of a ſuperior kind. All the members of it are in the pay of the court, which receives the entrance money. They are almoſt all elegant, well-bred people, and went far beyond my expectations in their performance. I do not know above three or four theatres in France which are preferable to this. The actors enjoy the ſociety of the firſt people of the court, and have opportunities of poliſhing their manners. How ridiculous it is, that the preſent etiquette of Germany ſhould refuſe this advantage to the poet, who has as much to gain by it as the comedian.

This company is under the direction of Mr. Marchand, of whom I had heard a great deal at Straſburg, where he played for ſeveral years before he had any regular engagement. He is now at Manheim, where he is engaged at a large ſalary as manager of the court theatre. I was extremely happy in a perſonal acquaintance with him. He is a man of the world, very lively and intelligent, and has contrived to make a capital of 4000l. by his performances in the cities on the Upper Rhine. This gentleman told me how much pains he had taken, when he came to the management, to ſet his company on a different footing from moſt of German companies of comedians at that time. He employed only regular bred men, paid them with great punctuality, and as regularly diſcharged them, when they were guilty of any irregularity. By theſe means, he and his company obtained the reſpect of the public, who at firſt conſidered players as diſreputable perſons. For a long time Mr. Marchand guided the public taſte. He exhibited only tranſlations of the moſt ſelect French and Engliſh pieces, and the very beſt originals of his own country, with a mixture of ſome of our operas, which, excepting at Paris, were no better performed than by his company.—Suddenly, however, the rage for tragedy and monſters prevailed; after long ſtruggling againſt it, he was at laſt obliged to yield to the ſtream. As the lungs of his actors were only accuſtomed to the ordinary tones of ſpeech, and could not go through the ſtrong convulſive movements of the new ſchool, he was obliged, on his arrival at Munich, to procure a new ſet accuſtomed to howlings, laying dead, &c. &c. It is probable, how-

ever, that the preſent rage is only a temporary paroxyſm of the ſtage fever, which will in time give way to better taſte and ſounder judgment. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

Munich.

YOU require too much of me; though I very well conceive that you muſt naturally wiſh to have a particular knowledge of this court and country; for, independently of our former connection with Bavaria, the Palatinate is the moſt powerful ſtate in Germany, next to Auſtria and Brandenburg, or at leaſt from its internal reſources ſhould be ſo; and beſides, the geographical ſituation of the country will always make its maſter of conſequence to whatever ſide he joins, in caſe of a rupture between France and the Emperor. I will therefore do what I can; but I ſhall ſtay here too ſhort a time to give you entire ſatisfaction. The deſcription of Munich by Profeſſor Weſtenrieden, though not void of faults, is one of the few works of this kind calculated to give ſatisfaction. Every traveller ſhould have it. The beſt hiſtory of Munich is that by Mr. Bergman, in one volume folio. There is alſo an Italian tract on the ſubject, by Bianconi; but it does not contain much.

This court is at preſent ſo enveloped in a thick and motley-coloured crowd of miniſters, counſellors, intendants, and commanders, that one cannot well get at, nor even ſee it; nor have I yet been able to make any particular acquaintance with our miniſter here, who undoubtedly knows how things are. I ſhall therefore deſcribe the court to you, partly from the information of ſome of its dependants, and partly from a few of my own obſervations, which have hitherto been made from a diſtance.—As far as the court is connected with the country, its character is to be judged of by the laws and regulations iſſued from time to time.

The elector is one of the beſt tempered men in the world. He is of a mild, ſocial, lively diſpoſition, not at all diſtruſtful or ſuſpicious, and ſo little inclined to ſeverity, that, upon a reformation having become neceſſary in his court at Munich, he appointed the Count Goldſtein, his prime miniſter at Duſſeldorf, to carry on the requiſite meaſures with vigour, and went himſelf to Italy, that the reform might not be retarded by the prayers and ſolicitations of thoſe diſcharged from office, which he was diffident of being able to withſtand. A diſagreeable marriage, contracted in his youth, led him into irregularities. The children he has had in conſequence, he has raiſed, at a very heavy expence, to be counts of the empire. In his more advanced life, the gentleneſs of his ſpirit, and the recollection of his former errors, have opened the way for piety into his heart; which of itſelf would be a bleſſing to the country, were it not, that it gives the prieſthood more influence than it ſhould have.

As to his learning, he is reported able in ſeveral ſciences, particularly in mathematics, and ſpeaks French, Italian, and Engliſh. But the fine arts are his *forte*, and he has ſacrificed liberally to them. His orcheſtra and opera are the beſt in Europe, next to thoſe of Naples and Turin; and his magnificent collection of prints, antiques, and other things, are perpetual monuments of his friendſhip for the muſes.

I have heard that an Engliſh gentleman at Manheim paid him the compliment to ſay, that 'He deſerved to be a private gentleman.' Certainly this is the moſt favourable thing which can be ſaid of this prince, who is entirely deſtitute of that ſtrength of character and reſolution, which are indiſpenſibly neceſſary to govern ſo ferocious a people as the Bavarians. As he is wanting in knowledge of mankind, he thinks favourably of all thoſe who are about him, and this ſubjects him to conſtant deception.

When I take my eyes off this great perſonage himſelf, to look round for the perſon of next conſequence, and who has the greateſt influence, I feel myſelf in the dark, and know not whom to ſtumble on. There is a lord high ſteward, a lord treaſurer, a chancellor, a parcel of privy counſellors, a father confeſſor, and ſome women, who have divided the court intereſt amongſt them, and mutually guaranteed each other's ſhare. He who could ſee things as they are, and would trace every intrigue back to its origin, would find the firſt movers of the machine in a monk's cowl or a petticoat.

Of the miſchiefs which may be done by prieſts and women, when they gain the aſcendancy, we have had ſufficient examples in our own court. But theſe fell far ſhort of the evils which are occaſioned by them here, notwithſtanding that the ſpoils of whole provinces have been expended on the capricious deſires of a miſtreſs; a caſe which happened in France. The reaſon of this difference is, that we are not without firm patriots, who oppoſe adminiſtrations, and often reform what others have corrupted. But it is loſt labour to look for a patriot at this court; or if you find one, his patriotiſm confines itſelf to ſilent unavailing murmurs.

Of the general maxims, or leading principles of the people of this court, I can ſay but little to you. Immediate ſelf-intereſt is apparently the purſuit of every one; or if they do profeſs any principles, they are certainly the moſt pliant and verſatile in the world. Indeed if we may judge by the way of thinking of inferiors, of the ſentiments of their ſuperiors, many of the principal people of this court have adopted the moſt execrable theory in politics: for inſtance, that religion ſerves only for the purpoſe of keeping the crowd of mankind ſlaves to them;—that a courtier muſt put on the externals of religion, but leave the practice to the vulgar;—that men are by nature wicked, ſeditious, turbulent, and only to be governed by being kept in perpetual ſervitude, and not permitted to uſe their faculties;—finally, that too much knowledge is dangerous, and that the great hold their rights over the people immediately from God, are no ways accountable for their conduct, nor under any obligation to their ſubjects. Wretched and miſerable ſentiments! originally propagated by thoſe who do not underſtand Machiavel's prince, or who do not conſider what he has advanced on the other ſide of the queſtion in his diſcourſes on Livy.

You will ſee by this ſketch, that this court is not at all more advanced than thoſe of Spain and Portugal. The prince, though ſincerely inclined, can do nothing for the real welfare of his people; for the channels by which he ſhould communicate with them are ſtopped up. Under the laſt government the miniſter ſold offices publicly, and now they are given away at the gaming table. There are numerous examples of people who have not been able to procure promotion, otherwiſe than by loſing certain ſums of money to certain ladies. Every thing here is venal. A few years ago, a certain miniſter of this court would have ſold half Bavaria to the Houſe of Auſtria, if the Pruſſian and Ruſſian courts, and the miniſter of the court of Deux-Ponts, had not prevented the purchaſe. In every project propoſed, a ſmall part only is intended for any good purpoſe; the greater part has the intereſt of the projector in view.

How indeed is it poſſible that a court, in which the higheſt places are to be obtained by high birth merely, or family connections, by money, or the intereſt of women and prieſts, ſhould have thoſe fundamental rules, or have that political conſtitution, which is neceſſary for the people's happineſs? The prince's love of ſhew, is as remarkable as his goodneſs of heart; and both together induce him to think, that he is obliged to ſupport an idle and uſeleſs nobility. Hence whilſt other governments are uſing every

effort to cut off and reduce the exorbitant privileges of this claſs of men, and to rate them only according to their real ſervices, this court conſiders it as its duty to pamper and feed them, in holy idleneſs, like the frogs of Latona, or the geeſe of the capitol, at the expence of the ſtate. Would you think that there is, at this very time, a project on foot for inſtituting a new province of Knights of Malta in Bavaria, which will coſt millions? It is not merit, but nobility only, which will have any claim to this rich foundation. Whether the Chriſtian purpoſe of perſecuting the Saracens, or rather a particular predilection for this order has engaged the elector in it, I cannot tell; but thus far is certain, that the ſums ſpent by the knights during their noviciate at ſea (or rather at the gaming-table and revelling in the iſland of Malta) could be ſpent at home more profitably for their native country. But the leſs advantage the ſtate has to expect from this new inſtitution, the more certainly it will be concluded on. The only thing that can ſtop it, is the conſideration of where the funds for this purpoſe are to be had. In the mean time, I could mention to you the names of a hundred placemen to be found in the Court Calendar, whoſe duty I defy any man on earth to find out. Be it ſufficient as a ſpecimen to tell you, that this court keeps a Great Admiral for two or three ſhips on the Rhine.

Every thing here is calculated for ſhew. The army conſiſts of about thirty regiments, in which, notwithſtanding the preſent deſign of completing them, there are not eighteen thouſand men. One fourth part at leaſt are officers, amongſt whom there are ſeveral general field-marſhals. The titles and embroidered clothes of the inhabitants by no means ſecure a ſtranger from their begging from him. Yeſterday I went to ſee the handſome Jeſuit church, where, that I might not appear an idle ſpectator, I knelt down by ſome people in a pew; immediately a man, whom I had imagined from his dreſs to be a perſon of conſequence, moved nearer to me, preſented me with a pinch of ſnuff, and after ſome remarks on the beauty of the building, entered circumſtantially into a complaint of his neceſſities, and requeſted charity of me. The ſame thing had already happened to me in another church, where the beggar was a very well dreſſed woman. The police, which is ſo attentive to light, and keep the town clean, is in a manner obliged to permit thieves and pick-pockets to beg at the gates of the town, as it knows not how to find them employment or bread.

This deficiency in true and fixed principles of government, this love of ſhew, this confuſion of employment, from the too great number of uſeleſs, unpatriotic, idle dependants, occaſion hourly contradictions in the internal politics. Some little time ſince the miniſter, who had perhaps read Beccaria when he was half aſleep, or had heard that capital puniſhments and the torture were aboliſhed in Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Auſtria, affected the ſame ſpirit of philoſophy. However, it ſoon appeared to be but an affectation, for the thieves, murderers, and highwaymen, became ſoon ſo numerous, that an edict quickly appeared, which expoſed in the moſt glaring manner, the total incapacity of the court. This edict ſtated that, "however mild the prince was in his diſpoſition, and however firmly reſolved he had been to imitate the example of other powers, by introducing humane laws, he found himſelf notwithſtanding conſtrained to ſuffer the old puniſhments of hanging, breaking on the wheel, impaling, burning, and torturing to go forward as preſcribed by the Caroline code." Strange confeſſion! But why has not the mildneſs of the penal laws in Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Auſtria, been attended with the ſame conſequences which overſet the new ſyſtem in Bavaria? From no other reaſon than becauſe theſe powers have a firm, well concerted, and connected ſyſtem of government, which this court only copied in appearance, whilſt her real conduct and adminiſtration was

totally diſſonant to this philoſophy. There were no pains taken to correct the people of their inclination to theft and robbery, by good education, improved morals, and encouragement to induſtry. But ſurely the ſix millions which are to be thrown away on the new Malta buſineſs, might have been much better employed in the erection of ſchools, and houſes of induſtry, for the purpoſe of ſaving and reforming ſo many thouſands of men. And are not the ſumptuous opera houſes, the expenſive collections of curioſities, the palaces, gardens, and innumerable ſwarms of glittering ſervants, a reproach to the court? and do they not ſhew that the property of the ſubjects is in bad hands?

The eccleſiaſtics of this place are much divided at preſent. The ſame parties obtain here, which, by their heat and virulence to each other, drew ſo much notice in France.

The ex-jeſuits, with their adherents, are ſupported by the elector's confeſſor, who is one of their number; and at the head of the Benedictines are ſome very rich prelates, who make their way into the cabinet with gold, by means of mercenary ſervants, and ladies of the court. Some of them, if I am not miſtaken, are members of the eſtates of the country; but this gives them but little weight with a prince ſo jealous of his authority, that he has hitherto delayed taking the preſcribed oaths in the aſſemblies of the ſtates. However it is believed that they will get the better of the jeſuits, as gold is all powerful here. What the country will gain or loſe by this I know not. The Benedictines are like other monks, though not ſo opinionated and implacable as their enemies the jeſuits.

The intolerance of the jeſuits, who have now for a long time governed the elector, has been very prejudicial to the Palatinate. The proteſtants make at leaſt one half of the inhabitants of this country, and have many treaties of peace, and public ſtipulations granted for their ſecurity. In every ſtate they make the beſt of citizens; as their religious doctrines are conſonant to the ſoundeſt politics, and their prieſthood is never at variance with the civil power. Notwithſtanding this, they are expoſed to every ſpecies of oppreſſion, and the court ſeems to make a merit of rooting out this moſt valuable part of its ſubjects; whom, being blinded by the falſe arguments of the prieſts, it conſiders as weeds in the ſtate garden. The hypocrites diſguiſe their perſecuting ſpirit under the appearance of political zeal, and endeavour to perſuade the prince, that unity of religion is as eſſential to every ſtate, as unity of ſovereignty. In a proclamation for the ſuppreſſion of a ſmall, but very elegant poem againſt intolerance, I met with theſe words: "The author is deſirous of introducing into catholic Bavaria, a mixture of religions very dangerous to the ſtate." But let the court contemplate, or rather I ſhould ſay, would it had eyes to ſee how many ſalutary conſequences this mixture of religions has had in Holland, and how great the difference is between *catholic* Bavaria, and the country in which there are about thirty different ſects.

It was the ſame affectation of political zeal, that made the jeſuits in France uſe ſuch ſtrong efforts to get the edict of Nantes revoked. They accuſtomed Lewis XIV. from his childhood to conſider the reformed church as the ſecret enemy of the crown and the ſtate, and falſely charged on its peaceable ſubjects that ſpirit of perſecution, which they themſelves alone poſſeſſed. Our court has now diſcovered that the jeſuits were greater enemies to France than the reformed church; but at a time when we ſo loudly proclaim our errors, when the reformed church hopes to recover its loſt freedom of religion, when a Necker in office proves to all mankind how much jeſuitiſm is abhorred; here they continue to exclude Proteſtants from even the loweſt offices in the ſtate, and uſe every artifice to oppreſs them.

Nature

Nature always revenges her injured rights. The perſecuted heretics leave the Palatinate to cultivate the North American deſert, and the greater part of Bavaria remains a deſert.

LETTER X.

Munich.

A FEW days ago I had a very long and agreeable converſation with one of the few enlightened patriots, who here mourn in ſecret the fate of their country. We happened to ſpeak of the Emperor Charles VII. and the well known Bavarian war. I was obliged to allow that our miniſters of that time had behaved very ſhamefully to this court, and that the war would have turned out greatly to the advantage of Bavaria, if we had dealt more honourably by it. My friend was loud in his lamentations, and repeatedly mentioned how our army had ſtood by and ſeen the Bavarian troops attacked without ſtirring a man to their aſſiſtance; how the ſubſidy money was not paid; how our miniſter, by dint of great promiſes, which were never performed, prolonged the war to the ruin of Bavaria; with what violence our commanders had behaved on Bavarian ground, and ſo forth. All this I was forced to acknowledge; for I recollected what the Pruſſian miniſter at this court had ſaid to ours, when the latter would have exculpated himſelf, by ſaying that his maſters were fools. "*Das ſind Keine Dumm Kopfe; das ſind ſhurken (ce ne ſont pas des ſots; ce ſont des Coquins.)*" With this converſation on my mind, I could make no reply direct; but I had likewiſe heard from ſome of our old officers, who had ſerved in the war, and were intimately acquainted with the ſituation of this court, that its miniſters were ſtill greater fools and rogues than ours; that the emperor himſelf was more taken up with his roſary, his hounds, his prieſts, and miſtreſſes, (by whom he left about forty children,) than with the concerns of the country; that his ſervants were more ſtudious to gratify his humours and paſſions, than to promote the good of the nation. A ſtriking evidence of this was given by a certain count, who procured his own niece for him, and by the influence he thus gained over him, fruſtrated every good counſel of the true friends to the emperor. I knew alſo that our miniſter could not find a ſingle man here ſufficiently acquainted with public buſineſs to be employed in negotiations: that the ſubſidy money, which at firſt was regularly ſent from Verſailles, was expended in uſeleſs purpoſes: that the ſtipulated number of Bavarian troops was not completed, and that half the money was pocketed by the officers and paymaſters. I knew that the emperor, notwithſtanding his embarraſſed circumſtances, could not bring himſelf to demand contributions from the rich cloyſters, much leſs by cruſhing them, and taking poſſeſſion of ſome neighbouring church principalities, to recruit the ſtate of his finances, and give more ſecurity to his tottering throne *.

Upon this ſtatement of the caſe, my good friend was obliged to allow, that if things did not turn out as they ought to have done, the greateſt part of the blame was owing to Bavaria.

Since that time the court has been under the influence of a dæmon with a capuchin, which has perplexed its politics, robbed its treaſury, and put fools and traitors at the head of its affairs. Whilſt ſome of the leſſer potentates of Germany have been able to raiſe themſelves to a moſt reſpectable greatneſs, notwithſtanding the almoſt inſuperable obſtacles they have had to ſtruggle with, this old and mighty houſe has been forced to

* In the laſt of which he certainly acted juſtly.

behold

behold the wide boundaries of its poſſeſſions inceſſantly contracting, notwithſtanding the various favourable circumſtances that have concurred to elevate it, if it would have liſtened to the dictates of ſound policy. When the elector palatine was choſen King of Bohemia, who would have thought that his own couſin, the Duke of Bavaria, would have been the perſon to diſtreſs him moſt, and to increaſe the already dangerous power of Auſtria, at the expence of his own family? Had it not been for this, Bohemia would have been now under the ſame government as Bavaria and the Palatinate, and the preſent elector, a great king. At the peace of Weſtphalia, the members of the proteſtant league indemnified themſelves for the heavy expences of the Swediſh war, by putting themſelves in poſſeſſion of the neighbouring church principalities; but Bavaria, which had fought to the laſt drop of blood for the Pope and the Houſe of Auſtria, thought itſelf abundantly paid with the Electorate and the Upper Palatinate, (which it could only obtain by the failure of another branch of its own family,) and let ſlip the beſt opportunity of poſſeſſing itſelf of the biſhoprick of Saltzburg, with which it has ſo much wrangling at preſent, the biſhoprick of Frieſingen, which lies in its very boſom, and many other adjacent biſhopricks; ſo conſtantly has it ſtrove againſt its own proper intereſts, from the impreſſion of falſe religious tenets *.

Theſe wars, which we may ſay it has waged againſt itſelf; that on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; and laſtly, that of the Emperor Charles VII. have given great wounds to this Houſe, wounds which, however, it might have cured, had not religious prejudices and caprice rendered it blind, and inſenſible to its own internal ſituation. But now they rankle, and preſent an obſerver with the diſguſting ſpectacle of a deeply conſumptive body politic.

It was thought that the laſt elector had paid the greateſt part of the national debts; but on the acceſſion of the preſent prince, theſe expectations were found very erroneous. Some indeed of the oldeſt incumbrances have been paid off; but on the other hand, ſeveral new loans have been made. This elector was, indeed, quite unequal to the management of his own finances, which he left entirely to the diſpoſal of his ſervants, contenting himſelf if his expenſive hunting matches could be defrayed; and the preſent court ſeems to be as little inclined to limit the enormous expence of the opera-houſe, for the ſake of paying its debts, which may now amount to near twenty-five millions of florins, or 250,000l.

As I ſtrolled through the country, I ſhuddered at the ſight of the ravages which war had made. There is no town of any importance in all Bavaria, except the capital. You would never imagine what pitiful little holes, Landſberg, Waſſerbing, Landſhut, and many other places, which make a great figure on the map, are. To all appearance neither Ingoldſtadt, nor Straubingen, nor any of the greater towns, except Munich, contain above four thouſand ſouls. Nor are there more than forty of theſe towns; whereas Saxony, which is no larger than Bavaria, contains above two hundred and twenty, if the accounts in print are to be depended upon. But indeed the want of population in theſe parts is very remarkable, as well as the remains of thoſe vices which armies generally leave behind them. Excepting the brewer, baker, and innkeeper, you may ſeek in vain for a rich tradeſman. There is not a veſtige of induſtry either in town or country, but every body ſeems to conſider idleneſs and beggary as the happieſt ſtate of man.

As what Bavaria loſt at the peace of Teſchner, was nearly made up by the junction of the principalities of Neuburg and Sulzbach; we may reckon with the Palatinate, it

* Surely not falſe religious opinions, if theſe countries were only to be obtained by fraud and violence.

contains

contains as much ground as Suabia; that is, about ſeven hundred and twenty-nine ſquare miles. Now, in the Suabian circle, there are at leaſt one million ſix hundred thouſand people; whereas Bavaria, by a late calculation, has not above one million one hundred and eighty thouſand.

The ſouthern part of this country is very mountainous, but not ſo unfit for agriculture as geographers commonly report it to be. In many of the vallies of theſe vaſt mountains, the ſoil is excellent; and in one corner of them I found an ingenious and induſtrious huſbandman, the only character of the kind I could meet with in the whole country, who had gathered what he had ſown ſixteen fold. The part which extends from the capital to the Danube and the Inn, is the beſt arable land throughout the country, and is interſected by ſeveral well wooded hills. The Upper Palatinate, together with that part of the dukedom of Bavaria which lies beyond the Danube, conſiſts almoſt intirely of mountains. Theſe riſe gradually from the Danube to Fichtelberg and the Bohemian ridge of mountains, but are fit for every kind of agriculture.

A conſiderable part of this, by nature ſo highly favoured country, has lain waſte ſince the wars. There are many large tracts which the inhabitants call moſſes, but which are not ſo fenny and ſpungy as the turf and moor grounds of Holland and other countries. In many of them you may perceive traces of the old furrows, and there are proofs ſufficient that they have been cultivated, and might be eaſily cultivated again. Another part of Bavaria is ſtill covered with a luxuriant dark wood, and a third part lies conſtantly fallow without neceſſity. Upon the whole, it is more than probable, that hardly one half of the country is cultivated as it ought to be.

The country people, or farmers, are divided into four claſſes; into whole, half, and quarter farmers, and into thoſe called *hauſler*. The whole farmers plough with eight horſes, and are termed *einſiedler*; that is, hermits, becauſe their farm-houſes are at a diſtance from any village. Many of theſe farm-houſes command a territory of three miles in length and breadth, and the owners employ from twelve to fifteen horſes in their tillage (reckoning two horſes to every plough, which in ſome places is certainly too much, but in others alſo it is too little). Of ſuch farmers there may be about forty thouſand. A half farmer ploughs with four, and a quarter farmer with two horſes. The *hauſler* are day labourers to the reſt, and till their bits of property with cattle belonging to others.

We are not to infer the extent of every farmer's poſſeſſions from the number of his ploughs. The beſt fields lie fallow four, ſix or more years, juſt as the eſtabliſhed cuſtom may be, or the convenience or caprice of the owners may direct. As the farmers have no idea of meadow land, or of *ſtall food* for cattle, they excuſe themſelves for this ſlight kind of huſbandry, by pleading the want of manure.—The worthy friend with whom I had ſo many diſputes about the Bavarian war, defended the practice of his countrymen with great warmth. He contended, that the agriculture could not poſſibly be better than it was, becauſe the internal conſumption and the price of grain were too low, an inconvenience, ſays he, which is remedileſs; for exportation is impoſſible, on account of the want of navigable rivers; nor is it poſſible that the internal conſumption ſhould be well increaſed by manufactures, becauſe the rivers of Bavaria all running to Auſtria, it will be impoſſible for us to vie with that country, let us do what we will. This ſurely was mere ſophiſtical reaſoning, uſed to diſguiſe the inactivity and indolence of his countrymen. It would be hard indeed if navigable rivers were indiſpenſably neceſſary for the increaſe of manufactures. The greateſt part of the Swiſs manufactures are carried on the axle-tree; for what is exported by the Rhine, bears no compariſon with many commodities which are exported over land to Frankfort, Leipſig, &c. and

to

to all the north, and to France and Italy. But Bavaria ſhould not yet think of any foreign commerce, as the rules of prudence require that the miniſters ſhould ſee what is to be ſaved, before they conſider what is to be gained. Whatever is ſaved is gain, and the ſecureſt gain. How much gold does this country annually ſend away for cloth, ſtuffs, linen, flax, and rape-ſeed, oil, tobacco, leather, and a variety of other articles, the materials for furniſhing of which it has within itſelf.

But both court and people appear to be ſtruck blind to their true intereſt. You know that for many years paſt, there has been a great outcry through Germany, and very properly, for population, manufactures, and induſtry. It reached the ears of this court, who immediately, as was natural, began to imitate what was going forward. But without conſulting nature for her advice, without inquiring what productions of art would prove of moſt general uſe, and ſerve the moſt to keep the gold in the country, it thought only of thoſe which would make the greateſt ſhew, and ſtood high in the liſt of luxuries. Would you think it? in this unſpeakable want of many neceſſaries, they applied themſelves to manufacture porcelain, which could only be managed by artificial means, of which the moſt honourable was a ſmall lottery. They eſtabliſhed manufactures of tapeſtry, rich ſtuffs, and ſilks. They ſaved, indeed, by this manœuvre, the money exported to purchaſe the prieſts robes and ladies gala dreſſes, but the citizens and peaſants were obliged to wear foreign clothes.

One need only obſerve what goes forward here at the cuſtom-houſe, to be convinced that the principles of taxation are not underſtood as they ſhould be. When Auſtria determined to ſettle the cuſtom-houſe duties according to the rules of prudent policy, the officers of finance here ſaw nothing in it but a mode of increaſing the revenue; they therefore imitated the Auſtrian ſyſtem, but did not conſider that taxes on the importation of foreign wares are intended to operate as penalties, the reduction of which muſt be as agreeable to a wiſe government, as the diminution of the revenue of fines levied by courts of juſtice. The Auſtrian duties are connected with a great plan. They are intended to reduce the import of foreign wares as much as poſſible, by increaſing internal induſtry; and to leſſen the conſumption of ſuch foreign luxuries as are needleſs, by increaſing the price of them. But inſtead of uſing the cuſtom-houſe books as Auſtria does, as indications of what manufactures are to be encouraged, that the money paid for them may be kept in the country, the financiers of Bavaria conſider them as ſo many ſources of poſitive revenue, which are rather to be increaſed than leſſened.

I ſhould not have troubled you ſo long with theſe particulars of the ſtate-œconomy, if I had not thought myſelf in ſome meaſure obliged to ſhew you in detail, that here they know nothing of the matter.

LETTER XI.

Munich.

A PICTURE of the Bavarian character and manners by Hogarth would be extremely intereſting. Great ſingularity of character is often to be met with in England; but what Bavaria offers exceeds any thing to be ſeen elſewhere. You know I am no painter; ſo if I endeavour to point out to you the peculiarities of Bavaria in the abſtract, my deſcriptions will have none of that life and expreſſion which diſtinguiſh Hogarth's groups, or Shakeſpeare's ſcenes. However I will do my endeavour.

To proceed methodically—for you cannot conceive what a method ſticks to me in all I do, ſince I have breathed the air of Germany—I ſhall anatomize the body of the Bavarian, before I proceed to the analyſis of his mind. In general the Bavarian is ſtout bodied, muſcular, and fleſhy. There are, however, ſome ſlender people among them

them who may paſs for handſome. They are ſomething leſs roſy cheeked than the Suabians, a difference probably ariſing from their drinking beer inſtead of wine, as the others do.

The characteriſtic of a Bavarian is a very round head, a little peaked chin, a large belly, and a pale complexion. Many of them look like caricatures of man. They have great fat bellies, ſhort clubbed feet, narrow ſhoulders, a thick round head, and ſhort necks. They are heavy and aukward in their carriage, and their ſmall eyes betray a great deal of roguery. The women, in general, are ſome of the moſt beautiful creatures in the world. They are, indeed, ſomething groſs, but their ſkin ſurpaſſes all the carnation ever uſed by painters; the pureſt lily white is ſoftly tinged with purple, as if by the hands of the graces. I ſaw ſome peaſant girls with ſuch clear complexions, that they appeared quite tranſparent. They are well ſhaped, and more lively and graceful in their geſtures than the men.

In the capital they dreſs in the French ſtyle, or at leaſt imagine that they do ſo, for the men are ſtill too fond of gold and mixed colours. The country people dreſs without any taſte at all. The chief ornament of the men is a long broad waiſtcoat, ſtrangely embroidered, from which their breeches hang very low and looſe, probably to give free play to their bellies, which is the chief part of a Bavarian. The women diſguiſe themſelves with a ſort of ſtays in the ſhape of a funnel, which cover the breaſt and ſhoulders, ſo as to hide the whole neck. This ſtiff dreſs is covered with ſilver beads, and thickly overlaid with ſilver chains. In many places the houſewife has a bunch of keys and a knife appendant to a girdle, which reach almoſt to the ground.

As to the characters and manners of the Bavarians, the inhabitants of the capital naturally differ very much from the country people. The character of the inhabitants of Munich is a riddle to me, and would remain ſo if I were to ſtay here many years. I believe, indeed, that it may be truly ſaid, that they have no character at all. Their manners are corrupt, as muſt be the caſe with forty thouſand men who depend entirely on a court, and, for the moſt part, go idle at its expence.

Amongſt the great nobles, you meet here, as well as elſewhere, with very well bred and polite people; but the people, taking the word in its full extent, are, in an eminent degree, deſtitute of any ſenſe of honour, without education, without any activity for the ſtate, attachment to the country, or generous feeling whatever. The fortunes of this place are from 1500 to 3 or 4,000l. per annum; but the poſſeſſors know no other uſe of their money than to ſpend it in ſenſual gratifications. Many good houſes have been entirely ruined by play. The faſhionable game at the court was formerly called *zwicken*, or *pinch*; but ſince Hombeſch, the miniſter of finance, has pinched their ſalaries ſo confoundedly, they call it *Hombeſch*. Many of the court ladies know of no other employment than playing with their parrots, their dogs, or their cats. One of the principal ladies whom I am acquainted with, keeps a hall full of cats, and two or three maids to attend them: ſhe converſes half the day long with them, often ſerves them herſelf with coffee and ſugar, and dreſſes them according to her fancy differently every day.

The ſmall nobles and ſervants of the court, have a pitiable paſſion for titles. Before the preſent elector came here, the place ſwarmed with excellencies, honourable, and right honourable. As this was not the cuſtom at Manheim, an order was made to aſcertain the different ranks of nobleſſe. All thoſe whom it deprived of excellency, honourable, &c. and particularly (would you think it?) the women, were ſunk in deſpair; and for the firſt time complaints were made of tyranny, of which none before ſeemed to have any conception.

The remainder of the inhabitants are immerſed in the moſt ſcandalous debauch. Every night the ſtreets re-echo with the noiſe of drunkards iſſuing from the numerous taverns, where they have been revelling and dancing. Whoever is at all noble here muſt keep his miſtreſs; the reſt indulge in promiſcuous love. In this reſpect things are not much better in the country.

Bavaria, indeed, well deſerves the character given it by an officer of Gaſcony, of being the greateſt brothel in the world.

The country people are extremely dirty. A few miles diſtant from the capital, one would hardly take the hovels of the peaſants for the habitations of men. Many of them have large puddles before the doors of their houſes, and are obliged to ſtep over planks into them. The thatched roofs of the country people, in many parts of France, have a much better appearance, than the miſerable huts of the Bavarian peaſants; the roofs of which are covered with ſtones, in order that the ſlates may not be carried away by the wind. Mean as this looks, cheap as nails are in the country, and often as half the roofs are torn away by ſtrong winds, yet cannot the rich farmer be perſuaded to nail his ſhingles properly together. In ſhort, from the court to the ſmalleſt cottage, indolence is the moſt predominant part of the character of the Bavarian.

This great indolence is contraſted, in an extraordinary manner, with a ſtill higher degree of bigotry.—I happened to ſtroll into a dark, black country beer-houſe, filled with clouds of tobacco, and on entering was almoſt ſtunned with the noiſe of the drinkers. By degrees, however, my eyes penetrated through the thick vapours, when I diſcovered the prieſt of the place in the middle of fifteen or twenty drunken fellows. His black coat was juſt as much bedaubed as the frocks of his flock, and like the reſt of them, he had cards in his left hand, which he ſtruck ſo forcibly on the dirty table, that the whole chamber trembled. At firſt, I was ſhocked at the violent abuſe they gave each other, and thought they were quarrelling; but ſoon found that all the blackguard appellations which ſhocked me were only modes of friendly ſalutation among them. Every one of them had now drank his ſix or eight pots of beer, and they deſired the landlord to give each a dram of brandy, by way, they ſaid, of locking the ſtomach. But now their good humour departed, and I preſently ſaw, in all their looks and geſtures, the moſt ſerious preparation for a fray. This at length broke out. At firſt the prieſt took vain pains to ſuppreſs it. He ſwore and roared at laſt as much as the reſt. Now one ſeized a pot, and threw it at his adverſary's head, another clenched his fiſt, a third pulled the legs from a ſtool to knock his enemy on the head. Every thing, in ſhort, ſeemed to ſpeak blood and death; when, on the ringing of the bell for evening prayer, 'Ave Maria, ye ——!' cried the prieſt, and down dropped their arms, they pulled off their bonnets, folded their hands, and repeated their Ave Marias. It put me in mind of the adventure in Don Quixote, where peace is ſuddenly reſtored in the great fray, on account of the helmet of Mambrino, and the aſs's collar, by the recollection of what paſſed in the Agramantine camp. As ſoon, however, as prayers were over, they were all ſeized again with their former fury, which was the more violent from the momentary interruption it had met with. Pots and glaſſes began to fly. I obſerved the curate creep under the table for ſecurity, and I withdrew into the landlord's bed-chamber.

The ſame ſcenes occur in the inland towns among the citizens, officers, clergymen, and ſtudents. They all ſalute each other with abuſive language; all vie in hard drinking; and cloſe to every church, which are ſcarce leſs than 28,700, there is regularly a beer-houſe and a brothel. A ſtudent at the univerſity of Ingoldſtadt muſt carry a thick cudgel, and wear a neat cut hat; he muſt be able to drink from eight to ten

quarts of beer at a ſitting, and be always ready to fight, right or wrong, with the officers of the garriſon that is quartered there. You may ſuppoſe that this does not tend to raiſe the reputation of the univerſity, which is, indeed, but thinly viſited, though the profeſſors are able men, and do their duty, although a proclamation came out ſome years ſince to forbid any Bavarian from ſtudying out of the country.

No pen can deſcribe the ridiculous mixtures of debauchery and devotion which every day happen. The moſt notorious is that which took place in the church of St. Mary, Oettingen, a few years ſince, when a prieſt actually deflowered a girl whom he had long purſued, and could only make a prize of there before the altar of the Virgin.

The country people join to their indolence and devotion a certain ferocity of temper, which often gives riſe to bloody ſcenes. When they mean to praiſe a church holiday, or ſome public feſtival which has lately been kept, they ſay,—ſuch a one was a charming affair; there were ſix or eight people killed or made cripples at it. If nothing of this kind has been done, it is called a mere nothing, a fiddle-faddle buſineſs. In the laſt century, and the beginning of this, the Bavarian troops maintained the firſt reputation among the German forces. At the battle of Hockſtedt, they kept their ground and imagined themſelves victors, till the elector who led them was informed that the French had given way in the other wing. Under Tilly and Mercy they likewiſe did wonders; but ſince the time of theſe generals, military diſcipline has ſo far relaxed amongſt them, that they are no longer ſoldiers. Indeed no people can ſhew more abhorrence to every thing which is called diſcipline and order, than the Bavarians do. They might, however, ſtill be uſeful as free-booters, whoſe robberies and all irregularities are more pardonable than thoſe of regular troops. There are bands of robbers about, which are one thouſand men ſtrong, and would undoubtedly make good ravaging parties in time of war. There have been inſtances of their fighting againſt the military, under bold leaders, to the very laſt man. But the pooreſt peaſant conſiders it as a hardſhip to be drafted into the regular troops of his prince.

The inhabitants of the capital, on the other hand, are the moſt weak, timid, and ſubſervient people in the world. They have no quickneſs of parts at all, and you will ſeek in vain in the town for that liberty, which ſometimes indeed degenerates into coarſeneſs of manners, but is ſtill the moſt agreeable trait in the character of the country people. Under the laſt government, while the people of Munich were crouching under a deſpotic miniſter, and only ventured to murmur in ſecret, the country people diſcovered their diſcontent with a freedom which threatened dangerous conſequences. At the ſame time, an unbounded and inexpreſſible love for their prince prevailed on them to pull down the incloſures of their fields at the command of the maſter of the hounds, in order that the game might paſture there. They ſpake with raptures of the amiable qualities of their lord; indeed they did not paſs over his faults, but tried to excuſe him for them, and loaded his ſervants, without reſerve, with their heavieſt curſes, and thus gave every ſtranger a juſt idea of the court, while the inhabitants of the town, in the dedicatory addreſſes of books and poems, extolled the tyrants of the land to heaven. The country people judge as impartially of the preſent government. I ſhould not, however, have obtained any account of the prince or his ſervants, if I had not got acquainted with ſome foreign artiſts belonging to the court, who were more intereſted in the ſtate of them both than the natives, who are infatuated with their beer pots. Every ſhoe-black in Paris knows all the great people of the court, pries into their private life as well as their politics, and condemns or approves at diſcretion; but here you meet with many court-counſellors and ſecretaries, who know nothing of the great people except their names. To conclude, the unadulterated Bavarian peaſant is gruff, fat, dirty, lazy,

lazy, drunken, and undiſciplined; but he is brave, œconomical, patriotic, and ſuch a ſlave to his word, that when it has once been given it is never broke. As to his hatred of regular diſcipline, it is partly owing to the diſcouragement thrown upon the military way of life by the clergy, and partly to there being no proviſion for diſabled ſoldiers. Something too ariſes from the prince's not being military; for in the year 1778, when the imperial troops were recruiting at Straubingen, and carried about with them a picture of the emperor in his uniform, many of the natives immediately enliſted on hearing that the emperor was a ſoldier.

LETTER XII.

Munich.

YOU are extremely right in thinking that this court would be of great conſequence, if it knew how to make uſe of its powers. It is able to meaſure ſwords with the king of Denmark, and Sweden is not much ſuperior to it in force; for if we take from the ſum total of the ſubjects of this northern potentate's power, the Laplanders and the reſt of its almoſt entirely unſerviceable people, what remains will ſcarce exceed the population of this territory. Bavaria has one million one hundred and eighty thouſand; the Palatinate on the Rhine two hundred and twenty thouſand; and the dukedoms of Julich and Berg about two hundred and ſixty thouſand men. The total number, therefore, of the ſubjects of this court, amounts to about one million ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand. I know that in ſome ſtate papers they are reckoned at little more than one million four hundred thouſand, but certainly the ſubjects who live in Weſtphalia are not included in this calculation.

There is likewiſe a great difference about the income of the court. The very induſtrious, and in general the very accurate, Mr. Buſching tells us, in the laſt edition of his excellent work, that he is informed from good authority, that the income of Bavaria amounts to eight millions of Rheniſh florins, or 800,000l. and this agrees with the calculation commonly made here. I told you, however, in my laſt, that very few people here are acquainted with the ſtate of the court, and that they are induced, by a ridiculous vanity, to make more of things than they are. Some, who ought to have been in the ſecret, would have perſuaded me, that the court had from twelve to ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds yearly income. I ſaw it was impoſſible to get at the truth, otherwiſe than by inquiring particularly at the proper offices into the ſtate of finances; at laſt, after long ſearch, I made out, with tolerable certainty, that the aggregate income from the taxes, cuſtoms, exciſe, foreſts, mines, &c. hardly amounted to 500,000l. In this eſtimate, one of the moſt conſiderable articles, the trade with the Saltzburg and Riechenhaller ſalt, is not included. This is reckoned by ſome at two millions, but it is moſt highly probable that it does not produce more than one. We may therefore moſt ſafely ſtate the income of Bavaria at ſix millions of florins, or 600,000l. The revenue of the Palatinate on the Rhine amounts to about 1,700,000 guilders, or 170,000l.; and that of the countries in the circle of Weſtphalia to about 1,500,000, or 150,000l.; ſo that on the whole, this court may have a revenue of nine millions of florins, or about 900,000l. You perceive by this ſtatement, that the income from the lands on the Rhine amounts to ſomething more than the half of the revenues of Bavaria, notwithſtanding that it does not contain one half as many inhabitants as Bavaria; but this difference, as well as that which the profitable Bavarian ſalt occaſions, is overbalanced by the better employment of the abovementioned lands, by more diligent huſbandry, by greater taxes, by more lively trade, and by more profitable duties of all kinds.

If Bavaria were as well peopled and cultivated in proportion to its extent as the countries

tries on the Rhine connected with it are, it would yield three or four millions of florins more. I have told you already, that it contains a ſpace of ſeven hundred and twenty-nine ſquare miles. The Palatinate and the dukedoms of Julich and Berg, all together, hardly contain two hundred and forty ſquare miles; but this ſpace, which is not a third as large as Bavaria, has half as many inhabitants in it, and yields more than half as much revenue.

This difference ariſes, in a great meaſure, from the great attention paid to monks in this country; an attention which muſt neceſſarily prevent any increaſe of population, any exceſs of knowledge, any induſtry, or a more improved cultivation to the country. There are two hundred cloiſters in this country, and at leaſt five thouſand monks. Many of theſe cloiſters have incomes of 3000l. or 4000l. a year; that of Niederalteich has not leſs than 10,000l. per annum.* Without exaggerating, one may rate the revenue of the cloiſters, and other religious foundations of this country, at about two millions of florins, or 200,000l., which is a third part of the whole income of the country. The damage which the monks do the country is moſt notorious. This appears with regard to the farmers called hermits, whoſe children they are very aſſiduous to make monks of, becauſe they receive with every one of them, one, two, three, or more thouſand florins. The conſequence to the country is, that by this diminution of the laborious part of the community, the property remains in too few hands, and the country is never above half cultivated. The country alſo loſes ſomething by the ſons of the other farmers who are bred in convents; for the education given them unfits them for every profeſſion, but thoſe of idle authors or comedians.—The propenſity to idle life, to feaſting, and beggary, which reigns over all Bavaria, is countenanced and ſanctioned by the example of the fat prieſts. The people envy them ſtrongly their bleſſed idleneſs. The jugglery, the brotherhoods, church feaſts, and corner devotions of theſe holy quacks, employ the attention of the multitude ſo much, that they ſpend the third part of their time amongſt them.—Intereſt prompts them to keep the people in a ſtate of ſtupidity, and therefore they are conſtantly in the field ready to oppoſe, with almoſt inconceivable fury, every thing which tends to improve and enlighten the underſtanding. They alone are to be thanked for the ſhocking wildneſs of manners which appears in Bavaria. Their cowls contain the eſſence of chriſtianity and all morality. They preach nothing but maſſes, which are very profitable to them, the roſary, the ſcapulaire and ridiculous mortification to the body, by which means many a blockhead has got the name of a ſaint. The deceived countryman believes, that confeſſion and a maſs, which coſts fifteen pence, will wipe away the fouleſt ſins, and conſiders the telling his beads as his moſt eſſential duty. The ſecular prieſts are as few in number as the monks are many. Theſe ought naturally to form the manners of the country; but they are held in much leſs veneration than the others, becauſe their dreſs and appearance is not ſo extraordinary. In Bavaria, however, they do not deſerve more reſpect than the monks; for the greater part of them differ from the peaſants only by wearing black, having a more expenſive table, and a handſomer and better dreſſed houſe-keeper. In other things they are equally lazy, untutored, and ignorant.—Their pariſhes are four miles in compaſs, and produce from four to 600l. per annum. What an advantage it would be to the country, if theſe livings were to be divided into five or ſix ſmaller ones, and filled with a better race of holy ſhepherds! At the ſame time, the monks ſhould be prohibited from interpoſing in the care of ſouls, or what would be rather more advantageous, though not to be expected under this government, they ſhould be extirpated altogether.

If

If the eſtates of the convents, which formerly belonged to the electors, and were given away in melancholy moments, were to be re-aſſumed, and if all foreigners without exception were allowed a free exerciſe of their religion, their national debts would be very ſoon diſcharged, and the country immediately put on quite a different appearance. But Charles Theodore is ſo far from being capable of ſuch exertions, and is ſo little acquainted with his own intereſt, and with that of his country, as to be founding a new convent in the Palatinate on the Rhine, and making a preſent of the wealth of the ex-jeſuits (another ſort of monks) to the knights of Malta. What ſhall we ſay of the private man who is loaded with debts, and yet makes religious foundations? But here no reaſoning will apply.

The overbearing greatneſs of many Bavarian farmers gave riſe to ſome conſiderations in my mind, which deſerve to be farther noticed. I divide the country people into three claſſes; 1ſt. Into thoſe whoſe properties are too ſmall to live by, and who muſt ſerve others to obtain their full maintenance. 2dly. Into ſuch as can depend on means ſufficient from their own property. And 3dly, Into thoſe who poſſeſs more than is neceſſary for the convenient ſupport of a family, and who are called, more or leſs, rich farmers. At firſt ſight it appears fair enough, that the land-tax ſhould be equal for all, and that all ſhould pay in proportion to the ground they hold; but it is not ſo; on the contrary it is a great political error to make the peaſant, who has not half ſufficient to maintain his family, pay as much in proportion as he who has a full competency; for firſt, it is a political axiom, that three or four middling citizens are more valuable to a ſtate than one rich one, although his capital may much exceed that of the others; and ſecondly, though an entirely equal partition of poſſeſſions and gold in a ſtate, were it poſſible, would indeed be madneſs; ſtill, under the conviction it is impoſſible every prudent ruler will conduct his adminiſtration as if it were not ſo. The moſt unhappy countries are thoſe in which the greateſt riches and the greateſt poverty are to be met with at the ſame time. Such a ſtate cannot ſubſiſt long: one part of the inhabitants muſt be deſpots, the other ſlaves. In the fermentation incidental to ſuch a country, perſons really free are either thrown out or deſtroyed.—One over-rich farmer gradually ſwallows up all the poor in his circuit. He lends money on the ground of the poor, ſeizes the occaſion of a barren year to purchaſe cheap a little property of his neighbour, and when he is not reſtrained by feelings of honour, has innumerable artifices to get poſſeſſion of any piece of ground which lies convenient for him. I ſaw with aſtoniſhment, in ſome republican ſtates, how ſome rich farmers had found means to diſpoſſeſs a whole community, and become the tyrants of the neighbourhood. In monarchies the evil is not ſo great; but, however, it is always ſufficiently ſo to require to be oppoſed with every nerve.

Let us now compare the advantages which a rich farmer can draw from his lands, with the advantages reſulting to a middling, or a poor one. The poor man muſt ſell his produce as quickly as poſſible, and generally at a low price, becauſe his creditors are urgent. The middling one cannot keep the price up long, becauſe he is in danger of being obliged to borrow money, and of loſing by the intereſt as much as he could gain by laying by. But the rich one can ſpeculate, and ſeldom bargains at the low price at which the others are obliged to ſell the earnings of their ſweat and toil. He buys grain from the low people round about, or he has previouſly advanced them the price of their crops; they muſt therefore let him have it at his own price, and then he raiſes the price of grain in the market. By inundations, or hail ſtorms, the ſmall farmer has often not ſeed enough for the enſuing year. The piece of ground in courſe

lies

lies waſte; and when the rich man poſſeſſes it, he cultivates it with double and treble profit, and becomes, at the expence of the poor and the ſtate, richer and richer, till at laſt, often to the great injury of population, a dozen ſmall farms are ſwallowed up by him; the young gentleman, his ſon, who is meanwhile at ſtudy, will not any longer continue in the country, but fixes himſelf in town, lets his lands, and adds another inſignificant idler to the ſtate.

Ought not, then, the rich farmer to contribute ſomething more to the ſtate, in return for thoſe advantages which he derives from having his property ſo much better circumſtanced than that of his neighbours?

I conceive it, therefore, highly juſt that, in the impoſition of taxes, ſome reſpect ſhould be paid to the different kind and condition of farmers. The poor one ſhould not pay ſo much in proportion for a piece of ground as the middling one, nor the latter ſo much as the rich one. On the contrary, the ſtate ſhould endeavour to relieve the poor one till he became as thriving as the middling one, and to prevent the laſt from aggrandizing himſelf to the injury of population. I would alſo in my republic, which, like unformed chaos, is yet floating in infinity of ſpace, fix ſome middle point, and in the laying of taxes, make the tax to correſpond with the degree in which the income of a ſingle farmer falls ſhort of or exceeds this point. For example:—In my republic a thriving farmer ſhould be one who poſſeſſed land to the amount of ſix thouſand florins of property. Thus every one who had under four thouſand florins of capital, ſhould pay one per cent; he who varied between four or five to ſix thouſand dollars, two per cent; he who poſſeſſed more, three per cent.; and whoever poſſeſſed the double of ſo much, ſhould pay four per cent. for all that was above the middle point. Thus, in purchaſing a piece of ground, the poor would have a juſt advantage over a middling farmer, and the middling one over the rich. It is true, my officers would have occaſion for more arithmetic, and it would be neceſſary to run a little more up and down;—but leave me to take care of that, when I have once got my ſtate upon a ſure ground and eſtabliſhment.

To return now to our * Bavaria, you can very eaſily and clearly imagine to yourſelf how far it is from being what it might be made. If the debts were paid off, the number of ſubjects and quantity of income would enable the elector to keep a ſtanding army of forty or fifty or fifty thouſand men; and could, as things now are, if theſe parts of his poſſeſſions were as well cultivated as the country on the Rhine, increaſe them to ſixty thouſand, and command high reſpect from his mightieſt neighbours. When his ſucceſſor comes to the government, the reſources will ſtill be granted by the acceſſion of the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, and poſſibly alſo the ſtate œconomy will be better.

LETTER XIII.

Saltzburg.

THE way from Munich here is very dull. It lies through a vaſt plain, only here and there broken by gentle elevations. The many dark woods, the miſerable and thin ſcattered peaſantry, the want of towns, and the continual dread of robbers, make one haſten

* The many projects which the author has formed for Bavaria, gave him a right to call the one made by him *his* Bavaria. In the year 1740 an Auſtrian general made frequent uſe of the expreſſion, *Notre Baviere.* A French officer, who was treating with him for an exchange of priſoners, heard him a long time, and at laſt ſaid, "*Monſieur, nous avons une chanſon dont le refrein eſt: Quand j'ai bien bu, tout la terre eſt a moi.*'

out of Bavaria as quickly as poſſible. For ſeventeen long German miles there is no place of note but the dark Waſſerburg, which ſtands on one of the barren ſand-hills, through which the river Inn winds.

When you come to the frontiers of Saltzburg things mend. The proſpects are more varied, the habitations of the peaſants appear neater, and the cultivation of the country improves. About half a mile from this town there is one of the prettieſt proſpects I have ever met with. Conceive to yourſelf a vaſt amphitheatre; the back ground of the picture is occupied by high rocks lifting up their heads to heaven. Some of them, which are rather on the ſide, are in the ſhape of pyramids. Theſe vaſt maſſes terminate by degrees in wooded mountains to the back, and in beautiful and cultivated hills to the ſide of the proſpect. Preciſely in the midſt of this ſcene ſtands the town, which is commanded by the caſtle ſtanding on a high rock. The river Saltz gives the mixed landſcapes ſtill more life. Here and there it ſpreads itſelf out, and its banks in many places are ſhaded with deep hanging woods.

The country about this town forms a ſtriking contraſt with the barren, deſolate wilds of Munich. It is indeed very ſtriking, and exhibits a matchleſs and admirable union of nature and art. The ſtream divides itſelf into two unequal parts. To the weſtward, where the greateſt part of the town lies, there riſes on the wide plain a high; round, ſteep and hard rock, which has the caſtle as a crown on it. The river winds along by the foot of this rock, and at a ſmall diſtance from it, there riſes a mountain of ſoft ſtone directly perpendicular on both ſides, and about one hundred feet high. Upon this natural wall, which is much higher than the higheſt houſe of the town, there grows a thick wood, in the midſt of which are ſeveral plantations. Through the part of the wall where it is only ſixty feet broad, they have cut a handſome paſſage. On the other ſide of the river, there is the moſt romantic rock ever ſeen. It is a kind of naked wall, which ſtretches along the plain from the river for three miles, and is five hundred feet high. I cannot better deſcribe the peculiarity of this ſituation to you, than by bidding you conceive the town as the centre of a ſemi-circle of hills, the two parts of the river as ſemi-diameters, and this wall as a radius of the circle.

The town itſelf is very handſome—the houſes are high, and built all of ſtone. The roofs of the houſes are in the Italian taſte, and you may walk out upon them. The cathedral is the handſomeſt building I have ſeen ſince I left Paris. It is built of freeſtone, and is an imitation of St. Peter's at Rome. The portico is of marble, and the whole is covered with copper. Before the portico there is a large quadrangular place, with arches and galleries, in which is the Prince's reſidence, and the abbey of St. Peter. In the middle of this place there is a ſtatue of the Virgin in Bronze; it is fine, but of an unnatural ſize. There are large areas, encompaſſed with handſome buildings, on both ſides of the church. In the middle of that which is to the left, there is the moſt magnificent fountain of marble I ever ſaw, and ſome valuable figures of gigantic ſize. There is likewiſe a fountain in that to the right, but it is not to be compared with the former one, and the Neptune of it makes but a very pitiful figure. This town contains many more excellent buildings and ſtatutes, which remind you that the borders of Italy are not far diſtant.

As far as I know of the inhabitants, they appear very ſocial, open, and lively, and uncommonly attached to ſtrangers. Until I ſhall get better acquainted with them, I muſt give you an account of ſome excurſions I made into ſeveral parts of Bavaria, in my way from Munich.

Freyſingen, an epiſcopal reſidence, though not ill built, is on the whole a miſerable little place. It conſiſts ſolely of monks, ſtrumpets, a few melancholy ſtudents, and poor

mechanics. The prince's caſtle is pleaſantly ſituated upon the ſide of a mountain, from which it commands a delightful proſpect over great part of Bavaria, and the mountains of Tyrol and Saltzburg. The biſhop's poſſeſſions lie ſcattered through Bavaria and Auſtria. His income may perhaps amount to 30,000 florins, or 3000l. a year, and he keeps his lord high ſteward, his maſter of the hounds, his counſellors, his body guards, his muſic, and his cook and butler, which two laſt have undoubtedly the moſt to do.

From Freyſingen I travelled on to Ratiſbon, a dark, melancholy, and very large town, which you know is the ſeat of the diet, and contains about twenty-two thouſand inhabitants. I really do not know what to ſay to you about it, except that the bridge over the Danube is a very heavy one, which was built by the Devil, and that I met with very good quarters at the White Lamb, the maſter of which is the civileſt and moſt accommodating landlord that I have yet found in Germany. One would imagine the number of envoys from the different princes of the empire who are conſtantly reſident here, would give life to the place; but you cannot think how dead every thing is. If it were not for the prince of Thurn and Taxis, the Emperor's principal commiſſary, and poſt-maſter-general of the empire, you would not believe the town to be the ſeat of the diet. But this gentleman, whoſe income is about four hundred thouſand florins, or 40,000l. per annum, gives operas, comedies, wild-beaſt baitings, balls, and fire-works. He is indeed a very worthy perſon, and does honour to his place by his greatneſs of mind and noble way of thinking. This gentleman may be ſaid to do the honours of the diet in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word; for the reſt of the Ambaſſadors are forced to live very œconomically, on account of the ſmallneſs of their incomes. Many of them go about in hackney-coaches. As every thing that is for their uſe comes into the city duty free, the people of the place make heavy complaints of their ſervants for carrying on a large contraband trade. Indeed they conceive that what they loſe by this, is more than an equivalent for what they gain by the diet in other reſpects. The fact is, that the Ambaſſadors from the greateſt powers, who have large incomes, and ſeem to be paid for holding great ſtate, hold none; and as the other miniſters regulate themſelves by their example, one may be ſeveral weeks in town without being ſenſible that the diet is aſſembled. Our Ambaſſador is one of the foreigners who is moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge. Both he and the ſecretary to the embaſſy, Mr. Heriſſant, the ſon of a bookſeller at Paris, are particularly well acquainted with German politics, and alſo with German literature.

The buſineſs of the diet is very tedious. This is owing to the prevalence of party on all great occaſions, and the jealouſy which the great powers entertain of each other; for the forms according to which buſineſs is done, are in themſelves very ſimple. The diet conſiſts of three colleges, to wit, the electorate, that of the princes, and that of the college of the ſtates. The two firſt are called the higher colleges, though they have no eſſential pre-eminence over the other in the common buſineſs of the diet. All theſe colleges aſſemble in a hall, to receive the Emperor's propoſitions; thence they retire into three ſeparate chambers, where the votes of each other are collected, in a manner well calculated for the purpoſe. The majority decides in each chamber as to the rules of that chamber, and ſo does the majority of the three colleges as to the determination of the whole. When the three colleges are unanimous, it is called a concluſion of the diet, and is laid before the Emperor, or his principal commiſſary, as a judgment of the diet. When one college differs from the two others, its concluſions are tranſmitted to the Emperor. The reſolutions agreed on are immediately executed, and at the concluſion of the diet, are entered among the decrees of the empire.

The electoral college, beſides the advantage it naturally derives from the ſmall number of voters in it, whoſe deciſions are ſtill of as much weight as thoſe of the other two, has a great additional influence from the circumſtance of the five ſecular members of it having near twenty votes in the college of princes. Since the death of the laſt elector of Bavaria, it conſiſts but of eight voices; the elector and Archbiſhop of Mentz is the preſident. It is not yet ſettled who is to have the deciſive voice in caſe of an equality; but as this is an event to be expected, it is thought that there will ſoon be a ninth elector choſen from the houſe of Wirtemberg or Heſſe-Caſſel. The only obſtacle is the jealouſy of ſome of the electoral houſes, leſt the Emperor ſhould propoſe one of his own dependants.

In the college of princes there are in all one hundred votes, of which thirty-three are eccleſiaſtical, ſixty-one ſecular, and ſix collective. Theſe laſt conſiſt of the two benches of prelates and abbeſſes, namely, the Suabian and Rheniſh, and of the four colleges of the counts of the empire, namely, the Wetteravian, Suabian, Weſtphalian and Franconian. Each college of counts, and each bench of prelates, has one vote. There are twenty members on the bench of Suabian prelates, and nineteen on that of the Rheniſh ones. The Wetteravian college of counts has ten members, the Suabian twenty, the Franconian ſixteen, and the Weſtphalian thirty-four. There are many counts of the empire who are not included in this number, becauſe though they have been raiſed to the dignity of count, they have not yet taken their ſeat at the diet. Other ſeats are vacant, becauſe the lands they are attached to have fallen into greater houſes, the maſters of which conſider the privilege of voting as counts, as ſlender and inconſiderable. The college of princes has this privilege peculiar to it, that one houſe can have many votes; thus the preſent Elector Palatine has ſeven votes, and his ſucceſſor, the Duke of Deux-Ponts, will have eight; the King of Pruſſia has five, and after the death of the preſent Prince of Anſpach and Bareith, will have ſeven; the Elector of Brunſwick has five. This ariſes from the rank of principality in the empire being veſted in the property, not in the perſon; ſo one perſon may poſſeſs ſeveral properties, each of which ſeparately claims his title of principality. Auſtria and Saltzburg take it by turns to preſide over this college, the one one day, and the other the next. The Archbiſhop of Beſançon, and the King of Sardinia, as Duke of Savoy, have for a long time left off ſending miniſters to the diet, ſo the college of princes conſiſts now only of ninety-eight votes. The college of the ſtates conſiſts of fifty-one, and is divided into two, namely, the Suabian and Rheniſh. On the firſt there are thirty-ſeven, and on the other fourteen ſeats. The ſtate in which the diet is held has the direction.

The imperial court has a great influence in all the three colleges. The three eccleſiaſtical electors have been almoſt conſtantly creatures of the Emperor, who ſpares neither gold, threats, nor promiſes, to inſpire the canons of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, in the choice of a new archbiſhop. Formerly our court uſed the ſame methods of acquiring influence in the empire; but that channel is now ſtopped up for ever, by the vigilance and activity of the court of Vienna. The Emperor has the ſame weight in the princes' college. Almoſt all the eccleſiaſtical princes are his true ſons. The chapter of Luttoch is the only one, in modern times, which has dared to withſtand the Emperor's influence in the election of the ſovereign. Beſides theſe means of gaining influence, it has always been the maxim of the imperial court to raiſe the members of the hereditary dominion, who poſſeſſed the ſmalleſt fief in the empire, to the dignity of princes, in order to inſure them a ſeat and a vote in the diet. It is thus that the houſes of Lobkowits, Dieteichſtein, Schwarzenberg, Lichtenſtein, Auerſberg, and Thurn, have been introduced into the college, in ſpite of the proteſtations of all the old princes,

merely to ſtrengthen the influence of the houſe of Auſtria. The Dukes of Aremberg are amongſt the oldeſt princes; but as by far the greateſt part of their poſſeſſions lie in the hereditary lands of Auſtria, they are almoſt totally dependant on the court of Vienna. Many others of the old houſes, on account of the ſituation of their properties alſo adhere to the Emperor, who from one cauſe or other, may be ſuppoſed to be ſecure of half the votes to carry whatever he has a mind ſhould be carried. In the college of towns he rules almoſt without control;—for as theſe are almoſt all encompaſſed by moſt powerful princes, they require the particular protection of the court of Vienna to prevent their being totally cruſhed.

Powerful as the Emperor's influence may be under ſuch circumſtances, ſtill the ſtates find means to counteract the ſtream, and interrupt its force. Mably has juſtly obſerved, in his remarks on the hiſtory of France, that if you conſider the empire as compoſed of independent ſtates, who have leagued with each other for mutual defence, one could not deviſe wiſer regulations than they have inſtituted to ſecure their liberty from internal uſurpers. The definition of the conſtitution of the empire, "It is a confuſion preſerved by God's omnipotence,*" is a juſt one as long as the empire is erroneouſly conſidered as a ſingle ſelf-ſubſiſting ſtate; but if you view it, that is, as an aſſembly of many free ſtates, who have knit themſelves together by a certain political ſyſtem, one ſhall diſcover in place of confuſion, a great deal of order; and inſtead of unmeaning connection, a great deal of prudence and foreſight. The dam which I have mentioned to you, is that law which provides, that "the majority in the imperial colleges ſhould not be deciſive, either in religion or thoſe matters in which the ſtates could not be conſidered as one body, or where the catholics were of one, and the proteſtants of another opinion." In theſe caſes the colleges divide into parties, and however ſmall in number one party may be, its decree is held equal to the other more numerous one. Religion alone gave riſe to this law; but in latter times the genius of politics has made good uſe of it, and all the catholics who are neceſſarily dependant on the Emperor's court, have found it of ſervice for a ſmaller number of proteſtants to be able to oppoſe the Emperor. Since the power of the King of Pruſſia has got ſo aſtoniſhingly high, he is at the head of the proteſtant party, although Saxony has the apparent government of it, and he proteſts often very vehemently againſt things in which religion is not in the leaſt concerned.

From Munich I went to Inſpruck, and from thence into the Tyrol. I will reſerve what I have to ſay on that ſubject till its proper place, which will be when I come to the Auſtrian territories; beſides this letter is already of the proper length.

LETTER XIV.

Saltzburg.

IT was with great pleaſure that I wandered over this romantic country, and at one time ſtanding on ſome immenſe peak I viewed under me the clouds, towered on clouds, boundleſs plains, innumerable lakes, rivers, and brooks, vallies of tremendous depth, and the bare ſummits of huge granate rocks, with the ſenſations which are peculiar to ſuch heavenly regions. Sometimes I take my abode in the deep hanging brow of a mountain, in a ſhepherdeſs's hut, who dwells the whole ſummer through with her flocks in this ſubterreſtrial region, and is viſited only by her lover, who clambers up two or three miles of the mountains to her, ſome wild-goat hunter, or by chance ſome ſtrayed knight like myſelf; there I live a day like an ancient patriarch on milk and cheeſe, count the

* Eſt confuſio divinitus conſervata.

flock

flock which in the evening aſſembles round the hut, at the ſound of a flute, and which at the moment I can think are my own, ſleep upon a heap of hay far more tranquil than you upon your hypochondriac down bed, and then enjoy the beauties of the riſing ſun, with a luxury and delight, which at operas, comedies, balls, and all the uſual places of entertainment, you muſt look for in vain. Sometimes I viſit a lake, in the boſom of a high mountain, which charms my ſight ſtill more, if at break of day I find it mantled over with a miſt. Then with greater pleaſure, I ſurvey the riſing ſun drive, and diſperſe the miſt into the valley, and the gilded mountain tops emerging high above it, now the wind by degrees diſcovers the lake like a mirrour, and the miſt, like a night ſpectre, creeps through the interſtices of the mountain into ſome neighbouring cliffs. Then I make a little voyage in a hollowed tree, which here muſt do the ſervice of a ſhip, and breakfaſt on exquiſite butter and honey, in ſome neighbouring peaſant's houſe, and ſmile when I think of you, who are ſitting at your tea-table in your learned night-gown, and critic night-cap, ſwallowing with your tea, ſome as watery ſtale production of the day, and from all that rot-gut ſtuff, get ſwelled and puffed with wind, which you vainly endeavour to diſpel by rhubarb, and all the preparations of your medicine cheſt.

The part which is towards the town has the appearance of an immenſe pyramid; but it ſtretches backwards into a rock, which is a mile long, and takes ſix or ſeven hours to walk round. A common traveller will reach the top in five hours, but the goat hunters, who climb like cats, do it in three. There is a proſpect from it over all Bavaria, and you may reckon nine lakes in ſight. The moſt charming part of the proſpect, is the principality of Berchtoldſgaden, which lies to the ſouth of the mountain, and conſiſts of a woody wall encompaſſed round with vaſt heights of the moſt picturesque granate. Amongſt them the Watzman is diſtinguiſhed by its perfectly conical appearance. The appearance of the lakes around the dark woods have an unſpeakably fine effect. The proſpect into ſome of the neighbouring vallies of Saltzburg, is not leſs beautiful.

This mountain ſeems a proof of the truth of the ſyſtem taken up by Mr. Buffon, with regard to mountains. It conſiſts of a maſs of granate, worked into the ſoil, in the declivities and depths of which, here and there ſand and chalk-ſtone lie as if floated in water. The lower parts of the mountain are well wooded, and it has ſome very good mines of red and white marble. From one of theſe mines there is a fine proſpect of the town; at ſome diſtance from them, in a wide gap of the mountain, there is a very remarkable water fall. A rapid ſtream (which in ſpring when the ſnow begins to melt, muſt be much larger than it is now) breaks out from a cleft of the rock; which you enter by means of ſome artificial ſteps. In the cleft, where one ſhivers with cold, you hear in the inſide of a mountain a dull rumbling like far diſtant thunder. Probably the mountain has ſome lake in its boſom, into which the ſnow and rain water precipitating from above, occaſion the noiſe. There is not a doubt but this internal body of water muſt in time prove deſtructive to the mountain. The tradition of the country is, that the Emperor Charles the Great and his whole army, are confined and ſhut up in this mountain until Doomſday, and will continue till then amuſing themſelves with this terrible noiſe. On a certain day of the year, about midnight, the Emperor is to be ſeen with his train of miniſters and generals, going in proceſſion to the cathedral of Saltzburg. Were it not that you are ſo well acquainted with the wonders to be met in the Sierra Morena at the mouth of the Quadiana, I could lay before you a legally atteſted account of wizards, whoſe white beards by length of time, have grown ten or twenty times about the table on which they lie ſleeping in the mountain, and of hermits a thouſand years old, who have led ſtrayed goat-hunters through ſubterraneous paſſages, and ſhewn them fairy palaces of gold and precious ſtones. From the cleft whence the ſpirit of the great

Charles

Charles iſſues to walk by night, the ſtream precipitates itſelf with a loud noiſe, and falls in a variety of caſcades down the deep and narrow gully which it ſeems to have dug itſelf in the hard marble. Here and there it has hollowed out baſons of marble by its fall, which no power of art could have given a better poliſh to. Indeed they are ſo nicely conſtructed, that the lovers of antiquity in the neighbourhood have actually been at the pains to prove that they are ancient baths. Quite below, at the foot of the mountain, behind a mill, the fall preſents a moſt picturesque appearance. It is not very high at this point, but very ſingular, becauſe the water is divided into innumerable threads, which croſs each other in ſuch varied and ſtrange ways amidſt the fragments of the rock which have fallen from above, that no imagination can deviſe a caſcade ſo fanciful and capricious. Here on the detached rocks are ſmall pine-trees, which infinitely increaſe the beauty of the ſcene. The water of this ſtream is ſo cold, that you could not hold your hand in it ten ſeconds; and yet in the greateſt ſweat and perſpiration, you may drink as much as you pleaſe, without the ſmalleſt danger, as you digeſt it as eaſily as air. When I am perfectly faint, I do not know a better cordial than this water.

That part of the principality of Saltzburg which lies to the north of the capital, is likewiſe very mountainous, but it produces ſufficient grain for the ſupport of its inhabitants. But about ſix miles from the town there is a long narrow valley which ſtretches itſelf firſt ſome miles ſouthward and then weſtward, is bounded by vaſt mountains, is watered by the river Saltza, conſtitutes the greateſt part of the principality, but ſcarcely bears one third part of the neceſſary grain. The entrance to this valley is called the Paſs of Lueg or Luhk, a word which in low Dutch and Engliſh ſignifies *look*, and anſwers to the watch tower of many *Imperial towns* and territories. This paſs is a deep narrow hollow between naked, ſuſpended, perpendicular rocks of granate, which hang over on each ſide, riſe to an enormous height, and through which the Saltza pours with great impetuoſity. Above the river they have cut a path in the rock, and there is a gate with hardly room enough for a ſingle carriage to paſs, protected by a battery, ſo that a few people here could withſtand a whole army. The other approaches to this valley are equally well guarded, and nature ſeems to have fortified it as well as Wales.

Beſides this large valley there are ſeveral leſſer ones adjoining, which belong to this principality. They are of the ſame nature as the other, and the inhabitants of them live chiefly by breeding cattle. In many places you may find very rich farmers, who own from ſixty to fourſcore head of great cattle. They export ſome cheeſe and butter, but not near ſo much as they might do, if the inhabitants were as induſtrious, frugal, and diſpoſed for trade as the Swiſs. Beſides horned cattle they alſo breed great numbers of horſes which are very ſtrong, and are exported to great diſtances for the purpoſes of heavy burden and draught; their ſhape is not handſome; their heads are too thick, and their hind quarters too high; but I remember well to have ſeen in ſome towns on the Rhine, a ſingle Saltzburg horſe drawing a weight of forty quintals, and a very heavy cart beſides from the river to the town. The farmers uſe them to hard labour at three years old, and this is the cauſe why they ſoon become ſtiff, and cannot ſerve for coach horſes. The Emperor gave twelve pounds for one for his artillery. The dominions which this prince has in Carrthen, are, in point of natural advantages, much the ſame as theſe; but what he poſſeſſes in Auſtria is too inconſiderable to be mentioned. Upon the whole, this country draws near the half of its neceſſary corn from Bavaria.

The peaſant of this country cannot content himſelf with cheeſe and potatoes, as the Swiſs does; but muſt always have his meat, which, however fat it may be, he conſtantly dips in hog's lard. He muſt have an abundance of good bread, beer and brandy. Conſidering the natural ſituation of the country, this too expenſive mode of living would make them the pooreſt people in Europe, if the extravagance was not counterbalanced

by

by a prudent and admirable œconomy in other reſpects. The Saltzburg peaſant clothes himſelf from head to foot; every family weaves a ſort of coarſe dark grey cloth, from wool which they grow and prepare themſelves. They alſo make their own ſhoes and ſtockings. Their dreſs is by theſe means cleanly, ſimple, and graceful. With all this, the equality between the income and expenditure of the country is chiefly kept up by the mines.

The ſalt-works at Hallein are without compariſon the moſt conſiderable. The internal part of this mountain, which is about four miles diſtant from this place, conſiſts of cryſtals of ſalt, mixed with a great deal of earth. In order to clean it, they dig large hollow chambers within-ſide, and fill them with water, which waſhes the ſalt, and lets the earth ſink to the bottom. The water thus impregnated is conveyed into pans and boiled off. In courſe of time the chambers fill of themſelves again with ſalt, and the treaſure is inexhauſtible. One of theſe chambers, when it is lighted up, makes one of the prettieſt ſights in the world. Conceive to yourſelf a hall about a hundred feet ſquare, the walls and ground of which are compoſed of cryſtals of every earthly colour, and which reflect the light ſo wonderfully that you would think yourſelf in ſome enchanted palace. In order to carry on this work, the wood of the foreſts along the Saltza and other rivers is floated down them. This may perhaps in time put a ſtop to it, for the ſmall woods are already viſibly thinner.

From the unfavourable ſituation of this country, it cannot uſe the whole of this treaſure for itſelf, but is obliged to give up the moſt part to foreigners. All the country round is either Auſtrian or Bavarian. The firſt have ſalt ſufficient for their own uſe, and all importation of foreign ſalt is prohibited. On the other hand, the Bavarian ſalt-work at Ratiſbon is ſo productive, that it not only provides ſufficient for that country, but alſo can afford a conſiderable quantity to foreigners. In conſequence of all this, the Archbiſhops of Saltzburg have found themſelves obliged to enter into an agreement with the Dukes of Bavaria, in virtue of which, theſe take a certain quantity of ſalt every year, at a very moderate price, and furniſh Switzerland and Suabia with it. By this means the ſalt trade of Saltzburg is properly in the hands of Bavaria, who gain full three times as much by it as the princes of Saltzburg. The value of the ſalt which Bavaria ſtipulates to take yearly, amounts to about 200,000 florins, or 20,000l. What is diſpoſed of in the country itſelf, or carried into Auſtria clandeſtinely, makes on the whole about 350,000 florins, or 35,000l. of which two thirds may be clear gain.

The gold and ſilver mines of this principality make a great figure in the geography of Germany; but compared with the ſalt-works are not worth mentioning. In the regiſters of the cuſtom-houſe I have ſeen the entry of all the gold, ſilver, iron, copper, and other mines or pits, on an average of the laſt ten years: the prince's clear gain from all his works, was about 65,000 florins, or 6500l. a year. He works them almoſt all himſelf; for ſome years paſt he has loſt in digging a gold mine in the neighbourhood of Gaſtein, about 20,000 florins, or 2000l. a year, which he has ventured, in the treacherous hope of being rewarded in time with a rich ſpoil, and partly that the valley where it is dug, whoſe inhabitants live ſolely by theſe works, may not become a waſte. The iron here is brittle, and in no great requeſt. The prince has alſo a braſs manufactory on his own account, but the calamine neceſſary for it grows every day more ſcarce in the country.

Mr. Buſching ſays, in his account of Germany, that he "learns from good authority, that the income of the archbiſhop amounts to four millions of florins," or 400,000l. If the prince would make me his farmer-general, I durſt hardly offer him 1,200,000 florins, or 120,000l. for his whole revenue. I am pretty confident that the taxes, tolls, and

and crown-lands, &c. in which I include the produce of the mines, &c. do not yield much above 600,000 florins, or 60,000l. The exciſe, cuſtoms, and other taxes levied in the capital, together with the prince's breweries, muſt bring in 435,000 more or 43,500l. before I could clear any thing by my contract.

The extent of the country is eſtimated at two hundred and forty German ſquare miles. There are only ſeven or eight towns, ſome of which are not to be compared with a Suabian village. The total number of inhabitants is computed at two hundred and fifty thouſand, of which the capital contains fourteen thouſand. There is only one manufacture in the whole country, which is a ſmall one at Hallein for cotton ſtockings, and night-caps. Since there has been a good road made to Trieſte, Saltzburg carries on a conſiderable trade in ſpices and drugs, with which it ſupplies a great part of Bavaria. The roads through this mountainous country are in general very good. Notwithſtanding here and there you paſs on wooden bridges hung by chains over ſome dreadful abyſſes, the heavieſt carriages have nothing to fear, except perhaps the being overſet by a violent blaſt of wind, or being covered by a fall of ſnow in ſpring. On my journey to the bath at Gaſtein, one of the wildeſt regions of this country, I ſaw all that was poſſible to be done to render the moſt dreadful abyſſes and ſteepeſt rocks paſſable. In this journey I ſaw alſo one of the moſt remarkable water-falls which I ever met with. A powerful ſtream precipitates itſelf almoſt from the clouds, upon a rock beneath, which riſes a hundred feet high above the way, and thence ſo ſtrongly recoils in an arch, that a traveller who paſſes under this arch is not in the leaſt wet. In front this fall cannot be ſeen, becauſe it is too narrow, and the oppoſite rock is too ſteep; but a little diſtance off, when viewed from the ſide it preſents a moſt extraordinary aſpect.

LETTER XV.

Saltzburg.

I AM a lover of mountain ſcenes, and by no means one of thoſe whoſe feelings are only to be excited by what is monſtrous, who love ſtrong emotions, becauſe they are commonly inſenſible to the gentler affections, and who ſeek for ſatisfaction from barren rocks, from boundleſs plains of ice and ſnow, becauſe by intemperate uſe of the joys which milder regions preſent, they are diſguſted with them. To me the moſt uniform plain is variety enough, to keep my heart in that degree of warmth, and my ſenſes within the limits which are neceſſary for the uninterrupted enjoyment of nature. I embrace the tree which ſuddenly affords me a ſhade, after I have long wandered through a barren and level ſpot. The moſs upon a heath allures me, and the rivulet which ſteals through ſome unextenſive meadow, intereſts me ſufficiently without the noiſe of a waterfall. I am however, impartial enough to do all juſtice to the mountain views, and allow them, in reſpect to beauty, the preference over the plains. The pulſe of nature beats ſtronger here, every thing diſcovers more life and energy, every thing more loudly and emphatically ſpeaks an almighty Power at work. The ſtream which, without knowing the path it muſt purſue, meanders ſlowly through the plain, ruſhes through the mountains and grows impetuous in its courſe; the motion of the clouds, the revolutions of the ſky, and the peals of thunder are all more ſtrong and animated. The vallies in the fair ſeaſon of the year, are filled with finer perfumes of flowers and herbs than thoſe of the plains, whoſe ſoil is not ſo fit to preſerve their radical moiſture, and where their exhalations are diſſipated more widely in the air. Nature here is more varied and infinitely more picturesque. Of her different ſhades, an inhabitant of the plain can form no conception, but from the contraſt, they all, even the ſmalleſt features of them, appear more

ſtriking and engaging. Here at once nature preſents the peculiarities of every ſeaſon, and the moſt different climates. As long as the ſummer laſts, in the bottom of the valley the heat of Africa is felt; in the middle of the mountain you enjoy the moderate temperature of ſpring; and the top reminds you of Siberia. And how various are the forms, chains and heaps of mountains and hills!

Man reſembles his ſoil, unleſs education and ſociety change him. The peaſant of this country bears the ſtamp of nature upon him. His movements are quick, like the ſtream in his wood; he is boiſterous in his paſſions, like the atmoſphere; he breathes ſtrong as the oak which ſhades him; and is faithful, firm and true as the rock which bears his hut. The life and variety of the ſcenes which nature offers him, render his head richer in conceptions, and his heart warmer than it would be if he dwelt upon an uniform plain, and gave himſelf up to nature as he does here. His diſtance from populous places, and the ſcattered ſituation of the huts, which give him few opportunities for diſtraction from his own concerns, preſerve his manners pure, diſpoſe him to reflection, and make him more attentive to his own proper buſineſs. In his make, the expreſſion of his countenance, his geſtures and language, he has greatly the advantage of the Bavarian peaſant. I regret inceſſantly that my want of ſufficient ſkill in the provincial dialect prevents my communing with theſe mountaineers, ſo agreeably as I wiſh to do. The unſpeakable openneſs of heart which they ſhew, their frequent inſtances of good-will and affection, together with the good humour and native pleaſantry legible in their looks, endear them at firſt ſight to every friend of humanity. Many of them ſtill wear long beards, and thoſe in the remoter parts *thou* every body, even their princes. The diſeaſe of the throat is not uncommon with them, though it be not ſo prevalent as ſome travellers chooſe to report it. In general they are a very handſome ſet of people.

The diminution made in the population and agriculture of theſe lands, by the emigration of the proteſtants about fifty years ago, is not yet recovered. In this maſterpiece of bad government, the weakneſs of a prince, and the ſelfiſh treachery of a miniſter, were beyond meaſure conſpicuous. I have read over the papers which give an account of this wonderful event, to my great edification. Thoſe are much deceived who aſcribe the cauſe of this extraordinary commotion to religious principles, propagated in theſe mountains at the time of the reformation. From the writings before me, it appears that very few had any diſtinct idea of the Augſburg or Helvetian confeſſions of faith. Theſe may poſſibly have contributed ſomething; but moſt of theſe new proteſtants became ſo through reflection and diſcourſes among themſelves, the cauſes of which were furniſhed by maxims ſelected from catholic ſermons and religious books. Had they been allowed unlimited freedom of religion in the country, they certainly would have founded an intire new ſect, which would have had little reſemblance to either Calviniſm or Lutheraniſm. Moſt of thoſe who were heard judicially in their own defence, anſwered the queſtion, "Whether they would confeſs to the Lutheran or the Catholic church?" directly, "No, to neither of them. We believe, but not what our countrymen believe, but keep ourſelves merely to the ſcriptures." Many circumſtances, with which the reformers of the ſixteenth century had no concern, occaſioned a ſort of rebellion of men's underſtandings. Peaſants and mechanics became preachers in their own houſes, or under ſome tree in a ſequeſtered place. In ſhort, we muſt do theſe people the honour to ſay, they were almoſt entirely their own teachers. It was when they were obliged to ſeek foreign protection from the oppreſſion of their own lords, and enter into treaty with the King of Pruſſia, that they declared themſelves of a ſect, which, by the treaty of Weſtphalia, was privileged in the empire, and they did it becauſe no other means could have ſecured them from total oppreſſion.

The archbiſhop of that time was a good man, who truly loved his ſubjects, and did every thing poſſible, according to his judgment, to guide them in the ſtraight path to happineſs. He ſent capuchins as miſſionaries into the mountains, whoſe capuchins and beards however could get no hold on men whoſe underſtandings were awakened. He prayed inceſſantly for the converſion of his ſtrayed ſheep, and ſpared neither gold nor kind words to recover them back to heaven. The loſs of ſo many ſouls was far more grievous to him than the departure of ſo many poor from the culture of his lands, and the conſequent diminution of his income.

His chancellor, however, viewed things in a quite different light. He had calculated what benefits he could derive to himſelf by the emigration of ſo many thouſand inhabitants, and the ſale of ſo many eſtates. He made uſe of the weakneſs of his prince, on this moſt plauſible occaſion, to fill his own purſe. He repreſented to him how dangerous it was for the ſafety of his yet right-believing ſubjects, to permit heretics to dwell among them. Taking advantage of the following anſwer made by one of the adherents to the new doctrine to a neighbour, who had given him great provocation; "Stay only till the King of Pruſſia's ſix thouſand men draw near; we ſhall ſtrike all your heads off. He is another kind of monarch than the archbiſhop, and he is already on his march to us, &c." The patriotic chancellor diſcovered high treaſon, in a ſpeech which was only the expreſſion of a raſh, unguarded moment of paſſion. By a ſingle word he became the actual cauſe of the retreat of about twenty-five thouſand men, by which he gained about fifty thouſand, and the archbiſhop loſt one hundred thouſand florins of his yearly income. The King of Pruſſia ſent two commiſſaries here, who were ordered to protect the property of thoſe who choſe to retire into his territories, and brought out of the country the greateſt part of the gold which was got by the ſale of the houſes, properties, and goods of the refugees.

There are ſtill over all the mountains many adherents to the new doctrine. I made acquaintance with one, who is in every reſpect too remarkable not to introduce him to you alſo. Some days ago I viſited with another gentleman the ſheriff, or as he is termed here, the conſtable of Werfen, a very polite and clear thinking man; for, in the moſt remote parts of theſe mountains, the information of the people exceeded my expectations. This excurſion gave me pleaſure in every ſtep.

From the paſs of Lueg, where the great valley begins, the road runs for two miles into Werfen, through a narrow gully, between naked rocks, which in many places ſtand like heaven's high walls on each ſide. The ſcattered clumps of wood at the foot of this chain of mountains; the wild variety in the courſe of the river Saltz; the extraordinary inciſions, formation, and complexion of the rocks; the marks of the former height of the river, viſible many fathoms above its preſent bed; the ſingular ſtation of the very few habitations; and the ſtriking diſpoſition of the whole, gives this otherwiſe ſolitary landſcape ſufficient attractions to fix a traveller's attention. The caſtle of Werfen ſtands by the ſpot of this name, where the valley begins to widen remarkably, upon a detached rock of a conical form, which riſes in the middle of the gully. On one ſide of it there is ſcarcely room for the road, and on the other, ſcarcely room for the river. The front of the caſtle commands a proſpect over the wide part of the valley, which runs between hills, part of which are well cultivated, and part covered with rich woods; and from the back you ſee the narrow deep glen, through which the traveller has come, the rocky points of which are ſhining in the ſun, while in the depth below perpetual darkneſs ſits encamped. In the caſtle many priſoners are confined, who are ſometimes obliged to work in chains. I was ſtruck peculiarly with the form and countenance of a man, of whom I had already heard much reported. He has the figure of a handſome elderly man,

man, of ſomething more than ſixty years, who ſtill preſerves a fine ruddy complexion. His ſtrong long beard, and beautiful black hair, are here and there mixed with grey very thinly ſcattered. His carriage is as light, and he holds himſelf as ſtraight as a youth in his full ſtrength. His forehead, and the whole formation of his countenance is regular, and his large blue ſpeaking eyes, muſt fix the attention of any one the leaſt acquainted with mankind upon him. An inexpreſſible ſerenity of ſoul, and the pride inſeparable from a great character, are pictured in his countenance. I deſired to hear him tell his hiſtory, and now give it you from his own words, as nearly as I can.

"I have been now," ſaid he, "twenty-four years a priſoner here. I ſtill remember the emigration of the many thouſands of my countrymen, in which, though I was then but young, I took great concern. As I grew up, the memory of this event made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on me. The joy with which ſo many of my neighbours quitted their native country, to ſhun any force on their conſciences, and be unreſtrained and free in their faith, had ſomething great and affecting in it to me. This made the remonſtrances of my friends and acquaintances, who did not agree in opinion with the capuchins, find an eaſy acceſs to my mind. I opened the Scriptures, compared the doctrine I met with there with the Pope's, and formed my own religion, the principles of which I did not keep very ſecret, becauſe I believed them true. As at that time the capuchins, who wandered about the whole country as miſſionaries, had ſpies every where, they could not fail but hear at laſt of ſome aſſertions which eſcaped me in the heat of religious diſputation. They inſtantly purſued and perſecuted me wherever I was. At laſt they came into my houſe, and inſiſted on a confeſſion of my faith. I anſwered according to my conviction, and laid my doubts before them; however this did not ſignify. They conſtantly went from the point; it was of no avail to interrogate them on matters of faith; faith muſt be implicit, and I muſt deliver a confeſſion of faith. I told them it was utterly impoſſible to believe what was contrary to the conviction of my mind; but all did not ſerve.

"When I ſaw that they could not convince me, and that they paid no regard to my internal conviction, I told them to leave me in peace, and ſtaked my honour and my life to them that I would conceal my religious opinions, nor make any converts to them. This was in vain; every day they rudely broke into my houſe, and preſſed me to a confeſſion of faith which belied my conſcience. Sir, I did all that was poſſible to obtain peace from them, but it was impoſſible. One day, as I returned fatigued from the field, and was going to refreſh myſelf with ſome proviſion, the capuchins came again riotouſly into my houſe. I had for ſome time before this reſolved not to ſay a word to them, except good day or good evening. As they began their old clamour again, I heard them a long time compoſed and quiet, and took my fare with better reliſh the more they curſed me. However, as there appeared to be no end of it, I retired into a corner behind the oven, to let them rail as long as they pleaſed. But even there I was not ſecure; at laſt I threw myſelf impatiently on the bed, and as one of them approached me even here, and dunned in my ears, I turned my back to him, but immediately there was another of them at the other ſide, who made a ſtill more horrid clack than his companion. At laſt I became enraged, and told them I was maſter in my own houſe, and as they continued ſtill to behave worſe and worſe, I ſprung up, ſeized the firſt thing I could lay hold of, which I believe was a broom, and beat them out of my houſe. I was now treated not only as an obdurate heretic, but as a blaſphemer who had laid ſacrilegious hands upon the holy prieſts. They took me priſoner, and brought me here in chains. At firſt I ſuffered dreadfully. A hundred times I ſaid, if they would only convince me, I would confeſs with heart and ſoul. But it was all to no purpoſe. They

endeavoured to force me to go into the church to confeſs, to reveal my opinions on religion, &c. I told them I could publiſh nothing further of my religion, than that I did not believe what they believed. They either would or could not convince me, and I then became impatient to go to the church, but they told me I could not be permitted, unleſs it was for the purpoſe of changing my faith and confeſſing my errors. The inceſſant importunity of the capuchins for a confeſſion of faith from me was the moſt inſufferable of all. All my ſolicitations to be indulged, and all remonſtrances of the futility of a verbal confeſſion unleſs the heart joined in it, were of no ſervice. At laſt I reſolved to behave like a mute and hold no more diſcourſe with them; which reſolution, for eighteen whole years, I have literally perſiſted in; a few years ago they begun to treat me more kindly, and ſince that time I have reſumed my ſpeech."

The conſtable confirmed to us that this extraordinary man had not uttered a ſyllable for eighteen whole years; and that during that time no one had ever ſeen a cloud upon his brow, or a feature of ill-humour in his countenance. Whatever was enjoined him to do, which did not concern religion, he complied with calmly and always chearfully. A ſlight caſt of diſdain of the people about him is all that has been remarked. When one conſiders that his clearneſs of head, his open nature and good humour, muſt very naturally and very ſtrongly diſpoſe him to ſociety and the communication of his ſentiments, his voluntary dumbneſs muſt appear aſtoniſhing. By his good behaviour during his captivity, he has induced the prince, who is a great lover of toleration, to let his chains be taken off, and at the requeſt of the conſtable a conſiderable addition has been made to his daily allowance. He has gained ſo much confidence, that they have made him a kind of ſuperintendant over his fellow priſoners. He has often been ſent entirely looſe and free to work with them at places from whence it would have been eaſy for him to have eſcaped; but his character is a better ſecurity for his perſon than the ſtrongeſt chains. He has procured to himſelf, without being ſenſible of it himſelf, ſo much reſpect from his brother captives, that with a ſingle word he can keep them better in awe than the jailor with his ſtaff. Nature has ſecured to him a ſuperiority over the multitude of mankind, although ſhe bred him in a cottage. His leiſure hours are at preſent employed in teaching a young incendiary, who has lain for ſome years in priſon, in chains, for wickedly ſetting fire to his father's houſe, to read and to write, without however inſtilling into him any of his religious opinions. Theſe he preſerves ſo ſecret at preſent, that I could not with the moſt confidential entreaties, and all my prayers and petitions, obtain any diſcloſure from him. All he anſwered was, "I do not believe what the capuchins believe, and want nothing but a bible to lead a contented life." Some years ago his wife was permitted to ſee him; but, without ſhewing the ſmalleſt deſire to enjoy her, after ſome warm and kind exhortations for her welfare, he diſmiſſed her. A bible, after which his ſoul thirſts ſo ardently, they are backward to allow him, becauſe they are unwilling to add any more flame to his enthuſiaſm. All the Saltzburg ladies and gentlemen, in whoſe company I had the honour of ſeeing him, diſcovered the higheſt reſpect for him; but they were all unanimous in declaring that it had not been very political conduct to become a martyr for ſo ſmall a matter as was demanded of him.

The country people here are uncommonly lively and gay. The young women of theſe ſequeſtered corners of our continent all freſh as roſes, and lively as the roe, yet underſtand the art of coquetry as well as our Pariſian dames, only the allurements which they diſplay for conqueſt are more natural. They know how to employ the ornamental parts of dreſs to the beſt advantage. If they are diſpoſed to make a lover happy, neither the ſhame of an illegitimate birth, nor the fear of being obliged to maintain a child, is of any conſideration. Cuſtom ſets them above the firſt, and the caſe of maintaining a

child makes them diſregard the other. The puniſhment which they incur for ſuch a *faux-pas* is hardly worth mentioning. Murder of infants is extremely uncommon here; without conſtraint, without reſerve, they all yield to the impulſes of nature. The young girls kiſs and ſhake hands, in the open church on Sundays, with thoſe they love. On a nightly viſit, however, the lover is rather in a hard ſituation; for however unfriendly the weather may be, the window or door is not opened to him, until a certain watch-word is given, which conſiſts commonly of long rhymes, in which he is obliged to expreſs, in a myſterious manner, his ſufferings and ſmart. This cuſtom is very old, and in many of the remote parts of the mountains ſacred and inviolable. Nor can the connection between the parties, however long or however cloſe, enable them to diſpenſe with it. A young peaſant very ſeldom forſakes his girl, particularly when, after having two or three children by her, he can marry her.

The inhabitants of theſe mountains are ſo contented with their ſtate, that they conſider their country as a kind of Paradiſe. Thoſe who live in Dintner Valley, a frightful gap between naked rocks, through which the river Dintner runs, have a ſaying, "When any one falls from heaven he muſt fall into Dintner Valley." Which is as much as to ſay this valley is the ſecond heaven. For a long time I could not explain why the good people entertained ſuch a high opinion of a deep glen, where often for weeks together it ſnows ſo much that one can neither come out nor go in, and which forms ſo ſtriking a contraſt with many neighbouring and very attracting diſtricts. I conſidered it at firſt as irony, but I learnt at laſt that it was meant entirely in earneſt, and that the unlimited freedom which the inhabitants of this extraordinary Paradiſe enjoy, had given riſe to this high hyperbole. They conſiſt ſolely of ſhepherds, miners, and iron melters, who are entirely free from taxes, and on account of their ſmall payments to the government and their remoteneſs of ſituation, are little taken notice of by their ſuperiors. The taxes paid, in general, by the inhabitants of this country are very moderate, and the freedom from the extortions under which the reſt of Germany groans, contributes, no doubt, greatly to the good humour of the people. Till within a ſhort time, eſtates were taxed in proportion to their value, the beginning of this century, which, as you may ſuppoſe, bears no proportion to the preſent price of things. The attempt the preſent ſovereign has been making to raiſe a more equitable tax, has occaſioned ſome murmur: there, however, he is not ſo much to blame, as his income is proportionably much ſmaller than that of the other German princes; and what he has done, has not only the ſanction of the ſtates of the country, but is guaranteed by them, ſo that the people have no cauſe to fear a farther riſe; but what makes him unpopular, is his exceſſive love of hunting, which has occaſioned ſome acts of oppreſſive power, for which after all, his ſervants and miniſters may be more to blame than himſelf. In ſeveral parts of the country, the farmers are prohibited from driving their ſheep to certain paſtures bordering upon woods, leſt the game in theſe ſhould be deprived of ſuſtenance. This, to a people who, as I told you before, make all the woollen cloth they wear from the ſheerings of their own ſheep, muſt appear an intolerable hardſhip. Prohibitions of this kind muſt alſo be attended with very bad effects of another ſort. The peaſants of this country are very averſe to all kinds of innovation; there have been inſtances of their declaring ſomewhat loudly, that they would put themſelves on the ſame footing with the Swiſs; and yet when their prince dies of old age, they ſhew an uncommon affection for him. O that princes knew how to ſet a due value on the affections of their fellow-creatures!

Many of the peaſants of this country ſtill wear long beards, and go with their heads uncovered, and their breaſts open, at all times of the year. As they are extremely

hairy,

hairy, and very much ſun-burnt, this gives them a very formidable appearance at ſome diſtance, but when you come near them, their friendly looks, and appearance of integrity, recommend them very ſtrongly. They are courageous and ſtrong, and would no doubt make a ſtout ſtand in defence of their own country; but out of it, according to the report of the beſt officers, they do not make good ſoldiers. Like all its inhabitants of mountains, they do not bear climate well. Beſides this, the peculiarity of diet which they have been uſed to from their youth, and are obliged to give up in the field, makes them unfit for ſervice. By good fortune their ſovereign has little concern in keeping up the balance of Europe. In general, they are much more civil than the Swiſs, and by no means ſo thirſty of gain as theſe are, who, however hoſtile they may be to paying taxes themſelves, never fail to lay ſtrangers under very ſevere ones. I have ſeveral times been ſhewn my way, and received other ſmall ſervices from theſe people, without being able to make them take any thing for their trouble. — Fare ye well.

LETTER XVI.

Saltzburg.

IN Pilati's Journey through different parts of Europe, I remember to have read an anecdote, intended to paint the intolerant ſpirit of the Saltzburghers. — It is indeed very true, that perſons of all ranks are obliged to kneel down in the ſtreets, when the hoſt paſſes by, a ceremony made particularly diſtreſſing, by the peculiar brutality of the Sacriſtans of the place. I have likewiſe heard ſome good hearted girls lament, with a moſt ſerious tone of compaſſion, that ſome friends of mine, who have been here a few days, are proteſtants. Except however the kneeling to the ſacrament, which every man may eaſily prevent, as the bell is heard at a great diſtance, I do not ſee what a proteſtant has to be apprehenſive of. There are many companies in every rank of life, into which a ſtranger may be admitted, let his religion be what it will. Money and good words will procure you meat, in moſt of the inns, on faſt days; and the people, who, eſpecially in ſuch places, mimic the manners of their ſuperiors, have loſt much of the ferocious and intolerant ſpirit they had contracted under a bigoted prince.

There is very good company to be met with amongſt the nobility, particularly amongſt the canons, ſeveral of whom are diſtinguiſhed for knowledge of various kinds. The preſent metropolitan, who is brother to the well known Count Firmian, the governor of Milan, is well acquainted with the beſt Italian, French, German, and Engliſh writers. He has almoſt a compleat collection of the latter in his well choſen library. He is a moſt amiable man, and makes the beſt uſe of his benefices, which bring him an income of 20,000 guilders, or 2000 pounds a year. The high ſteward, who is another brother of the governor's, is a great lover of painting, and a deep connoiſſeur in it. His fine collection of the portraits of artiſts, moſt of which are painted by himſelf, is hardly inferior to that of Florence. The ſhock this gentleman lately felt from one of the ſevereſt afflictions which can ſtrike a father's heart, has weakened the powers of his ſoul, and ſpread a cloud over the not to be deſcribed and almoſt infantine goodneſs, that beams upon his countenance. He had an eldeſt ſon, the hopes of the family, and a very promiſing young man, who was already dean of Paſſau, and bade fair to be a biſhop, if not archbiſhop of Saltzburg. His father made him a viſit, and took him out a hunting. They were on different ſides of the hedge, when unluckily the father gave fire, and ſhot the ſon through the heart. As ſoon as he had done it, he ſprung through the hedge like a madman, tore his hair, and wallowed in the ſnow. They were obliged to tear him away from the place by force. Count Woltfegg, another of the canons, has taken

a journey through France, purpoſely with a view of becoming acquainted with our manufactures. This gentleman is well known to our beſt artiſts, but his particular paſſion is botany, in which he is very excellent. The groom of the ſtole, Count Kuenburg, is a very ſenſible man, extremely pleaſant, witty, and ſociable. His library, in the formation of which he has not conſulted the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, contains all our beſt authors. The Biſhop of Chienſee, the Count of Tieb, and ſeveral more of the high nobility are reſpectable, both on account of their knowledge and virtues. The upper nobility of the place is made up chiefly of Auſtrian families, who diſtinguiſh themſelves by their affability, their knowledge of the world, and their manners, from the ſtupidly proud Bavarian and Suabian barons. On the other hand, the leſſer nobility, the ſwarm of little court gentry, render themſelves ridiculous by their pitiable luſt after titles, and their wretched pride. You muſt here viſit about a hundred *Gnadige herrn* *, who live upon three or four hundred florins a year, which they receive from the court, but whom you cannot offend more than by calling them plain Sir, or their wives plain Madam. A man who lives here muſt accuſtom himſelf to put in *Gnadige herrn* at every third word, unleſs he chooſes to paſs for ill-bred. Such, however, is the aſtoniſhing poverty of this claſs of people, that you viſit ſeveral *Gnadige herrn*, who take up with houſekeepers places, or the office of ſifters in the hoſpitals. They all complain that the court doth not give them enough to live according to their rank; but unluckily, I have never been able to find out what their rank is. Moſt of them have neither eſtates nor money; but they would look upon it as a great degradation to ſuffer their children to be brought up to any trade or buſineſs. The court is therefore compelled to make their appointments as ſlender as poſſible, that it may be able to keep them from ſtarving; though above two-thirds of them are ſuperfluous ſervants. Their rank, therefore, ſeems to depend on the pleaſure of the court to feed a great number of uſeleſs ſervants, and on their impudent confidence in that pleaſure. Once, however, give them their right titles, and you will find them the beſt people in the world. Many of them amuſe themſelves with French and German literature, particularly with all that relates to the ſtage. The rage for the theatre is as violent here as it is at Munich; and they look for the coming of a company of ſtrollers, with as much eagerneſs as the inhabitants of Siberia look for the return of ſpring. A French engineer, in the prince's ſervice, has built them a pretty theatre. It is adorned with columns, which ſupport nothing but a black board before the curtain, with the arms of the prince on it. Upon the whole, knowledge ſeems to be more diffuſed here than it is at Munich. Though the governor is an eccleſiaſtic, there are not near ſo many cloiſters, in proportion to the ſize of the two places, as in Bavaria; and the eccleſiaſtics of this place are very advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed from the others, by good manners, humility, an endeavour to live up to their character, and other virtues. Government is likewiſe much better underſtood here than it is at Munich. Too much cannot be ſaid of the head of the preſent prince, but of his heart — I know nothing. He knows that he is not beloved by the Saltzburghers, and for that reaſon neglects them, and ſhuts himſelf up. I believe the complaints made of him to be much too violent. They accuſe him of ſending above 300,000 florins to his family at Vienna every year, and part of the ſtates of the city, that is, almoſt all the chapter of the cathedral, have brought actions againſt him, in the imperial court of Vienna, for taking the ready money out of the cheſt, and filling it with paper, which they cannot change into caſh. I do not know how far the charge made by this reſpectable chapter may be well grounded; but it is certain, that he has diſplayed an uncommon depth of acuteneſs and

* German title of nobleſſe, which means, Gracious Sir.

penetration,

penetration, in his defence of himſelf. Several of the preſent canons were hoſtile to him, from his firſt coming to the archbiſhopric, which they had entertained hopes of themſelves, and which was procured for him by the Court of Vienna. Suppoſing him, however, to rob the country of part of its property, it is certain that he diſpoſes of the reſt to the beſt advantage. He has founded ſeveral good ſeminaries of education. He is not at all partial to his own order, as appears from his having taken away at a ſtroke 100,000 florins from the Auguſtinian monks. One half of this he put in his own pocket, the other half he has given to the public. As in every thing elſe, ſo alſo in his paſſion for hunting, the only paſſion he has, he is extremely parſimonious. A batallion of the fineſt ſoldiers I have hitherto beheld, diſciplined in the Auſtrian manner, and the officers of which are attached to him, ſecures him from all accidents.

Every thing here breathes the air of pleaſure and joy. They eat, drink, laugh, dance, ſing, and gamble in the extreme; nor have I yet ſeen a place where you may have ſo many different pleaſures for ſo little money. They converſe here upon religious and political topics with a freedom that does honour to the place; and with regard to books, you may have almoſt every thing which the German preſſes produce, without any reſtraint. One of the reſorts of pleaſure is the garden of Hellbron, belonging to the prince, which is about three miles off, and where they ſell beer and wine. The moſt remarkable thing, except ſome very fine marble ſtatues, is a very large park, in the midſt of which is a hill.

The univerſity of this place is kept up by the congregation of Benedictines, who ſupply it with profeſſors. As having ſtudied here is a kind of requiſite for preferment to the ſubjects of the Suabian prelates of the empire, it is a place of great reſort for theſe; but there are few ſtudents beſides theſe and the natives, though the chairs are filled with able men. The funds of the univerſity are indeed too ſmall to make it poſſible for all the objects, which the literature of the preſent day embraces, to be properly taken care of. They do not amount in all to above 5000 florins, or 500l. per annum.

I do not know what to ſay about the national pride, for which theſe people are ſo much cenſured. With regard to myſelf, I reſpect whatever at all contributes to the happineſs of mankind, how ſmall and inſignificant ſoever it may appear. How wretched ſhould we be if we were to be robbed of the pleaſant play of our fancies! The inhabitants of this country are extremely angry if you call them Bavarians. I had conceived to myſelf, that as their country is within that circle, they were as true Bavarians as the Wirtembergers are Suabians; but I was told that the compariſon with the Suabians did not hold, for that no particular part of Suabia is properly called Suabia; whereas the circle of Bavaria, taking its name from the dukedom which conſtitutes the greateſt part of it, might as well have been called the circle of Saltzburg. All I can make out clearly from this is that the Saltzburghers will have nothing to do with the Bavarians, whom they conſider as infinitely inferior to them. Indeed it is true that there is a little more taſte, a little more *ſçavoire vivre*, and a little leſs bigotry in this place than in Bavaria; but the rating themſelves ſo exceſſively high, and degrading the Bavarians below the rank of wild beaſts, is undoubtedly owing to the good fairy Phantaſy. At leaſt the gentlemen and ladies ought to remember that if the horizon is a little clearer here at preſent than it is all around them, it is entirely owing to the preſent archbiſhop, who, with his holy rod, has diſpelled the magic darkneſs of ſuperſtition in his domains. A revolution of the ſame kind may raiſe the Bavarians much above what they now are in a ſhort time. Indeed there are ſtill ſymptoms enough here of the darkneſs which totally overſpread the place fifteen or twenty years ago. The priſons allotted to eccleſiaſtics have in them a prieſt, who, ſome time ſince, in order to impreſs his pariſh with a greater

hatred

hatred of ſin, and a greater fear of the devil, dreſſed up the ſchool-maſter of the place like Beelzebub, and in the midſt of ſervice called him up from a hiding-place he had provided for him, to bear witneſs to the truth.

This country is ſingularly intereſting to a botaniſt, or mineralogiſt; but having the misfortune, unluckily, to be very little known, the diſcovery of the treaſures contained in it is reſerved for futurity, when either a man of genius ſhall addict himſelf to theſe purſuits, or the ſwarm of idle travellers who hover like cock-chafers alternately about the Appenines, the Alps, Etna, and the Pyreneans, ſhall at length for once take their flight to theſe parts, and by their cry excite ſome foreign genius to the taſk. The Zillerthal is particularly rich in different ſorts of variegated ſtones, and in many parts of the hills you meet with very ſcarce European plants. In fine there is room for weaving many an hypotheſis on the plants of the hills, on the work and production of the waters in them, and on the revolutions of nature that may ſtill be expected.

Before I diſmiſs you I muſt give you ſome account of a marquiſate in the Holy Roman Empire, which hardly a geographer amongſt us is acquainted with the exiſtence of. It is the marquiſate of *Berchtolſgaden*, of which there is a fine view from the top of the *Unterberge*, which is its limit to the north. It conſiſts of a ſmall narrow vale, encompaſſed around with rocks, and hardly contains three thouſand ſouls. The place is broken by ſome lakes, and the lower part of the hills is covered with deep woods. A few days ago, we had an excellent dinner in one of the large iſlands of the lake, made up of fiſh we had caught in it, ſome exquiſite veniſon, and Tyrol wine.—Mark, that there is no deficiency of cooks in the moſt diſtant and ſequeſtered nooks of this country.

The nature of this country being favourable neither to agriculture nor paſture, the inhabitants have given themſelves to works of art, which fail mankind in no part of the earth, and are mighty and powerful enough to turn the hardeſt ſtones into bread. It is in theſe remote vallies that they make the greateſt part of the toys with which Nurenberg and Augſburg carry on ſo conſiderable a trade. The horſes with ſpurs, little raſps, cuckows, wooden mannakins, rats, and mice, and all the play-things for little children; alſo the crucifixes, ſtraw quadrille boxes, powder and pomatum boxes, and all the play-things for great children; in a word, the greater part of the articles which go amongſt us under the name of German toys, come out of this gulph. It is a pretty ſight enough to behold two or three families gathered together in a hut; and to ſee the great plump hands of the farmers occupied in giving a finiſh to the ſmalleſt articles. There is occupation for the grey-headed, as well as for prattling infancy. The very ſmall price for which the makers part with theſe commodities, makes it impoſſible for them to accumulate riches; but they have enough, and are happy with it. Theſe good people little think that their productions are brought to us, and that the Spaniards drive a very profitable trade with them in both the Indies. A ſmall part of theſe people alſo occupy themſelves in ſalt making; but as it muſt all be carried through Bavaria, which abounds in the commodity, they part with it for a ſong. In this article they ſuffer much from a powerful neighbour on the Saltzburg ſide; for Saltzburg has extended its ſalt mines far beyond the limits that part the two countries; and though the marquis has made ſeveral remonſtrances, no body has attended to his complaints.

Beſides this country, the marquis of *Bertochſgalden* poſſeſſes ſome eſtates in Auſtria and Bavaria; the value of which altogether may amount to about 60,000 guilders per annum; but the diſſipation of former marquiſſes has occaſioned the contraction of a large debt.

LETTER XVII.

Paſſau.

I SAILED hither from Saltzburg, on the Saltza and Inn. Water journies have great allurements for me, from the variety of company one generally meets with in them. The veſſel was very full as far as Burghauſen. Here a great part of my companions got out to go on a pilgrimage to the neighbouring Ottingen. The pilgrims conſiſted of a great number of young perſons of both ſexes, who ſeemed to have far other purpoſes than thoſe of expiating their old offences. As we ſpent the night together at the inn at Burghauſen, I had opportunity enough to ſee that there would be a great weight added to the former load.

There ſtill remained company enough on board for my entertainment. I met with no great entertainment from ſome Auſtrian recruits, and ſome ſtudents who were going away for the vacation; but a *gnadige frau**, from Saltzburg, who was going to Vienna, with a view of getting into a cook's or chambermaid's place, which her rank did not ſuffer her to accept of in her own country, made up to me, and was very good company. This good girl ſo entirely won my heart by her ingenuity, her taſte, her good heart, and her variety of knowledge, that I deſired ſhe would call upon me at Vienna, and let me know in what I could ſerve her. A young woman, who leaves home for the firſt time, muſt feel herſelf ſadly diſtreſſed in the midſt of a large city.

We paſſed the boundaries that part Auſtria and Bavaria. The ſmall part of Bavaria to our right, which has lately come into the poſſeſſion of the Auſtrians, does not make more than thirty-eight German miles, and hardly contains ſixty thouſand men. The revenue it furniſhes is about 18,000 rix-dollars, ſo that it hardly ſeems worth the eighth part of the expence which Auſtria has been at in the attempt to gain it. The views, however, which this court had in this undertaking, are far more extenſive than was thought by the court of Verſailles, where the whole was conſidered as a diſpute about a nutſhell. This is not the firſt time that the King of Pruſſia has been obliged to appriſe our wiſe miniſter of the conſequences which the ſteps of certain courts would draw after them, conſequences which would otherwiſe certainly have been overlooked. When the Court of Auſtria found the King of Pruſſia as formidable an adverſary with his pen as with his ſword, and were compelled by the light given to Ruſſia, to have recourſe to negociation, they pretended that they wanted to make the Inn under Waſſenburg the limit betwixt Bavaria and their dominions, and from thence to penetrate into Bohemia by the Iſer, the Danube, and the Upper Palatinate; and in return for this they propoſed to cede ſome of their poſſeſſions in Suabia, to the Court of Munich. Our miniſter the Baron de Breteuil would gladly have conſented to this exchange; but the accurate knowledge which the King of Pruſſia had of the advantages and ſituation of theſe countries, enabled him to open the eyes of our court and of Ruſſia. He ſhewed them that Auſtrian Suabia could be no equivalent for a great part of Bavaria, becauſe the income which the Auſtrian country yielded was already the higheſt that could be got from it; whereas the lands in Bavaria, conſidering the bad cultivation of them at that time, might eaſily be made capable of producing much more than what they were eſtimated at. He ſhewed them that Auſtria would be a conſiderable gainer by the exchange, which would effectu-

* Titled woman.

ally

ally put it in poſſeſſion of Bavaria, by giving it the ſalt-pits at Reicheſhall, and the trade for the Saltzburg ſalts; that by this means it would not only poſſeſs itſelf of the remainder of Bavaria, but render Suabia, and a great part of Switzerland dependant on it for a very important commodity; that Saltzburg and Paſſau would, in fact, though not in appearance, become dependant on the Court of Vienna, and that finally the Palatinate, reſtrained as it already is by the poſſeſſions of Auſtria on all ſides of it, would have no power at all, and be entirely unable to make any efforts whatever.

Theſe repreſentations were attended with ſuch effect, that the Emperor was obliged to put off the *making his German dominions ſquare*, to a more favourable opportunity. I am of opinion, however, that ſooner or later Bavaria muſt bow to the Auſtrian yoke, however reluctant it may be to the operation. As a citizen of the world, and a friend to mankind, who, when the fate of a large country is at ſtake, always conſider more the advantage of my fellow creatures than any other circumſtance whatever, I wiſh that this alteration may ſoon take place. A much better government than they at preſent have, or are likely to poſſeſs whilſt they remain a ſeparate people, would not put the Bavarians in poſſeſſion of the advantages they may expect from the uniting with Auſtria; the natural conſequences of which will be certain peace, a much more extenſive outlet for all their country produces, and the enjoyment of many things which Providence has denied to them, but beſtowed plentifully upon Auſtria. Now, if you add to all theſe permanent and perpetual bleſſings, the preſent good to be expected from the ſyſtem of government adopted by the family which now ſits on the Imperial throne, the well wiſhers of Bavaria cannot help hoping to ſee the pretenſions of that court enforced by a mightier arm.

Paſſau is a very miſerable, and thoſe parts only excepted which lie about the Danube, and near the reſidence of the Prince, a very ill built town. It relies for ſubſiſtence on the court, (the income of which is eſtimated at about 220,000 florins, or 22,000l.) and on the canons, whoſe benefices are ſome of the fatteſt in all Germany. A ſtall here is ſuppoſed to be worth more than 3000 florins per annum; whereas thoſe of Saltzburg are not worth more that 2600. But beſides this, it is to be conſidered that almoſt every canon poſſeſſes two, three, or four prebends, and is a member of one or more of the Chapters of Saltzburg, Augſburg, Ratiſbon, and other places; ſo that there are few canons in Germany whoſe incomes are not more than 5000 florins per annum. The inhabitants of theſe ſeveral holy cities are all much alike, as drinking and wenching are their great occupations; and the poverty and good humour, which ſeldom forſake thoſe who are thus addicted, render them affable, obſequious, and humble. The cathedral is a fine Gothic building, which well deſerves to be ſeen. The juriſdiction of the Biſhop, who is dependant only on the Pope, extends almoſt to Vienna, but his authority in Auſtria is already very much limited. In time it will be confined to his own doors, as the Imperial Court (to judge by what it has already done on the ſide of Venice) ſeems determined to render its territory as independent as may be, of all foreign ſpiritual juriſdiction. There are fine china manfactures and potteries in this country; the produce of the former is carried as far as the Rhine.

Some writers upon Switzerland have contended that the Danube riſes in this country, and not in Suabia. Their principal reaſon for ſaying ſo is, that where the Inn joins the Danube at this place, the firſt of theſe two ſtreams has a greater body of water than the other. Suppoſe for a moment the fact to be true, ſtill it would be a diſpute of words; for who will refuſe the public the privilege of calling a river by whatever name it pleaſes? Let it be called what it will at its ſource, the river Brege in the Black Foreſt, which when it meets the Danube is certainly much the largeſt of the two, is nevertheleſs

obliged to give up its name to it:—but the very plea on which the Swiſs ground their pretenſions is only a deception. It is impoſſible to take a very ſmall part of any river from a given place for the full meaſure of its greatneſs. The difference of ſoil in the bed, a ſtronger ſtream, and a variety of other circumſtances make the maſs of water in a river very different at different places. Here, when the Danube meets the Inn, the former is cramped up by hills; whereas the other running free is of courſe much wider. But the Danube contains far more water upon equal ground, and far above Ratiſbon, before it has received the great rivers Alimuh, Nob, Regen, and Zier, is already a much mightier river than the Inn, which does not gain a great deal by the acceſſion of the very unſteady and irregular Saltza, betwixt Waſſenburg and Inſpruck. Without doubt, therefore, Suabia has the honour of being the birth place of the mighty Danube, with which only the Volga amongſt the European rivers can meaſure itſelf. If you come now to compare the whole courſe of the two rivers (which join here), from the ſource to the place of meeting, the Inn, by reaſon of its windings, certainly runs over more ground, but it is not to be compared with the Danube for width. Till it comes under Chuffſtein the Inn flows in a very narrow valley; whereas the Danube domineers over the whole plain of Suabia and Bavaria. The Iller and the Lech, by having run into the Danube during a long way, ſoon become as conſiderable as the Inn is at Inſpruck. This laſt river being confined to a very narrow valley receives no nouriſhment but from ſmall ſtreams; whilſt the Danube gathers all the fatneſs of one of the richeſt lands poſſible in water, during a length of upwards of forty, and a breadth of twenty miles.

The courſe I have hitherto purſued in my journey through Germany has carried me through three large plains reſpectively watered by the Rhine, the Necker, and the Danube. The firſt of theſe is bounded by the Bogeſian hills and the Black Foreſt, which run parallel from north to ſouth. By the Black Foreſt it is covered from the cold eaſt winds, and the different arms of theſe parallel hills likewiſe defend it from the ungentle influences of the north. It enjoys an even and temperate climate, which allows the vineyards to ripen admirably. The plain of the Necker is of the ſame temperature as this laſt: But the immenſe plain of the Danube lies expoſed to the blaſt of every wind under heaven. The greateſt part of it is expoſed to the north and north-eaſt, as is viſible by the courſe of the rivers Iller, Lech, and the Iſer. Here Father Bacchus's power can avail nothing againſt the fierceneſs of Boreas and the north. Many attempts have been made to plant vines on the Iſer and Danube below Ratiſbon, but hitherto they have only produced grapes for eating; I believe that this whole tract of country is too full of wood and water for the vine to ripen in it. But after all, what was Suabia and the country about the Rhine in the times of Tacitus? Little did the Romans think that the vine could grow in Germany. Did they not even doubt whether fruit could grow there? And yet Suabia now produces lordly vines, which may diſpute for excellence with the Falernian and all the Roman wines; and the ſtill wilder Bavaria has plenty of good corn.

The fact is, that the air of a country changes with the cultivation; the drying up of marſhes renders it warmer. The evaporation, too, occaſioned by numbers who live together, may work on the air. No doubt but in time ſtill more ſucceſsful experiments with the grape will be made in Bavaria. The ſlopes of the hills on the left ſide of the Danube, betwixt this place and Ratiſbon, promiſe a good place to plant the vine in, as they are well guarded from the noxious winds; and the wine which is actually made in the country about Paſſau, truly merits the name of wine.

This large vale of the Danube, which at this place is covered to the right by the arm of Bavaria, and to the left by the Styrian hills, produces likewiſe the beſt kind of corn. It would very eaſily nouriſh as many men again as it actually does. Corn is often ſo

cheap in Bavaria, as hardly to pay the farmer for the trouble of raiſing it: one hundred and ſeventy pounds of rye are frequently ſold for about two florins.

Navigation is by no means ſo well underſtood in this country as it is upon the upper Rhine; they do not yet underſtand how to ſail according to the direction of the river. Moſt of the veſſels which go by here come from Ratiſbon and Ulm: they are without decks or maſts; they are built only of fir boards, and are ſold again either at Vienna or elſewhere. The Emperor has promiſed great rewards to ſuch maſters of veſſels as will build their veſſels like thoſe on the Rhine; but in this as in every thing elſe, it is difficult to make the mechanical part of the public tread the track they have not been accuſtomed to.

As the navigation of the upper parts of the river is not yet eſtabliſhed, there is often a want of horſes at particular ſtages, ſo that you are frequently obliged to hire horſes for the whole journey, though there are ſeveral places in which you might do very well without them. The veſſels on the Rhine have the convenience of being able to go ſometimes with two and ſometimes with ſix horſes, according as the wind and ſtreams happen to be favourable. They are obliged for this to the conſtant navigation of the river, which enables the people who inhabit the ſhore to have hackney horſes at ſmall diſtances from each other. Some of theſe obſtacles will fall away of themſelves as ſoon as the commerce of the country about the Danube grows more conſiderable; the largeſt ſhip which goes from this place to Vienna carries 2000 quintals, which is about the load of a two-maſted veſſel. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

Lintz.

I WAITED at Paſſau for the veſſel that goes every week from Ratiſbon, and meant to have gone as far as Vienna in her; but the people ſtopt ſo often in the calmeſt weather, under pretence of fearing an approaching ſtorm, that my patience was quite worn out. I could very well ſee that their true motive in ſtopping thus often, was to get rid of ſome of their contraband goods in the ſmall places on the coaſt. Beſides this, my company had but ſmall charms for me; it conſiſted of a number of mechanics, who worked their paſſage, and of farmers' daughters who were going to Vienna for a ſervice. Many of theſe were obviouſly with child, and ſeemed to have left their country in order to be delivered, with leſs ſhame and expence, in the hoſpital at Vienna. Auſtria is generally ſupplied with a plentiful number of recruits of this kind from this ſide. Such ſociety not being at all to my mind, and on the other hand the city of Lintz, with the country round, preſenting a fair proſpect of amuſement, I could not reſiſt the temptation of giving up a few days to become better acquainted with it.

At Engelhaſtzell our baggage was ſearched. Every thing was conducted in the beſt order poſſible, and with a great deal of gentleneſs; the putting the cuſtom-houſe ſeals to the merchandize of our veſſel took up a whole day. It is ſtill a riddle to me how the ſhip's company contrived to paſs their contraband commodities (of the exiſtence of which I was well aſſured); for the cuſtom-houſe officers did not appear to me to be of a ſort to ſuffer themſelves to be bribed: as for me, the ſearchers directed their whole attention to my books; they took away from me Young's Night Thoughts, which I had purchaſed out of compaſſion from a poor ſtudent at Saltzburg, but ſuffered Gibbon's Works to paſs. You know the laſt. The firſt is an excellent chriſtian, but his invective, not againſt the catholics in general, but againſt thoſe only who would not allow him to bury his child, has placed him amongſt the Machiavels, Spinozas, and Bolingbrokes.

How-

How ridiculous a thing does every *index expurgatorius* in the world appear, when one ſees, as one often does, that the bare title often damns a book; and when one conſiders, that no college of cenſors upon earth is equal to the taſk of reading over all the books that come out, ſo as to be able to give timely orders for ſtopping them on the frontiers of the country. Gibbon is a declared enemy to religion, and yet has been able to make his way into Auſtria!

In truth this is the only weak part of the Imperial government. The prohibition of books only ſerves to raiſe their price in the country. In Switzerland as well as at Inſpruck, Saltſburg, and many other places, I was aſſured that large quantities of forbidden books were every year introduced into Auſtria from this ſide of the frontier. Officers of the firſt rank, preſidents, and counſellors, take a ſhare in this trade; nor has the prohibition any other effect than making a Baile's Dictionary (for inſtance) the true price of which is five guineas, ſell at Vienna for 100 thalers; and for this price you may have enough of them. No doubt the ſame trade is carried on, from the Saxon and Sileſian ſides of the country.

As ſoon as you ſet your foot on Auſtrian ground you begin to find that another ſyſtem of government prevails from what you have lately been accuſtomed to ſee.

The farmers' houſes, their clothing, their tools, their agriculture, every thing about them is better than in Bavaria. Yeſterday I ſaw ſome farmers going to market in calaſhes. They had all the appearance of rich Engliſh, or North-Holland farmers. Their looks, their well fed horſes, and their whole apparatus, beſpoke a degree of opulence, which their long, brown, but very neat coats, their large ſhoes without buckles, and their large ſhort cut hats, did not ſeem to promiſe. They call theſe farmers here, *landers*, and their great numbers do the legiſlature much credit. You meet, indeed, now and then with beggars, who ſolicit your compaſſion for a bride or bridegroom juſt married; but this is more a compliance with an old eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country than a matter of neceſſity. The large grey or black felt hats, as well as their whole clothing, make the farmer's daughters look very handſome.

Upper Auſtria is ſhut out from the fructifying weſt and ſouth winds by large hills, and even the cleanſing north is forbid entrance by the Bohemian mountains. Only the eaſt has free entrance into it; nor can a country that has ſo much water be otherwiſe than very moiſt. The number of hills and woods too are very unfavourable to agriculture, ſo that the riches of the country conſiſt chiefly in paſtures, in ſalt, and apples, the quantity of which ſupplies the want of wine.

The ſituation of Lintz, which is the capital of this country, is extremely beautiful. From Schloſsberg, which is on the weſt ſide of the city, you command a magnificent view of an immenſe plain to the right of the Danube. This is terminated to the ſouth by the lofty hills of Styria, whoſe heads often top the clouds. The city, which is on this ſide the Danube, riſes directly over againſt you, like a magnificent amphitheatre. The ſemicircle of beautiful high hills, by which it is encompaſſed, extended to the Danube. The deep white ground of theſe hills is thick covered with villages and houſes, and amidſt the hanging woods on the ſide, there are ſome caſtles which make a very fine appearance. The majeſtic Danube gives ſtill more grandeur, life, and variety to this beautiful proſpect.

The city is very handſome. It is built almoſt entirely of freeſtone. There is ſo much induſtry, happineſs, and proſperity, among the eleven thouſand inhabitants who dwell in it, as to make the Bavarian cities appear like ſo many poor-houſes, in compariſon of it. There are ſeveral conſiderable manufactures here, and the trade of the city is very extenſive. There is very good company to be met with amongſt the numerous and poliſhed

nobility, the officers who are conſtantly quartered here, and the ſeveral profeſſors of the place. The city is open on all ſides, and the town and country ſeem ſo united, that, if my ſpirit of knight errantry would allow it, I would pitch my tent, and lay up my travelling ſtaff here. The nobility of the place chiefly conſiſts of families, whoſe incomes are too ſmall to allow of their living creditably at Vienna. One advantage, which ariſes from this is, that they abate much of the *hauteur*, which renders the converſation of the Upper German noblity in general ſo unbearable.

The young women of this place have much better manners, more reading, and are in all reſpects better qualified to appear with advantage in ſociety than the Bavarian dames; but they loſe in body what they gain in mind. Their general want of colour, and their faded looks, in which are ſo ſtrong a contraſt to the animated open countenances of the others, are commonly attributed to the waters, and damp of the place; but I am of opinion that the evil lies elſewhere. A large garriſon ſeldom contributes to the health of young women. The dreſs of the women of the lower rank is the handſomeſt I have ever ſeen. Their conſtitutions ſeem to be very warm, which explains the ſhrivelled ſtate of their bodies.

The treatment of ſtrangers here does not correſpond with the ſoftneſs and gentleneſs of manner which the Auſtrian government aſſumes in every thing elſe. We were carried like priſoners from the veſſel to the guard-room, where I was obliged to wait above half an hour, in a ſtinking room, before the officer, who had the appearance of an inquiſitor, had examined the ſeveral mechanics, and was at leiſure to expedite my paſſport. This gentleman ſeemed to me to have it much more at heart to make recruits, than to recommend himſelf to his ſuperiors by his good treatment of ſtrangers.

Happening to have left my tobacco-box on board, I took a walk in ſearch of it, through a very pleaſant country, to the place where I knew the veſſel muſt ſtop. I arrived juſt as ſome lower officers, with very fierce and ſurly countenances, were got on board, once more to viſit the mechanics, who imagined they had been diſpatched at Lintz. They took away two Bohemians, under the pretence that the natives were not allowed to go from one province to another without a ſpecial permiſſion. The men were indeed ſoon releaſed on ſhewing their paſſes, but in the interval the veſſel had ſailed, and the men were obliged to walk ſeveral miles before they could come up with it again. The object of the ſoldiers was certainly to oblige theſe good people, by their delay, to enliſt. A traveller in France, be his rank what it may, has no impediments of this kind to apprehend. As ſoon as his paſs is ſealed, and his trunk ſearched, nothing more can ſtop him. I was ſtanding this morning on the banks of the river, to ſee them unload a veſſel from Ulm, on board which I mean to take my paſſage to-morrow. Amongſt the paſſengers were two of our countrymen, the one an elderly man, who was going to Vienna to get his bread as a language maſter; the other a *friſeur*. A ſerjeant, with his bayonet fixed, aſked them for their paſs, which he tore out of their hands, with a ferocity I was not at all ſurpriſed at, becauſe I knew it was natural to him. The language maſter was offended at it, and muſtered all his German together, in order to make the ſoldier ſenſible of his importance. Though the ſerjeant could not make a word out of what the poor Frenchman would have ſaid, yet the vivacity of the manner having made him conjecture it muſt be ſomething not ſufficiently reſpectful, he gave the other a punch in the ribs with the bayonet. On this, the Frenchman appealed to the ſpectators, and told them, that people were not thus treated in his country; but the only anſwer he got for this remonſtrance, was from one of the mob, who adviſed him, if that was the caſe, in future to ſtay at home. Such treatment does not prepoſſeſs a

ſtranger,

ſtranger, who happens to have no opportunity of ſeeing better company, with a very favourable opinion of the country.

Remonſtrances in general are but ill received here. The omnipotent ſtick is ever ready to anſwer interrogatories; and a man ſoon perceives, in every occurrence, that he is come into a military government, the foundation of which is abolute ſubordination. It is true, that perſons of a certain rank are not expoſed to this; but what then? It appears to me, that whatever be the condition, or ſtation, man owes to man good will and civility. Amongſt us the leaſt ſoldier is open to remonſtrance, and anſwers it as well as he is able. Every body ſeems eager to ſhew the ſtranger that they take intereſt in his fate, that they are glad to ſee him in their country, and that they have a pride in giving him as good an opinion of them as poſſible. The reaſon why we were treated with more civility at Engelhaſtzel, is, becauſe it is a frontier town, and there are no troops quartered there, on account of the fear there is of deſertion; ſo the civil officers are obliged to give good words: but here, when the air reſounds with the ſtrokes of the corporal's ſtick, every look of the loweſt ſervant muſt be conſidered as a command.—Brother, in what regards politeneſs and humanity, a Frenchman has a right to be proud. This is no prejudice. In the other nations of Europe, civility is confined within the very ſmall circle of the higher orders; but we muſt do our common people the honour to allow that it is by no means ſo with us. As for the boaſted freedom of ſpeech of ſome of our neighbours, it is often no more than a ferocity, and wildneſs of manner, produced by a very bad education.

Our boat was built after the model of Noah's ark; it had no windows to it, was decked all over, and the men, beaſts, merchandize, and vermin, were packed up together in it without any diſtinction. The quarterdeck ſupplied the place of a cabin.

A high pile of cheſts of ſugar formed the inner wall of this, and on one ſide of it there was a little opening left, which they called a window, but through which there hardly came light enough to ſhew that it was day. There was another opening made on the ſide of the foredeck length-ways, about the middle of the veſſel, not large enough to let a dove fly in with an olive branch. Through this, with very imminent danger of life, we were obliged to do our neceſſities.

As there was no outlet to theſe *cloacæ*, nor any cabin boys on board to clean them, you may conceive what balſamic exhalations every now and then filled the boat, eſpecially as it happened to be uncommonly full of paſſengers. I lay for the greateſt part of the time ſtretched out on the roof of this ark, but was forced to cling very cloſe to the edge of it, that I might not be plunged into the water, by the leaſt motion ariſing from the change of the rudder, or by running on ground. It is, I aſſure you, no ſmall exerciſe to ſecure the feet properly in theſe expeditions. The beautiful proſpect I enjoyed made the journey tolerable. From Paſſau hither, the banks of the Danube are covered with the hills which ſurround the plains of Auſtria. Theſe hills ſtand in general ſo near each other, that it is only in a very few places that you can call the ſpace between them a plain; in many places they hang over the river like broken walls. Notwithſtanding this, the ſhores are well inhabited and wonderfully cultivated. It is true, that between Lintz and this place, which are diſtant from each other twenty-eight German miles, you meet with no great cities, but there are many ſmall ones, and a great number of villages and meadows, all which ſhew that the inhabitants are much at their eaſe.

What afforded me the greateſt pleaſure was the winding of the river; ſometimes we coaſted along vallies encompaſſed with hills, the ſlopes of which were gentle enough to admit of cultivation to the very top. The fore-ground of the beautiful perſpective exhibited

hibited either a well cultivated village or a large meadow, the white of which contraſted ſingularly with the dark groves of the broken mountain behind. And now the boat comes nearer and nearer to this place, which ſhuts in the whole proſpect, and ſeems to ſwim upon the water; now we are only a hundred paces diſtant from it, without being able to diſcover on what ſide the ſtream will wind out of the vale. We fear to run aground on the walls of a town, or to put into the ſtreets of a village, when at once a proſpect of a quite different kind opens to our right; the river turns by a ſharp corner out of the clear vale, into a narrow, wild, obſcure glen. This is like being carried at once out of mid-day into the darkeſt night; for the perpendicular high hills and groves on each ſide do not ſuffer the day to break through. But the back-ground is covered by a thick darkneſs, which hardly allows of diſtinguiſhing the tops of the high hills from the deep blue of the ſky. The fore ground is filled with a dark grey, which agrees wonderfully with the colour and figure of the hills and woods. No noiſe breaks the ſtillneſs which reigns in this ſolitary vale, ſave the far-ſounding ſtroke of a wood-cutter in a neighbouring wood, or the ſong of ſome bird. And now we are approaching the end of this frightful proſpect, and expect to be reſtored to day through ſome ſubterraneous paſſage, but the ſcenery grows darker and darker, and the way we are to get out appears more and more a riddle to us: with anxious looks we ſeek for an opening in the rocks, by which we are impriſoned on all ſides;—when lo! as if by a ſtroke of a fairy's wand, there opens a chearful landſcape on the left, to the ſight of which we are introduced through a narrow gulph. Our raviſhed eyes now wander over the beautiful hills, the various woods, the numberleſs villages, the caſtles and country houſes, the vineyards and gardens, which during a long tract are reflected by the river. In this manner the proſpect is always changing, the variety being ſuch as leaves you more to expect in every change, and always gives more than it had promiſed.

I had two adventures on board of this conveyance, which turned out like the famous wind-mill buſineſs of the renowned Don Quixote. I am almoſt aſhamed to give an account of them. In my way here, through Ulm and the other cities, I had heard ſo much of the danger of paſſing the fall and whirlpool of the Danube, that I had thought of throwing you and Nannette into no ſmall terrors, by the deſcription of the perils I had undergone. But you may now be at reſt, my dear children, though I ſhould have this Scylla and Charibdis to encounter a hundred times. The fall is a ſpot in which the river, having been confined for a time betwixt two high hills, breaks with an impetuous noiſe over a wall of rocks, which meet it directly in its courſe. This ſounds very terrible; but towards the right ſide of the river, the ſtream has worn theſe rocks ſo much, that even at this time, when the water is lower than ever it was known to be in the memory of man, the largeſt veſſel may ſail over, without being expoſed to any danger. Poſſibly, ſome hundred years ago, there might have been ſome riſk, and this may have made this place ſo famous in all the ſouthern parts of Germany, and in all the relations of voyage writers and geographers; but at preſent there is a great noiſe about nothing, and the inceſſant flowing of the ſtream will ſoon do away even the name of this frightful place. The country about the fall is wild and romantic to a degree. A broken rock, in appearance like a ſquare tower, ſtands about twenty paces from the ſhore, in the midſt of the roaring flood. The common paſſage is betwixt this rock and the ſhore. They have erected a croſs on this natural caſtle, to which the travellers addreſs their prayers: it makes a very picturesque appearance amidſt the wild briars that ſurround it. Upon the whole, I was much more amuſed with the beauties of the country, than frightened with the danger of the place.

We left the whirlpool *, which is met with ſoon after the fall, about twelve to fifteen paces on the right, without being affected by any of its undulations. Commonly there is room for more veſſels than one to paſs betwixt it and the ſhore, without any danger: ſo that when the maſter carries his paſſengers through it, it is only done to impreſs them with needleſs terrors. When the water is deepeſt and ſtrongeſt, it cannot ſuck in a veſſel carrying a moderate burthen; but is only dangerous to the ſmall craft which obſtinately perſiſt in going through it. As far as I could ſee, it is not above twenty feet in circumference. To ſum up all, neither of theſe places are as dangerous as many parts of the Moſelle, the Maeſe, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Rhine, which yet are commonly paſſed by without any apprehenſions.

A great variety of circumſtances concur to excite an idea of danger in both theſe parts of the Danube. Low mechanics are fond of ſpeaking of them, and magnifying the danger, that they may increaſe their own importance in having gone through it. Others more ſimple, who come to the place with ſtrong conceits of what they are to meet with there, are ſo ſtruck with the wildneſs of the proſpect, and the roaring of the water, that they begin to quake and tremble before they have ſeen any thing;—But the maſters of veſſels are thoſe who moſt effectually keep up the impoſition. They make the paſſages a pretence for raiſing the price of the freight, and when you are paſt them, the ſteerſman goes round with his hat in his hand to collect money from the paſſengers, as a reward for having conducted them ſafely through ſuch perilous ſpots. When our maſter (who yet very well knew how much it was for his intereſt to keep up the credit of his monſters) ſaw how little attention I paid to them, he aſſured me, in confidence, that during the twenty years he had ſailed the Danube, he had not heard of a ſingle accident. There is infinitely more danger from the many wooden bridges which the veſſels muſt neceſſarily paſs through. The arches of theſe are, for the moſt part, ſo cloſe to each other, that there is hardly room enough for a large veſſel to paſs betwixt them. The common paſſage-boat, which has travellers and valuable wares on board, has nothing to fear, both becauſe the ſides of theſe veſſels are ſo high, that they cannot eaſily ſhip water, and becauſe the people belonging to the veſſel, and who are to anſwer for the goods, take care that they ſhall not be expoſed to danger; but from the inn at Stein, where we ſtopped to take a view of the cloiſter of Molk, and the country round about us, we ſaw three ſhips laden with wood ſink under the bridge. The few ſailors which were on board jumped into a wherry, and endeavoured to take in as much of the wood, with which the Danube is covered on every part, as they could. The ſides of theſe ſhips are hardly more than a few inches higher than the ſurface of the river, and the leaſt joſtle they meet with makes them ſhip water enough to ſink them.

The gatherers of wood are miſerable people, who can get nothing by any handicraft. Their wretched ſhips are of no value, and in caſe of accidents, the men can always ſave themſelves on board the ſmall boats, which they have in tow for the purpoſe. Moſt of the miſcarriages are to be aſcribed to their wantonneſs.

Throughout the whole of this journey, we met with very good and very cheap inns. There are no men waiters in theſe parts, but their duty is done by young women, who ſeem ready for more ſervices than one. There reigns throughout an exceſſive cleanlineſs, and a high degree of eaſe and proſperity.

Paris by no means ſtrikes the eye ſo magnificently as Vienna does, when you approach the latter by the river. At a diſtance of a few miles you firſt diſcover the high tower of St. Stephens, in a narrow vale, through which the ſtream winds. The windings of

* The German words are, Wirbel and Strindel. They probably mean one and the ſame thing.

the

the vale ſoon remove the tower from the eyes of the traveller, who ſtill looks eagerly for the place where the immenſe pyramid, now vaniſhed, pointed out to him the habitation of the Cæſars. Soon after, high hills covered with vineyards cloſe up this vale, when to the left there opens an immenſe plain, in which, by degrees, the traveller diſcovers a part of the city: the right is covered with hills, partly wooded, and partly cultivated, which come down to the river. The magnificence of this beautiful ſpot is much improved by the royal cloiſter of Neuburg. At length you come to a ſtrait rock, which hangs almoſt down upon the flood below. On the top of this there is a cloiſter, and at the bottom the beauteous village of Ruſdorff, which you almoſt take for one of the ſuburbs of Vienna. When once you have paſſed the rock, the capital occupies the whole horizon. Its ſeveral parts commend themſelves the more to the eye, from their being at great diſtances from each other, and many of them ſituated on high eminences. The number of large buildings, the noiſe that broke upon my ears from all ſides, and the foreſt, as it were, of houſes, made my heart beat, notwithſtanding all the pains I could take to think of Horace's *Nil Admirari*.

When we landed, my trunks underwent another ſearch by the cuſtom-houſe officers. This paſſed over without any diſagreeable circumſtances, as they did not take the trouble to inſpect my pockets, which I had filled with forbidden books. The journey from Lintz hither laſted ſix days, though it is commonly performed in two. The reaſon aſſigned by the ſailors was the uſual one of contrary winds; but I knew the true cauſe to be, the contraband goods they had on board. The journey from Ratiſbon hither coſts two ducats; one of which pays your paſſage, and the other your proviſions, which conſiſt of freſh fiſh, ſalt meat, and ſome vegetables. When the weather is fine, you may ſleep on board without inconvenience. Cheap however as this journey of fifty-ſix German miles ſeems to be at firſt ſight, I did not find my account in it; the frequent and long ſtoppages of the ſhip obliging me to live much on ſhore, and to ſpend my time and money at inns.

The beſt way, when you are fortunate enough to meet with company at Ulm or Ratiſbon, is to purchaſe a ſmall decked veſſel, which you may have for ſixty or ſeventy guilders, and which will hold fifteen or ſixteen people. The veſſel may be ſold again at Vienna, often with profit, and you perform your journey in four, five, or at moſt ſix days; whereas a common veſſel is fourteen, and often ſixteen days in going the journey. Three or four ſailors and a good ſteerſman will think themſelves ſufficiently paid for their trouble, if, when you come to your journey's end, you give them the veſſel.

LETTER XIX.

YOU have no idea, dear brother, of the trouble I had to provide myſelf with a proper habitation. I ran about the city three whole days with my *laquais de place*, before I could get houſed. It is not here as at Paris, where there is an office in every part of the city, giving an account of what houſes or lodgings are to let, and for what price. Here every owner of a houſe puts up a bill before his door, ſtating very circumſtantially what rooms he has empty. As the houſes conſiſt of five or ſix ſtories, and each ſtory has an owner, who may have a room or an apartment vacant, you often find the doors of the houſes plaſtered all over with advertiſements, and may be near half an hour reading, before you get the information you want to arrive at.

The firſt room I ſaw was up four pair of ſtairs. The looks of it did not diſpleaſe me; but as ſoon as I heard that the owner was a *Gnadige Herr*, I ſaid in French to my laquais, "Away, I will have nothing to do with a *gnadige herr*, who has half of his hired habi-

tation to underlet." The next houſe I went into, I mounted up ſix pair of ſtairs. When I was got to the top, there came out of a lower apartment a little diminutive man in a night gown; he had a pen ſticking behind his ear, and was followed by a maid, who gave him the appellation of *your honour*. Only *your honour*, thought I to myſelf, this may do. I went into the rooms, and was half induced, by the pure air I breathed in theſe upper regions, to cloſe the agreement, when it came into my head to open a window, and look what ſort of proſpect I ſhould have. I could diſcover nothing but roofs of houſes and chimneys, which entirey took away all view of the city.—"Away," ſaid I.—So we ſaw ſix apartments that day, without finding any thing that would ſuit. Amongſt other landlords, we came to an *Excellence*, or rather to a *Magnificence* (for I had choice of titles) who lived in the back part of a ground floor, and with whom I did not chooſe to partake of the foul air he breathed. The next day's operation opened with a *gnadige frau*. She recommended her *fraeleii tochter* to me for ſo many things, that it was impoſſible to think of coming to an agreement with her. "Look here," ſays ſhe, "*my daughter herſelf* will bring you your coffee in the morning; if you chooſe any tea in an afternoon, *my daughter herſelf* will wait upon you with it; if you chooſe to treat us now and then to a play, and are too late for your *traiteur*, our cold ſupper will be at your ſervice, and ſo on!"——Thou muſt know, it is not in Germany as with us at Paris; a woman of honour looks upon it as an affront to be offered to be treated to a public place, by a perſon who is not a relation, or a particular friend. Here it is the cuſtom to frank women wherever you go with them. I ſoon ſaw that the pretty girl's ſervices were included in the price of the room; ſo away I went again. Having again tired myſelf with ſearching this day, I began to think that I ſhould not find what I wanted in the city itſelf, as all the lodgings which have any free air or proſpect are infinitely dearer than at Paris. This cannot well be otherwiſe, as a third part of the inhabitants dwell within the walls of the city, which do not comprehend above one ſixth of the ground it ſtands upon. As the ſuburbs are at ſome diſtance from the city, their extenſiveneſs makes it a deſirable object for every one to live nearer the centre of buſineſs. The ſuburbs of Paris are as well inhabited as the city itſelf. But at Vienna we meet with a great deal of waſte ground. Another reaſon of the high price of the beſt houſes in the city is, that the ſecond ſtory of every houſe belongs to the court, and is tenanted by its ſervants. You pay from ſix to eight guilders (about eighteen ſhillings) a month for one of the beſt rooms in a good ſtreet, and about three for one of the worſt. In the ſuburb of Mariahef, which is the moſt wholeſome ſituation in the place, after ſome trouble, I found a very handſome room, which commands a fine proſpect, for three guilders a month.

I cannot go from hence to town without a great deal of trouble. In Paris you are forced to walk up to your ancles in mud; here on the other hand, you cannot ſtir out without being choaked with the duſt. Vienna lies open to the drying eaſt and north winds, but is protected by its neighbouring hills from the ſouth and weſt, which keeps Paris in almoſt perpetual rains. When it has rained here a whole night, all is dry again a few hours after ſun-riſe, and by noon the clouds of duſt begin to riſe. Indeed, when it rains more than a day, the duſt makes the mud exceedingly deep. When I would go to the town, I muſt croſs the wide and naked plain which parts us, which I am obliged to do, with my handkerchief to my mouth, in order not to be choaked with duſt. The hackney coaches of this place are always in a trot or a gallop, and as the way to Shombrun lies by my windows, it requires ſome good luck, as well as ſome care, to go through the clouds of duſt, without being run over by a hackney coach, or without running ground of ſome other traveller.

In

In caſe of a ſiege, the diſtance betwixt the town and ſuburbs would give the beſiegers great advantages; but it is very unlikely that ſuch a circumſtance ſhould ever happen. The Turks have been the only people in modern times, who could carry their wars to the gates of the capital, a thing which the King of Pruſſia did not dare attempt, after the moſt ſucceſsful battle. At preſent the ſtrength of the Imperial houſe is ſo ſuperior to that of the Porte, that I believe the preſent court keeps up the fortifications, only with the view of keeping the city itſelf in ſubjection. Another reaſon indeed, may be aſſigned, which is the ruin that would fall upon ſeveral families, who ſubſiſt entirely by letting their houſes, if the value of them was to ſink one half, which it would certainly do, if the empty ſpace before the city was to be built upon. As things now are, there are ſeveral habitations worth from 2 to 300,000 guilders, or from 20 to 30,000 pounds * per annum, which conſtitutes the whole fortune of their poſſeſſors. Any man who is out of debt, and has a houſe in this city, is accounted a rich man. The houſe of the bookſeller Trattnem is an object of 30,000 guilders (or 3000l. a year) to him. The advantages that would accrue, in point of health and convenience, by carrying the city on to the ſuburbs, and by that means thinning the choaked up habitations, would not make amends for what thoſe who have houſes muſt unavoidably ſuffer by the change.

Within theſe few days I have begun my uſual circle in and about the city, in order to be able to form to myſelf an idea of its ſeparate parts. It takes up almoſt two hours to go from the end of the ſuburb of Wieden to the end of the ſuburb of Leopold, which is larger than the town, and parted from it only by a ſmall arm of the Danube. The going from the ſuburb Roſſaw to the end of the ſuburb Landſtraſſe, took me up about another half hour. Vienna certainly ſtands upon much more ground than Paris does. It has twenty-ſix ſuburbs; but many parts of them are not built upon, and about a third of them is occupied by three or four hundred gardens, not above three or four of which are worth ſeeing. The ſuburbs beſt inhabited are the Roſſaw, the Joſephſtadt, St. Ulrich, Mariahilp, a part of the Wieden, and the Leopoldſtadt. The largeſt of them all, after the Leopoldſtadt, is the Wieden, the inhabitants of which have a great reſemblance to thoſe of the ſuburb St. Marcel at Paris.

There are ſcarce eight buildings in the whole town which can be called beautiful or magnificent. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe are the palace of Lichtenſtein, the Emperor's library, and the chancery.

The Emperor's palace is an old black building, that has neither beauty nor ſtateline ſs. It is a great maſs of ſtone, which was built ſeven ſtories high, in order to contain as many inhabitants as poſſible. There are hardly three ſquares, or places here which make any figure at all. The greateſt thoroughfare is from the Emperor's palace over the *Coal-market*, the *Graben*, the *Stockameiſenplaſs*, and through the *Carnthnerſtraſſe*. In all theſe places, particularly in the narrow and irregular *Stockameiſenplaſs*, the thoroughfare is as great, and the motion as lively, as in any ſtreet of London or Paris. The ſtream of this great concourſe reaches as far as Leopoldſgate, and throughout the whole of the high ſtreet of the ſuburb of Leopold.——There are not more than eight buildings worth looking at in the ſuburbs; and the taſte of the buildings about the gardens, and the ſummer-houſes, is miſerable.

According to the common report of thoſe from whom one has a right to expect accurate accounts of their native country, the population of Vienna amounts to at leaſt a million. Buſching, in his georaphy, will hardly allow it to paſs two hundred thouſand. In my opinion the public and the geographer are equally miſtaken. In the laſt year, which was not remarkably fatal, according to the bills of mortality, the number of the

* Surely a miſtake. The guilder is 1s. 9d.

dead

dead amounted to ten thouſand, that is about half the number of thoſe who die at Paris. Now if you make allowance for ſtrangers, of whoſe deaths you can have no accurate account, and multiply the ſum by thirty-ſix, you will have the true account of the population.

I was aſſured by a man of conſequence, who was in the way of getting at good information, that a very little time ago, the population was eſtimated at three hundred and eighty-five thouſand, ſtrangers included. This reckoning will appear accurate; for we muſt conſider that the air and water are much better here than they are at Paris, where the numbers are allowed to be ſeven hundred thouſand, of whom twenty-one thouſand die every year. Doubtleſs Vienna has as many inhabitants in it as Naples; and thoſe two towns are the moſt populous in the world, after Conſtantinople, London, and Paris. Whoever is a little acquainted with other large cities will ſee, in a moment, that Vienna muſt contain above two hundred thouſand people.

I am not yet ſufficiently acquainted with the manners, cuſtoms, and amuſements of the inhabitants of this place, to be able to give you any certain information about them. All I can ſay is, that to judge by external appearances, the great appear uncommonly fond of magnificence. I was ſhewn the Prince of Lichtenſtein, mounted on a very fine horſe, and attended by at leaſt eight perſons, ſome of whom were dreſſed like huſſars, and ſeemed to be a kind of body guard. He is ſuppoſed to be like the Emperor, in manners, geſtures, and face; and ſome think that he attempts to copy him in externals. As to my part, I own that in the glimpſe I had of them both, I could not diſcover the reſemblance; and there is one thing in which they certainly differ, for the Emperor undoubtedly does not like to go out with ſo numerous a train of followers. I ſaw him taking the air: he was in a *cabriolet*, and had a ſingle footman behind him. He affects ſimplicity and popularity almoſt in the extreme.

In the ſhort time I have been here, I have ſeen more ſplendid equipages and horſes than there are in all Paris. Our faſhions prevail here univerſally. Dreſſed dolls are regularly ſent from Paris for the purpoſe of teaching the women how to put on their gowns and dreſs their heads. Even the men from time to time, get *memoranda* from Paris, and lay them before their taylors and hair-dreſſers. I heard a lady telling another yeſterday at the play, with an air of the profoundeſt wiſdom, that the Queen of France had worn the ſame kind of head dreſs as ſhe had then on, four weeks ago at the *theatre*. All the women I have hitherto ſeen are painted up to the eyes and ears like the French ones. The knowing ones tell you, that the eyes acquire a kind of fire by this means, which gives an inexpreſſible animation to the whole look; but I believe I have often told you and Nannette, that I am barbarian enough to wiſh to wipe away all the red off a lady's cheeks with a wiſp of ſtraw and coarſe ſand, even though the eyes ſhould loſe all their luſtre by it. After all, the rouge of the ladies here, like that of our Pariſian dames, ſeems to have become a neceſſary evil, to hide the yellowneſs of their ſkin. I ſaw ſeveral of them who had every reaſon to cry out, *La verole mon Dieu, m'a rougé juſqu'aux os.*

LETTER XX.

Vienna.

OUR new philoſophers are unanimous in declaring againſt large ſocieties; as for my own part, I take things as they are, and am contented with what I find, whenever an alteration appears dangerous or impoſſible. It is very true that when you look on the dark ſide of them only, great cities ſeem a diſgrace to humanity; but put one of theſe philoſophers to the proof, and let him tell you how London, Paris, or Vienna, are to be

made leſs without ſhaking the whole ſtate, and rendering a large portion of the preſent inhabitants unhappy.

Wherever there is much light, there will of courſe be a great deal of ſhade. Take them all together, there is more good than bad amongſt mankind; though, therefore, you ſhould allow the wickedneſs of individuals to be more viſible in large cities, than it is in the ſcattered cottages of the inhabitants of the foreſt, mountain, or deſert; it is plainly owing to the following reaſons, viz. Becauſe the natural propenſities of the two legged wild beaſts have more opportunities of ſhewing themſelves without diſguiſe here; becauſe we can ſee the wickedneſs of ſo many that are drawn together, as it were to a point, and in cottages it eſcapes us; becauſe this very contraſt is rendered more ſtriking from the attention which the police, who has no power to reward the good, is compelled to pay to the puniſhment of the wicked. Our philoſophers, who declaim on this head, have more ſpleen than good humour about them, and had rather ſee black than white; but the greateſt part of them are ſo little in earneſt in their declarations, that even the very ſerious John James of Geneva preferred living at Paris, to living with thoſe very Savoyards and inhabitants of the Valais, in whoſe praiſes he was ſo full.

It has been ſaid of London, that you may ſee heaven and hell there at once. This, with a little allowance for the difference, which the ſtrongly pronounced character of the Engliſhman gives to all he does, is true, I believe, of every large city in the world. But, on the other hand, the newſpapers, which are every day publiſhed in theſe cities, exhibit inſtances of virtue in all ranks of life, which the half ſavage has no idea of. The good there is about man diſcovers itſelf in great cities as much as the bad, and ought to be reſpected by every true friend to humanity, in a much greater degree than the virtues of ſavage life, for as much as it is not the working of a ſenſeleſs inſtinct, but the reſult of a greater degree of knowledge and more lively feelings. Conceive to yourſelf the ſublime anſwer of a mechanic of the ſuburb St. Marcel at Paris, to a monk who comforted him on his death bed, by telling him that he muſt of courſe be glad to go out of this world of tribulation. "Good father," ſaid the dying man, "no ſins moleſt my conſcience, my days have glided away ſoftly, and in uninterrupted pleaſures, and the world has been no place of tribulation to me. I reſign myſelf willingly to the appointment of Providence, and die without a ſigh; but, had it pleaſed the Creator to increaſe the number of my days, I truſt that my trade———" Think of the young man who maintained his family for ſome time with his blood, which he ſold to a ſurgeon, who wanted to make experiments with it. Recollect the young woman of St. Jaques at Paris, who ſtood firm againſt every offer of ſeduction, and maintained herſelf, mother, and little ſiſters, by occupations ſo laborious, that they deſtroyed her beauty and impaired her conſtitution. Theſe, and a thouſand more ſuch caſes, which the hiſtory of Paris furniſhes us with, will teach you, that in large ſocieties men excel in virtue as much as they do in vice, and that all the ſtories of the natural place of man, and the advantages to be found in it, for the purpoſes of happineſs and virtue are, for the moſt part, only the beauteous dream of abſtract reaſoners. For my own part, brother, I have found the man of the woods, whenever occaſion was given for it, full as wicked as the inhabitants of the moſt peopled towns and cities. The propenſity, indeed, to oppreſs and cheat his neighbour cannot be ſo viſibly diſcovered in the former as it is in the latter, becauſe the neighbour and he do not often come into ſuch ſtrong colliſion; but when the latter is good, he is ſo in a much higher degree than the half ſavage.

It is ſaid, that certain modes of education, certain cuſtoms, and a bad government, bow down to their yoke thoſe who live with more ſimplicity. But all the half ſavages we are acquainted with (and as to the whole ones, we ſhall know nothing certain of them

them till the country beyond the moon ſhall be diſcovered) are alſo under the influence of cuſtom, education, and government. On the other hand, it muſt be obſerved, that the inhabitant of numerous ſocieties is more eaſily poliſhed, and when he grows wicked, more eaſily converted than the half ſavage, who ſets his life on his cuſtoms and manners. Even at this time the moſt enamoured partiſans of the Swiſs find only in ſome ſcattered parts of Savoy, the reliques of the manners they ſo much admire, and theſe, they muſt confeſs, will be done away in the next generation; whilſt, on the other hand, the corruption to be found among the inhabitants of the Griſons, and ſome of the Democratic Cantons, ſurpaſſes every idea, which a man not acquainted with the place can form of it, with this additional cauſe for deſpair, that the evil is here remedileſs; whereas the inhabitants of Paris, London, and Vienna may grow better in ſome generation.

I found it neceſſary to make theſe introductory remarks, becauſe, though I was not capable to ſay as much good of the people of Vienna at preſent as I could wiſh, I was willing you ſhould be convinced that I am in perfect friendſhip with them, and do not mean to adviſe them to ſeparate and live behind the hedges like gypſies, in order to make their ſituation better, by approaching nearer to the ſtate of nature. In every part of the world I meet men towards whom my heart warms, and have no neceſſity to wander with our knight errants among the vales of Piedmont, Savoy, and Switzerland, in order to find fellow-creatures to be proud of. I do not know whether theſe gentlemen meet with what they are in ſearch of, but it is certain that they all come back again very ſoon.

What diſtinguiſhes the people of this place from the Pariſians is a certain coarſe pride not to be deſcribed, an inſurmountable heavineſs and ſtupidity, and an unaccountable propenſity to guzzling. The hoſpitality of the table, about which you have heard ſo much, is only an effect of pride. During the four weeks I have been here, I have hardly been able to dine above four times by myſelf. It is the cuſtom when a man is firſt introduced into a new houſe, to fix a day in every week for him to be a regular gueſt there. In the firſt houſe I dined, I conceived that the people had a real pleaſure in ſeeing me; but I had not ſat long before I had invitations enough, from the company preſent only, to laſt me a month. But when they aſk you, they all do it with ſuch faces which ſeem to ſay, "Is not it true that we are far more hoſpitable than your Pariſian gentry?" Sometimes they go ſtill farther, and make themſelves very merry (that is, according to the Vienna mode of being merry) with our ſparing niggardlineſs. It is certainly true, that a man eats much better here than he does at Paris, and he certainly alſo eats a great deal more. At the common tables of the people of a middling rank (ſuch as the lower ſervants of the court, merchants, artiſts, and the better kinds of mechanics) you commonly ſee ſix, eight, or even ten diſhes, with two, three, or even four kinds of wine. They commonly ſit two hours at table, and they took it as a very uncivil thing of me that I refuſed to taſte many diſhes, though I was compelled to do ſo, to ſave myſelf an indigeſtion. But, alas! ſo ſoon as the body is ſatisfied here, ſo ſoon does the mind long for the friendly *dines* and *ſoupés* of Paris, which you know are more intended for the feaſt of reaſon, and the flow of ſoul, than the dainty purſuit of indigeſtions, choleras, and apoplexy. Here the only entertainment, mingled with the very ſerious buſineſs going forward, are ſome very bad low jokes. At the beſt tables here, (I mean thoſe of the ſecond order) you commonly meet a monk, but more commonly a player, whoſe very refined wit enlivens the whole company. The monk is commonly ſeated by the lady of the houſe, whom he coquets with; the player is ſeated at the other end, and laughs at him till the whole route breaks out into ſhouts of laughter, far above the capacity of common lungs or ears either to join in or bear. When the converſation takes

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a more ſerious turn, it is always about the theatre, which is the utmoſt length to which criticiſm or obſervation ever extend in this country; but the players are far from being the company here that they are at Paris. None of thoſe with whom I am hitherto acquainted know their mother tongue. At Paris, undoubtedly, we ſhould not admit into good company, men who neither by their wit or their manners can raiſe themſelves at all above the loweſt of the vulgar.

Upon the whole, you meet here with none of the briſkneſs, the ſpirited pleaſure, the unconſtrained ſatisfaction, and the intereſting curioſity about what is going forwards, that you find at Paris even amongſt the loweſt orders of ſociety. No body here makes remarks upon the miniſters or the court; no body entertains the company with the novelty or anecdote of the day. You meet with numberleſs people of the middling ranks who have nothing to ſay of their miniſters, their generals, and philoſophers, and who hardly know even their names. Nothing is taken care of but the animal part. They breakfaſt till they dine, and they dine till they ſup, with only the interval of, perhaps, a ſhort walk and going to the play. If you go into a coffee-houſe, of which there are about ſeventy, or into a beer-houſe, which are the moſt elegant and beſt furniſhed of all the public houſes, (I ſaw one with red damaſk tapeſtry, pictures with gilt frames, looking-glaſſes, clocks a-la-Grecque, and marble tables,) you will ſee nothing but a perpetual motion of jaws. One thing you may reſt aſſured of, that no one will come up to you or be troubleſome with queſtions; no man there talks at all, except with his neighbour, and then he moſt commonly whiſpers. You would conceive you were in a Venetian coffee-houſe, where they all take one another for ſpies. When I ſay all this I deſire to be underſtood as ſpeaking of the middling ranks only, who in all countries are what properly may be called the people, for as to the people of rank, they, with a few ſhades only of diſtinction, are the ſame throughout all Europe; and the loweſt claſſes hardly mix with ſociety. No doubt, a gentleman introduced, as Dr. Moore happened to be, would meet with many an Aſpaſia capable of being claſſed in the ſame line with her immortal prototype; (that is, the vicious part of the character excepted;) an Aſpaſia whoſe circles are conſtantly filled by the wiſeſt philoſophers, the deepeſt ſtateſmen, the greateſt generals, the wiſeſt, mildeſt, and moſt affable of princes; but it is not in aſſemblies of this kind that the characters and manners of a nation are to be met with.

The ſociableneſs, good taſte, and poliſhed manners, which render the preſent court ſo remarkable, are a conſequence of the travelled education of the preſent Emperor. His father, indeed, had relaxed ſomething of the Sultan manner in his court; but Joſeph is the firſt of his houſe who has conſidered himſelf as a man born for all mankind. Formerly one of the old nobility conſidered it as a diſgrace if a common citizen even did but look at him; and the leſſer, or ſecond order of nobleſſe, were excluded the court, as is the practice in Spain. There are inſtances of perſons, even of the rank of field-marſhals, who could not gain admittance. The whole train of ſcience was baniſhed under the notion of pedantry, and the arts, ever taſteleſs without it, were employed only to dreſs up harlequins. The Emperor Leopold, indeed, had ſome taſte for muſic: but conceive to yourſelf this prince (a cotemporary of Lewis XIV. at a time when the arts were in all their glory with us) with his imperial crown on his imperial ſhoulders, looking out of his palace window to ſee a ſet of the loweſt buffoons that ever diſgraced a ſtage with their tricks, ſing and dance in the court of the palace. Prince Eugene was the firſt who introduced any thing of a taſte into the country; the firſt who gave a general love for French literature: he lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the wits and artiſts of his day, and was the ſame here for the arts, that he had been in the imperial army, where he had had as much to encounter with from folly and ſuperſtition, as from the

largeſt hoſts of the enemy. The monks, particularly the jeſuits, reſiſted his benign influence as long as they could. In Charles the VIth's time no kind of literature was held in eſteem, except that which related to merchandize and finance. A few days ago there fell into my hands a book, which, without a doubt, is the beſt publication of thoſe dull times; it treats of finance, and though written in moſt barbarous German, lays down the beſt principles of this ſcience. Theſe, however, no king has followed but the King of Pruſſia, who has availed himſelf of them, to the no ſlight detriment of the country in which the book was written. The author's name was Schroeder; he was in the Emperor's ſervice. Every thing, however, except finance, was in utter darkneſs, and even the ſermons were farces. Towards the end of the laſt reign, things began to be upon a better footing; but the Empreſs, who, with all her excellencies, has a weak ſide, which is that of wanting to make all her ſubjects angels, ſees every improvement that is propoſed, only as it regards her religion; beſides this, ſhe has a little of the Spaniſh etiquette left about her, and loves old unpolluted nobility.

Notwithſtanding the care the Empreſs takes of the morality of her ſubjects, all the charities depend upon the court alone for their ſupport. We meet here with no *curé of St. Sulpice* to raiſe 300,000 livres a year for the relief of the neceſſitous. The Archbiſhop Migazzi is as bigotted and as dependant on the papal hierarchy as our Beaumont, but he gives no million of livres yearly out of his income to ſecret diſtreſs, as the good Archbiſhop of Paris does. I queſtion whether it would be poſſible, upon ony occaſion, to get a collection of 10,000 guilders from hence. Though Vienna has ſeveral houſes in it with which the moſt opulent in Paris cannot be compared, pride, gallantry, and diſſipation, are all the feelings the people of this place are ſuſceptible of. Though moſt of the richeſt people have been for years oppreſſed with debts, they have not yet learned to confine their expences, and would think it a ſhame to live within bounds. As to the middling orders, they live from hand to mouth, and are well ſatisfied if they can make two ends of the year meet. Œconomy is a term entirely baniſhed from the place. Every thing ſwills and lives for the pleaſure of ſenſe only.

LETTER XXI.

Vienna.

THE police of this place is entirely taken up with the object of ſuppreſſing every thing that indicates vigour and manly ſtrength; that, however, is not the beſt police, whoſe only object is to make every member of ſociety as ſecure as poſſible, but that which knows how to give the greateſt ſecurity to the whole, and at the ſame time encroaches as little as poſſible upon the freedom of individuals. It is certain, that by ſetting watches about every citizen's houſe to take an account of what is going forward at his table and in his bed, and to follow the ſeveral members of his family wherever they go, you may guard effectually againſt diſorder; but who is there that exiſts on earth, and loves the order that is kept up amongſt galley-ſlaves?

The wiſe Creator, whoſe government ought to be the model of every wiſe legiſlature, left us that free will which we ſo often abuſe. He gave us ſtrong incitements to good, without taking away the power of doing evil. In this liberty, notwithſtanding the miſchiefs which ariſe from it, conſiſts the true greatneſs of man. Religion teaches us, that in his own good time God will puniſh the wicked and reward the good. Without the freedom to do ill, we ſhould have neither moral feelings nor moral happineſs, and God would not be righteous towards us.

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We cannot follow a better model of legiſlation and police, than what is ſet us by the Creator. As it is the buſineſs of legiſlation to puniſh the wicked without partiality, and reward the good with a liberal hand; ſo the police, which is ſubordinate to it, ought to have no other object than to give it the means of rewarding virtue and puniſhing vice. To go farther than this, and endeavour to make moral evil phyſically impoſſible, is an offence both againſt God and man.

Human juſtice knows of no evils but thoſe which ſpring from offences which are hurtful to ſociety; ſhe and her handmaid the police have no right to turn a tribunal of juſtice into a tribunal of confeſſion, nor imperiouſly to extend their power to the internal morals of a man. Even if the generality of mankind had much more worth of character, and much greater moral feelings than they have, yet ought there not to be ſuch an inquiſition as ſubſiſts in this place, by the eſtabliſhment of the conſiſtorial police and other courts.

Probably Vienna is the only city in the world which has a court called a ſpecial commiſſion of chaſtity. A few years ago the ſpies of this extraordinary tribunal uſed to follow the young people into their houſes; not only ſo, they uſed to break into their bedchambers and viſit their beds in the middle of the night. The horror which this raiſed in ſociety was ſo univerſal, that the Emperor found himſelf obliged to uſe all his influence with his mother (who promiſed herſelf great things from theſe exertions) to obtain ſome limitations of them. The ſpies of the police were in contract with the whores; theſe uſed to decoy the young men to their houſes, and when they were together betray them. The young people had then nothing for it but to allow themſelves to be plundered, in order to avoid being carried before the commiſſion of chaſtity, and the ſpies and the whores divided the booty between them. The evil is now in ſome degree corrected by the interpoſition of the Emperor, but the public walk called the Prater is ſtill ſurrounded by tenanted ſpies, who trace the young men to trees and buſhes, in order to prevent offences that are only poſſible, and have not actually been given.

It is the opinion here, that the beſt way of preventing fornication and child-murder, and of increaſing population, is to compel a man who has a child ſworn to him to marry the woman immediately. I was told a curious ſtory on this ſubject. A young man was ſummoned before the conſiſtory, to make anſwer to a young woman who claimed him for a huſband. As he was in the outer chamber waiting for her, he ſaw another poor young woman who was come there on a like errand. Having made himſelf acquainted with all the circumſtances of her caſe, and finding that the ſuppoſed father of the child was fled, and not likely to appear, he offered her a good ſum if ſhe would take him in the ſtead, and date her complaint prior to the time of that which he expected to be brought againſt him. She promiſed him that ſhe would do ſo, and he went to the judges full of confidence in the ſucceſs of his project. The court having aſked him whether he had ſlept with the perſon before him, and he having confeſſed, he was told that he was a father, and muſt give the woman his hand. To this he made anſwer that he had no objection, but that there was a perſon in the anti-chamber who had older claims upon him. Upon her being called in, it appeared viſibly that ſhe was farther gone than the other. The firſt plaintiff was therefore ordered to content herſelf with a ſum of gold and go away. The young man now pleaded that he had compounded matters with the other lady; but, to his inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment, ſhe denied it. The judges then aſked for witneſſes, and he having none to produce, he was obliged to give his hand to one, whom he had ſeen a quarter of an hour before for the firſt time in his life.

I know ſeveral men who have been made huſbands of in this manner. Their wives, for a time, drove on a general trade quietly with their cuſtomers. When theſe began

to fail, they picked one out of the number, whom they thought would make a good husband, and ſummoned him before the court. The proof of having ſlept together, even without any conſequences having followed, was deemed ſufficient to eſtabliſh a claim. Some of theſe very honourable pairs are known by the whole town.

I know of another method to prevent whoring and child-murder, much more effectual than this is; but then unluckily it does not ſo well anſwer the other object which theſe legiſlators have in view, namely, the increaſe of population. Shakeſpeare is the author of the police I would propoſe. I do not remember in which of his plays it is that he makes a Vienna bawd ſay, "If the police will effectually baniſh fornication, it ſhould caſtrate all the men."

Theſe marriages by compulſion are attended with very pernicious conſequences, both to ſociety and the ſtate. I do not know whether they prevent fornication, but it is certain that they much increaſe adultery. Truth, confidence, and love, the moſt holy and moſt uſeful bands of ſociety, they entirely diſſolve. The man, who, from the circumſtance of his having been compelled to give her his hand, is obliged to conſider his wife as a whore, cannot be her true friend, cannot have that reſpect for her which is abſolutely requiſite to make a happy marriage. It is, indeed, aſtoniſhing how indifferent the married people of this place are to each other. I know that this is the caſe at Paris too; but there it ariſes from the manners, and not from the government, as it does here. Nor, indeed, are conjugal love and fidelity ſo extinct amongſt perſons of the middling rank in ſociety at Paris, as they ſeem to be in this place. I believe, too, that even population, which this fooliſh law is intended to promote, ſuffers conſiderably by it; for it is an obſervation which has often been made, both by moraliſts and phyſicians, that, without love betwixt the parties, the marriage bed often proves barren. Moſt of the pairs I am acquainted with, who have been married by compulſion, are without children, and in general the marriage bed is not fruitful here.—The indifference of the parents for each other likewiſe extends to the children, amongſt whom all the fine feelings of love and friendſhip are ſtifled in early infancy. It is, no doubt, owing to this want of the affections of ſocial and domeſtic life, that the people of this place have ſo few moral feelings as they have.

It is true, indeed, that every thing has its good as well as its weak ſide. The conſequence of this people's want of ſpirit is, that their vices are as few and as weak as their virtues. Nothing is heard here of the tragedies which are ſo frequent at London, Rome, and Naples. Pick-pockets, cheats, bankrupts, thieves, ſpendthrifts, pimps, and bawds, are the only criminals known in Vienna. The Auſtrian has not ſtrength of character enough to be a highwayman; and a Saxon gentleman, who has been ſettled here ſome years, and has travelled over the whole country, aſſures me, that he does not remember to have heard of ſuch a thing as a duel. I was witneſs to a ſcene yeſterday which ſtrongly marks the character both of the people and the police of this place. A well dreſſed man had a quarrel with a hackney coachman about his fare. They ſoon came to high words. One of the ſix hundred ſpies, who are divided about different parts of the city, came up. The gentleman grew warm and gave bad words, which the other returned with intereſt. At length they ſhook their fiſts at each other, but neither ventured to ſtrike; for it ſeems there is a law, by which, whoever ſtrikes firſt is puniſhed, let the previous provocation have been what it will. Had either but touched the hat of the other, it would have been reckoned a blow, and he would have been immediately taken up by the watch. As it was, they parted, after affording a quarter of an hour's laugh to the populace. The duration of theſe frays may be longer or ſhorter, *ad libitum*; but there are few examples of their ever being carried farther than words.

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The court has nothing to fear from a revolt. In the beginning of the laſt century, indeed, the proteſtants made a little ſtir; but all was ſoon quiet again. Indeed, the Viennois is too enervate for an inſurrection. On the other hand, he feels nothing of the warm glow which fills the breaſt of a French or Engliſhman for the ſucceſſes of his country. The ſeveral provinces of France have frequently made great preſents to their kings in time of war, and we have often ſeen collections made in coffee-houſes for building ſhips of the line. Here there are very few, if any inſtances of this kind. Subordination is the only characteriſtic feature of this people; nor have I ever ſeen a ſpark here either of the Engliſhman's love of liberty, or the Frenchman's feeling for the honour of the grand monarch. The pride even of the army is too perſonal, ever to admit of any ſenſibility for the honour of the ſtate. The ſongs of the French ſoldier are, as you well know, poems which inſpirit and lead him on to glory, by reminding him of what his anceſtors have done and ſuffered for their country; but here I ſeldom hear the ſoldier ſing at all, and when he does, it is mere ribaldry. Not, however, that I doubt but that, in ſpite of their bad ſinging, an Auſtrian army would put a French one to the route; but that is owing to another cauſe. I only diſcuſs this ſubject *en paſſant*, and ſhall reſerve myſelf to ſpeak more fully to it, when I come to Berlin.

The individuals of a country which exiſts only by ſubordination, will of courſe be weak and feeble characters. It is true that the moſt illimited obedience did Sparta no harm; but the reaſon was, becauſe it was not the reigning feature of the people, but only a means of ſecuring the freedom after which the nation thirſted. The Britiſh laws are ſome of them very ſevere, and the diſcipline of their navy as ſtrict as that of the Pruſſian army; but as theſe ſeverities do not run through the whole of their government, they do not deſtroy the feelings of the people. Though no nation has ſo much checked the power of their kings at different periods as the Britiſh has done, yet the hiſtory of no nation affords more inſtances of the devotion of individuals to the ſovereign. The ſame love which the Engliſhman has for liberty extends to the perſon of the prince, whenever the prince leaves the conſtitution unimpaired and manifeſts a love for it.—The upſhot is that the Briton will preſerve ſtrength of character as long as the conſtitution of his country laſts; whereas the ſubjects of deſpotic princes will be weak and grovelling in ſpirit.

The great, whoſe firſt paſſion is the love of power, will of courſe conſider ſtrength of character in their ſubjects or dependants, as a natural enemy whom they muſt ſeek to ſubdue. Conſequently their object will be to make the ſtate to which they belong a machine in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, a machine of which their will is to be the only ſoul. Such machines at this day are even armies become, and it is a true remark, made by ſeveral writers both of theſe and other great machines of ſtate, that the weaker every individual member is, the more durable and the ſtronger the whole will be. I know it, I confeſs it; all I deſire is not to be the member of ſuch a corps. The government of this place endeavours to make ſome amends for the univerſal ſubjection under which the people are held, by a moſt exact adminiſtration of juſtice, by taking meaſures for univerſal ſecurity, and by the free admiſſion and encouragement of every pleaſure (the ſingle one of lawleſs love alone excepted) that can delight the human mind. Whilſt in France a country gentleman may be thrown in priſon by a governor of a province, and continue there all his life, the loweſt footman here is aſſured of having the ſtricteſt juſtice done him, if he has occaſion to complain of his lord, even though he were the lord high chamberlain. The police is ſo vigilant and acute, that the moſt ſubtle thefts are commonly diſcovered, and the owner gets his goods again. Almoſt all the Imperial houſes and gardens are almoſt conſtantly open to the public. The players are under the

peculiar

peculiar protection of a court, who ſhews in every thing, that the reſtraint it lays the people under ariſes more from principle than the deſire of tyrannizing over them. And yet, notwithſtanding all this pleaſure, and all this ſecurity, I had rather be expoſed to a London footpad, or have the bottles and glaſſes whiſtle round my head on the laſt night of Vauxhall, than enjoy all the placid tranquillity of this place. Theſe laſt are diſorders indeed, but they are diſorders which are inſeparable from a ſtrong national character, ſuch as is that of the people by whom they are committed.

LETTER XXII.

Vienna.

AS ſoon as the Emperor governs this country alone, a revolution will take place here, that will render the preſent inhabitants a phœnomenon to the next generation. He is a philoſopher in the true ſenſe of the word, although he does not, like Rodolph the Second, gaze at the ſtars with Tycho Brahe. He loves mankind, and is acquainted with their value. I know no public inſcription that does a prince more honour, than that which is over the gate of the public garden here. "A place of pleaſure for all men, prepared for them by their friend." Joſeph is a profeſſed admirer of all that is called private virtue (*les vertus bourgeoiſes*), and his principles of government are as republican as thoſe of moſt of the ſtates who at this day call themſelves republics. Hitherto, however, the different way of thinking of his mother has prevented much of his theory from being carried into practice.

The bright ſides of this Empreſs's character are ſo ſtriking, that one can hardly obſerve the darker ones. In private life, indeed, ſuch ſmall ſpots would appear not only venial, but in ſome degree reſpectable; but it is the misfortune of greatneſs, that the ſmalleſt weakneſs of the governor has often a ſenſible influence on the happineſs of the governed, ſo that the leaſt perſonal vices are often the greateſt political defects.

Whoever ſees the Empreſs now, diſcovers that ſhe has been a beauty. Within theſe few years ſhe has begun to be ſubject to ſome of the infirmities of advancing age; but the beſt judges ſtill diſcern a ſtrong conſtitution and lively temperament in her. I ſaw her for the firſt time in the church of the Auguſtine Friars, where ſhe was attending a religious ceremony, and immediately recognized her, not ſo much by her likeneſs to her pictures (from the truth of which age has of courſe taken a great deal,) as by the air of majeſty which ſtrikes every one who has the honour to approach her. She has the ſtrongeſt paſſions, but has never been ſubdued to the leaſt unworthineſs, by thoſe to which nature in general the moſt inclines, and which her conſtitution the more particularly expoſes her to. *Poſſibly* ſhe is an *only*, *moſt certainly* a *ſingular* inſtance of a princeſs, over whom religion and honour have had more influence than the demands of an impetuous conſtitution, and the allurements of unlimited power. This probably aroſe from her having herſelf choſen her huſband, who was the man of his day moſt likely to ſecure the affections of a woman. To him ſhe was paſſionately devoted; but her affections never wandered a ſtep beyond the bounds of the ſtricteſt decorum. Vainly has ſcandal endeavoured to find out anecdotes to feed on in her life. Ten well made ſtrong children yet living are ſo many witneſſes that her huſband poſſeſſed all her love. At his death, ſhe forbad herſelf all farther thoughts of the paſſion, and made a vow to lament him for ever; a vow to which ſhe has religiouſly adhered. She is always dreſſed in black, and wears no ornament of any kind. Who, that is acquainted with the hiſtory of Eliſabeth, K——, and ſo many other ſovereigns, can help being aſtoniſhed when they read this?

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Her warm love, however, made her huſband paſs many a weary hour. It was impoſſible for jealouſy not to have great power over a heart, the violence of whoſe motions was only kept in by a ſenſe of religion. It is not very certain whether ſhe had ever real grounds for ſuſpicion; but every body at Vienna remembers that a certain lady was obliged to leave it, becauſe the Emperor, who was very courteous towards every body, but particularly ſo to the ladies, had made her ſome common place, unmeaning compliments.

The Empreſs's benevolence, of which religion is the principle, approaches almoſt to profuſion. She refuſes relief to none of thoſe who ſtand in need of her aſſiſtance; and the meaneſt of her ſubjects finds the way to make his diſtreſſes known to her. Her ſteward has hardly any thing to lay before her, but accounts of charities. Her liberality particularly ſhews itſelf towards widows, eſpecially ſuch as are of high birth. Many perſons, amongſt whom are widows of miniſters of ſtate, receive penſions of 6000 guilders (300l.) from her. Her partiality to high birth makes her deſirous that every perſon ſhould live up to his or her rank. With reſpect to the public foundations of charity, ſhe behaves as an Empreſs ſhould do. The library, ſchools, hoſpitals, and poor-houſes, coſt her immenſe ſums. I am aſſured, that the debts ſhe has contracted by this liberality amount to upwards of twenty millions of guilders; and one of my friends informed me, that ſhe gives away three millions per annum in private charity.

Who now would imagine that, under ſo worthy a character, merit often ſtarves, whilſt large ſums are laviſhed upon the worthleſs? Who would imagine, that the prejudices of religion could have ſo far gotten the better of her natural diſpoſition, as to make her refuſe aſſiſting an officer who had been crippled in her ſervice, unleſs he embraced the Roman Catholic religion? After ſeveral converſations with the prieſt ſent to him by the Empreſs, this gentleman plainly perceived that he muſt turn ſcoundrel, to be relieved. He determined therefore to quit Vienna; which he did, and went to Holland, where he died a general officer. Since the preſent Emperor has begun to have any influence in buſineſs, merit has no longer any ſuch oppreſſion to fear, but it muſt ſtill make uſe of all its weight to break through this ſpecies of obſtacles, which however at all times are more the work of the prieſts than of the Empreſs.

Her impetuous temper often breaks out into groſs guſts of paſſion and anger; but as ſoon as the ſtorm is paſt, ſhe endeavours to make amends for the miſchief or injury ſhe may have done whilſt it raged. I was told an anecdote, which if not entirely true, yet gives a great inſight into this part of her character. An officer, who had a favour to aſk, had his name written down in the liſt of thoſe who wanted audiences. He waited a long time, till his turn (which is religiouſly obſerved) came to be introduced. At length he was called in, but he had hardly made his obedience to the Empreſs, according to the Spaniſh etiquette, when ſhe broke out into ſuch a ſtorm of opprobious abuſe, as almoſt made him ſink to the ground. Her vivacity made her eyes roll with fire, and the motion of her arms was rendered ſo quick by it, that the man was afraid ſhe might do a *little* execution upon him, with her own *high* hand. Twice or thrice he attempted to put in a word, but the ſtorm of the monarch's indignation was too ſtrong to be controlled, and he was forced to wait till ſhe was fairly out of breath. He then muſtered up all his courage and ſaid, "Surely Your Majeſty muſt have forgotten I am N. N." As ſoon as ſhe found that ſhe had been miſtaken in the perſon, ſhe made him a formal excuſe, and her deſire to ſet all things right again carried her ſo far another way, that ſhe ſettled an handſome penſion on him. She is by no means proof againſt pride, but is proud of the dignity and the greatneſs of her houſe. She weeps tears of joy as often as ſhe hears how her children, particularly the Emperor and the Queen of France are

beloved by all the world. This family pride, joined to her quick feelings, are the cauſe why ſhe conſiders all the princes who have been at war with her at any time, as her perſonal enemies, and has never forgiven any of them. The Emperor's laſt wife, who was a Bavarian princeſs, had cauſe to regret her father's having attempted to rob the Empreſs of Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the Imperial Crown. She made her feel the ſuperiority of the Houſe of Auſtria, over the Houſe of Bavaria. Thus far is true, but the fables which have been raiſed on this foundation are too wild even to deſerve a ſerious refutation.

Fame has not reported falſely of this great princeſs. She is a true woman, and it is by the amiable paſſions of her own ſex that ſhe is moſt diſtinguiſhed. She was not at all offended at being told by the relation of another great ſovereign, whom ſhe was complimenting on the reputation of his friend, "May it pleaſe Your Majeſty, my ſiſter is ſtill *only a woman.*" All the tints in Thereſa's character are the ſhades of a lively female character. She was the trueſt, but the moſt jealous of wives; the moſt affectionate, but at the ſame time the ſevereſt of mothers; the moſt friendly, but at the ſame time the moſt imperious mother-in-law.

Her character, however, has ſometimes riſen beyond the ſtrength of a man. The reſolution with which ſhe defended her hereditary dominions againſt ſo many powers united to oppreſs her, excited the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. Her love of juſtice is ſo great, that ſhe immediately deſiſts from any pretenſions ſhe has formed, which are not reconcileable with it, when ſhe is ſhewn that they are not ſo. Though the King of Pruſſia knows that ſhe bears him a grudge, (which ſhe will carry with her to her grave,) he is ſo ſatisfied of the general rectitude of her principles, that whenever they have a diſpute, his only care is to have his reaſons properly ſtated to the Empreſs herſelf, by his ambaſſador. The nobility of Genoa, as I was informed by an officer who took a great part in the revolution of 1746, exclaimed with one voice, "O, if it were poſſible to bring our grievances before the Empreſs herſelf, we ſhould be ſure of obtaining relief." The cry of theſe Republicans at the time when they were moſt ſorely oppreſſed by Auſtrian armies, was the fineſt praiſe that Thereſa could have heard,—but ſhe heard it not.

Amidſt the various ſpecies of knowledge ſhe poſſeſſes, there is one which unluckily fails her, the knowledge of mankind. According to the cuſtom of her houſe, ſhe was bred up in an elevation which has not allowed of her ſeeing with her own eyes the neceſſities of ordinary life, and the true intereſts of the people ſhe reigns over. Her whole education was ſo conducted as to make her the dupe of flatterers, who made her believe that nobles and prieſts were a ſuperior order of men to laymen and common people. Prieſts and flatterers have at times betrayed her into actions which her heart would ſhudder at, if ſhe could ſee them in their right light. An inſtance of this was given ſome years ago, when, in an inſurrection of the Bohemian peaſants, the Emperor endeavoured to obtain the abolition of the feudal tenures. This he did becauſe he knew the true ſituation of theſe poor ſlaves, who did not themſelves know what they deſired, but were only driven to what they did by hunger. There was indeed little to lay to their charge beſides having hunted ſome barons out of bed; but the wives of the Bohemian nobles ſo far prevailed upon the Empreſs with their tears, that ſoldiers were ſent into the country, and many poor people were hanged as traitors, who were in fact only the victims of hunger. As this happened in the memorable year of ſcarcity over all Europe, when Bohemia, notwithſtanding the natural riches of its agriculture, was reduced to the greateſt neceſſity, and as the Emperor well knew that the principal cauſe of it was owing to the avarice of the great landlords, particularly of the prieſts, he endeavoured to take off the ſervitude of the lower orders; but his mother's attachment to the

nobility

nobility prevented a meaſure, which would have made a country ſo favoured by nature as Bohemia is, one of the moſt flouriſhing in the world. The Empreſs made it a matter of conſcience to deprive a ſmall part of her ſubjects of the leaſt part of their income by ſuch a meaſure, but never bethought herſelf, that the nobility and prieſts conſumed in idleneſs the ſweat and blood of ſo many thouſand people.

A deſpotic prince, who has not a ſufficient knowledge of the world, to ſee through the people who ſurround him, is the moſt dependant man in his country. Notwithſtanding all her attention to ſo many various matters, and notwithſtanding all her power, the good Empreſs cannot prevent herſelf from being cheated by all who approach her. She imagines that ſhe prevents every ſin by her eſtabliſhments of chaſtity, and does not know how many adultereſſes ſhe makes by them. She would indeed be aſtoniſhed, if ſhe could ſee only a part of the horns, which the men of this place carry about with them under their peruques. It is ſaid, that the Empreſs inſiſts upon the young women, particularly thoſe who are brought up in the Thereſianum, tying their hair &c. in a particular manner; but notwithſtanding theſe ribbands of chaſtity, I have been aſſured by a counteſs, who was brought up in this ſeminary, that groſſer vices prevailed there, than any againſt which the commiſſion of chaſtity is directed. I know a woman, who in order to get herſelf, and her *handſome* daughter a maintenance, procured the latter an engagement upon a ſmall theatre, which hardly brings her in enough to buy pins for her hair. We know that at Paris the theatre is more a title to a maintenance than a maintenance of itſelf; but there is this difference betwixt the countries, here the mother carries her cheap daughter from a rehearſal to church, where both tell their beads with down-caſt eyes, and the moſt pious looks, in order to bring themſelves into a reputation of ſanctity with the police. By this means, perſons who love their pleaſures, and yet wiſh to be well with the Empreſs, know no better way of compaſſing both theſe objects, than by viſiting the churches. Another inſtance of hypocriſy. There is a well-known man of letters here, *who tranſlated a prayer-book* from the French and dedicated it to the Empreſs as an original compoſition, with a view of obtaining a place, together with the preſent cuſtomary upon thoſe occaſions. The plan ſucceeded; the Empreſs conſidered him as a pious man, and he had a reward; but he was ſo loſt to ſhame, as to make ſport of the good woman's credulity in the circle of his friends. The ſame thing takes place with regard to the prohibition of books. The queen would ſink to the ground, if ſhe could ſee one of the thouſand private libraries in Vienna, which contain all the heretical, and all the ſcandalous writers which ſhe conceives her college of cenſure, and her *Index Expurgatorius*, which is thicker than that of Rome, to have baniſhed from the country for ever. So it is with ſeveral of her other inſtitutions, the inefficacy of which ſhews they are fit for nothing but to make hypocrites.

LETTER XXIII.

Vienna.

In order to have any idea of the government of this place, it is neceſſary to attend to the three contending parties of the ſtate. The firſt and ſtrongeſt is that of the Empreſs; it conſiſts of the great perſonage herſelf, Cardinal Migazzi the archbiſhop, ſome monks, principally capuchines, and a few old ladies who make their court to the Empreſs by imitating her peculiarities. This party is always pregnant with commiſſions of chaſtity, prohibition of books, driving away dangerous preachers and profeſſors, increaſing the papal power, and perſecuting the new philoſophy. Great part of the old nobility,

bility, whoſe prerogatives ſtand upon the ſame ground as thoſe of the prieſthood, adhere very ſtrongly to this party.

The ſecond party is that of the Emperor, and it is at perpetual war with the former. This party employs itſelf in the improvement of legiſlation, and the promotion of agriculture, trade, and induſtry of all kinds; in the extenſion of philoſophy and taſte; in curtailing the exorbitant pretenſions of the nobles; in the protection of the lower claſſes againſt the higher,—and in whatever can make gods of men. One of the principal perſons of this party is Marſhal Lacy, who carries on a moſt unremitting war againſt the monks, and their adherents. This able general acts here juſt as he did when he was opponent to the King of Pruſſia; and the Emperor and he are always occupied in planning zig-zag-marches, and counter-marches, and retreats; ſo that General Migazzi, and his brown, black, white, half-black, half-white troops are often obliged to go into winter quarters, without having effected any ſlaughter at all. Theſe two parties, who are open enemies, have however ſome intercourſe with each other through the medium of a third, at the head of which is the celebrated Count Kaunitz.

Count Kaunitz, the greateſt ſtateſman of our day, and a man who, by great ſervices to the imperial houſe, has worked himſelf into the confidence both of the Empreſs and her ſon, is worthy to be the mediator between them. In his heart he is more favourable to the Emperor's party, than to that of his mother; but he is obliged to appear a kind of middle-man, and to give his own philoſophical operations that kind of religious caſt without which they would not go down. He often covers the marches of the Emperor and his great field-marſhal, by which means, as alert as Migazzi is, he is often forced to capitulate before he knows that the enemy is in the field. Kaunitz diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his ſtyle of living, and mode of expence. Theſe are entirely French, and moſt magnificent. As nothing can be more contrary to the Emperor's rigid œconomy, than ſuch a way of life; it is not certain but that the Count, though nothing can ſhake him, his merits are ſo well known, may upon a change be obliged to an alteration in this reſpect, which his age, and the habits he has contracted, would make unpleaſing to him.

What with the erection of new ſchools, and the care to prevent the erection of new cloiſters, the battles about new books, and the recommendations to civil and military employments, all the three parties have ſufficiently to do. The laſt point, eſpecially, gives them conſtant work. There is hardly an employment vacant, but the Empreſs is wearied with recommendations from her ladies and prieſts; and the Emperor, whoſe candidate is commonly the man of moſt merit, is almoſt always ſure to come too late. There are a great number of ſinecure offices in the country, but many counſellors and aſſeſſors have either nothing to do, or put in deputies to do their buſineſs for a very little money. The luxury in which theſe people live is beyond conception. *His Honour* (for every petty-fogging judge of the court of conſcience is *his honour*) muſt have his gentleman; and *her honour*, the wife, muſt have her waiting lady—nor is it as it is with us, where between the gentleman and the footman there are no intermediate ranks: here there muſt be a *maitre d'hotel* and a ſecretary; and as *his honour* has great buſineſs every where but in his own court, he muſt likewiſe have his coach. In a word, there is not a court in Europe, except the Turkiſh, which pays its ſervants of the ſecond order ſo well as this does, and yet is ſo ill ſerved by them.

For ſeveral years the Empreſs has given up the direction of the army entirely to her ſon, and one ſees immediately, from the very different ſtyle of arrangement which prevails here from that which obtains in the civil and eccleſiaſtical departments, by whom

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it is governed. Though the peaſantry of the Auſtrian dominions have always been ſoldiers, the finances of the court were in ſuch diſorder, till the times of the laſt Emperor, that the Dutch and Engliſh were always forced to pay ſubſidies. The Emperor Francis laid the foundation of the greatneſs of the country; but that it is becoming every day more and more formidable, is owing to one man, who unites in his perſon, not only the intellect neceſſary to carry on the greateſt enterprizes, but alſo the greateſt knowledge of diſcipline, and the œconomical arrangements of an army; I mean General Lacy, without a doubt one of the greateſt geniuſes of the preſent century. How little, indeed, do ſome of the greateſt wits of the age appear in compariſon of a man who goes into the cabinet to plan arrangements againſt the united powers of all Europe—then runs through an army of 250,000 men, ſo as to pay attention to the ſmalleſt article of the ſoldiers clothing;—at one inſtant, with the happieſt combination of ideas and conjecture of probabilities, lays plans of marches and ſieges,—the next writes to the taylor and ſhoemaker of the army to give the clothes a better cut, and the ſhoes a better ſlit; —Then entertains himſelf with the Emperor in laying plans for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, and the greater concerns of the ſtate;—then lays himſelf out to endeavour to ſimplify the moſt trifling military manœuvre; then walks through the ſtore-houſes, and gives orders for the better arrangement of the ſtores; and in the next half hour moralizes in the Socratic manner upon any event that happens. In a word, if the power of carrying on ſeveral uſeful purſuits well at one and the ſame time is to mark the character of a man, there are few to be compared with the field-marſhall. Indeed, whoever knows at all what knowledge of the infantry, cavalry, and artillery of an army is requiſite to ſet theſe great maſſes in motion, will wonder how the head that can do this can attend to the buttons of a ſoldier's ſpatterdaſhes. And yet, would you think it! with all this, and a great deal more merit in a thouſand different ways, this great man (I bluſh for humanity whilſt I write it!) is univerſally hated, not only by all the people of faſhion, but by the army whoſe father he is! The reaſon is a very evident one; before his time every captain had an opportunity of cheating his ſovereign, by furniſhing the ſoldiers of his company with every article of clothing, and thoſe of a higher rank had a fellow feeling with the paymaſter, and divided the contents of the military cheſt between them. That is now all at an end; the ſoldier is ſupplied out of the Emperor's warehouſes with every poſſible article for which he can have occaſion, and he receives his pay the moment it is due; he is better clothed than any ſoldier in Europe, and accuſtomed to a thrift which cannot but contribute to the increaſe both of his health and ſtrength. All the Marſhal reaps in return for this is to be laughed at and deſpiſed. The monks, who know that he is not their friend, do all they can to make him unpopular; but he is wiſe enough to laugh at all they can do, and even to amuſe himſelf with the thoughts of doing good for which he receives no thanks.

As for the black band under Migazzi, it is divided into two parties. One of theſe thinks with the Cardinal, i. e. true Bellarmine like, and never miſſes an opportunity of introducing an ex-jeſuit, when it is poſſible. This, however, is the ſmalleſt in number; nor can Migazzi now and then prevent a wolf from being ſhut up with his ſheep; there are even ſome biſhops who only wait the Emperor's permiſſion to fall to and level his hierarchy with the ground. In the mean time, however, the Cardinal does what he can to keep the public ſchools and churches free from the infection. A few years ago, a monk took it into his head to preach that, "Prieſts owe the ſame ſubjection to the civil power as the loweſt of its ſubjects—as they enjoy the ſame protection and prerogatives as theſe, they are bound in the ſame manner to take upon them the offices of the ſtate. The church, partly from its own uſurpations, partly from the weakneſs of temporal

ſovereigns, has riſen, in times of darkneſs, to a height where the firſt Chriſtians would not know it again. Every prince is obliged to promote the good of the church as far as it coincides with the good of the ſtate, &c. &c." The Cardinal, who in general does not like ſermons, immediately marked his prey. The Emperor at firſt took the monk's part with great ſpirit; this made the cunning Archbiſhop hold his hand; but as ſoon as the Emperor had ſet out on his travels, the monk was immediately ſeized and ſent priſoner to a convent in Upper Auſtria, where he ſtill remains, whilſt the Emperor has nothing for it, but to ſet down theſe and many other traits of the ſame kind in the book of his remembrance.

The great triumph of the archiepiſcopal party ſhews itſelf in the licenſing of books. Nothing can be well conceived more grievous than the ſituation of the licenſers of the preſs, many of whom are very ſenſible worthy men. They are often forced to alter almoſt the whole of a MS. and after all remain anſwerable for whatever an old court lady, a monk, a fool, or a knave, may ſee obnoxious in it when it comes out; but their hardeſt work is to manage what is publiſhed with regard to the country; for one grand principle obtains here, which is, that nothing which is Auſtrian can be bad. What the ſtate of literature is under all theſe diſcouragements, ſhall be the ſubject of my next letter.

LETTER XXIV.

Vienna.

THE powers of the ſoul are like the powers of the body; as the various exerciſes of ſwimming, boxing, dancing, and running give ſtrength and poliſh to the one, which a continued ſtate of reſt would inevitably deprive it of, ſo to develope the powers of the ſoul of a people, the mind muſt have its gymnaſtic exerciſes too. Freedom of motion is to the body, what freedom of thought is to the ſoul, and unnatural compulſion renders body and ſoul alike torpid and ſtiff.

Of all the nations mentioned in hiſtory, the Greeks and Romans were thoſe whoſe philoſophy was the leaſt united with their religion; and it was probably owing to this cauſe, that their ſpirits received an impulſe which the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chaldæans never knew. Philoſophy, and whatever was called ſcience among theſe laſt, were the ſpecial property of the prieſts, whoſe intereſt demanded that they ſhould be ſmothered in hieroglyphics, and kept from the people. The little that ſome learned Greeks gleaned from their voyages to the Nile and Euphrates, were not the productions of a fruitful genius; but only tedious inveſtigations, which the ſlow amd progreſſive labours of monks had traced out. Their celebrated philoſophy did nothing for the people; it had nothing benevolent in it; nothing that purified taſte or ſentiment; nothing that extended the comforts of ſocial life, or advanced the progreſs of legiſlation. It was the dry reſult of ſolitary ſtudies, and the people who could not underſtand its drift, took no ſhare in it.

When more modern Rome wove the web of power, and endeavoured to gain the maſtery over mankind by commanding their opinions, it was natural that all the arts and ſciences ſhould be ſubjected to religion. The figure of the earth, the ſpots of the ſun, and the whole of the Copernican ſyſtem were to be reconciled to the *letter* of ſcripture, the fathers, the councils, and the papal bulls. Everything was referred to religion; and had not the Pope endeavoured to ſubject the power of princes to it, we ſhould ſtill have been in the darkneſs of the eleventh century.

Long after the reformation, the cuſtom of looking upon every thing with religious ſpectacles ſtill continued. The proteſtant prieſts could not forego the old cuſtom of

being the arbiters of morality. It is true, that by the ſeparation they undermined their own power; but they did it by degrees, and without being conſcious of the conſequences. Though Luther permitted the temporal princes to ſeize the eſtates of the eccleſiaſtics, it is evident from his writings, that as a reformer of the church he placed himſelf far above all the powers of this world. Calvin's inſolence and ſpirit of oppreſſion in religious matters is well known. Their followers long maintained their uſurped domination over the temporal powers, and the regions of ſcience. Some of them are ſtill in poſſeſſion of it at this day. We muſt do our author the juſtice to acknowledge, that it is the firſt ſince the times of the Greeks and the Romans, in which true freedom of thought, and a philoſophy really beneficial to mankind, has appeared.

No doubt but the Engliſh have greatly taken the lead in theſe matters. That they did ſo, was owing to the ſpirit of their conſtitution in ſome degree; but ſtill more to the eſtabliſhed toleration of ſo many ſectaries, who not being united to each other, could eſtabliſh no general plan of tyranny over the opinions of their fellow-creatures. It was natural for the Engliſh, divided as they are into ſo many ſects, who enjoy almoſt the ſame privileges in the ſtate, by degrees to conſider legiſlation, ſcience, and whatever elſe belongs to ſocial life, as independent of religion; whilſt, on the other hand, the Swediſh and Daniſh prieſts, as well as thoſe of ſome proteſtant republics, would continue to exerciſe their empire over all worldly concerns. The ſpirit of the Engliſhman, fettered by no reſtraints, took the eagle flight that carried it beyond the rival nations. Their philoſophers allowed themſelves to wander through very contradictory ſpeculations. They had their Cynics, their Pythagoreans, their Platoniſts, their Epicureans, and many others; but they were, like the ancients, all of a mind about the eſſential duties of man: and the difference of their ſpeculations only ſet their oppoſition in a clearer light. Even in the ſciences of calculation, they ſhewed the energy of a genius, that was accuſtomed to allow itſelf to expatiate freely in the various fields of ſcience. It is true that they often gave into the moſt ridiculous hypotheſis, and the moſt puerile ſuperſtition; but theſe excreſcences of the freedom of thought are as inſeparable from it, as other excreſcences are from civil freedom; nor can you prevent all abuſes, without taking away the thing itſelf that is abuſed.

All I ſhall ſay of our own country, is, that the freedom of thought is much leſs limited in it by government, than it is in ſeveral countries which call themſelves free, much leſs ſo as to religious matters, than in many proteſtant countries. I muſt now return to Vienna, from whence I have taken a pretty long excurſion.

I had heard ſo much, throughout my journey hither from the Rhine, of the ſtate of the ſchools in Auſtria, and of the great care the Empreſs took in the education of her ſubjects, and for the improvement of arts and ſciences, that I thought of nothing all the way but finding Vienna a German Athens. It was probably owing to theſe over great expectations that I was ſo much diſappointed. The ſchools for the young children are, of all the public inſtitutions, far the beſt, though many things are taught, even here, which can be of no ſervice in life, and only ſerve to make young pedants and *charlatans*. Religion and morals are taught them in a way that can neither warm the heart nor enlighten the head, nor is ſufficient care taken of the morals. Theſe defects are, however, in ſome meaſure ſupplied, by the inſight given into commerce, navigation, agriculture, &c. And it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe ſchools are the only ones I have hitherto ſeen in the catholic ſtates in Germany, in which the children are more taught to be good citizens than good monks. Still, however, the two predominant features of this ſtate, blind ſubordination, and a regard for monks, are very prevalent here. But yet I cannot conceive how ſo many families ſtill prefer to truſt their children

dren to the private education of French women; (who are commonly caſt-off ſtrumpets, or fooliſh chambermaids, who prefer being governeſſes here, to making fires, and warming beds in France;) or how ſuch ſwarms of French and Italian abbés are ſtill allowed to educate the young men. It muſt be allowed, indeed, of the ſchools, that as they are ſtill new inſtitutions, in which there obtains no thorough well-digeſted ſyſtem, and as there are frequently changes made in them, they have not yet had any very ſenſible effect upon the public manners; but it is probable that the next generation will find the advantage of them.

I attended the ſeveral courſes read by the public profeſſors. It is certain that the expence of theſe muſt be very great to the Empreſs. Not only the courſes uſually read elſewhere are free here, but they read upon ſeveral ſubjects which you muſt pay a very high price for with us. Such are the living languages, the ſciences of politics, &c. There prevails, however, ſtill a kind of barbarity, which makes one lament the great expence the ſovereign is at. Mr. Pilati, the editor of *Voyages en differens Pays de l'Europe, from 1774 to 1776*, ſays, he has heard it maintained in an Auſtrian univerſity, "that all the property of the ſubject belongs to the ſovereign." I cannot ſay quite ſo much; but I believe that no reader on the law of nature here, would dare to aſſert that the ſovereign has duties to fulfil towards his ſubjects, as well as the ſubjects towards him. I was aſſured that the finding this propoſition, in the ſyllabus of a Benedictine of Saltſburg, had given ſuch offence to one of the licenſers of the preſs, that the perſon who had the book was deſired to ſend it out of the country. The Roman law too, with all its numerous train of comments and paraphraſes, ſo far remote from our preſent conſtitution and manners, ſtill ſupports itſelf in this famous univerſity, and muſt make the candidates for the profeſſional chair pedants and falſe reaſoners. As to the *jus publicum*, thoſe who have happened to hear lectures read upon it here, and at Straſburgh, would not believe it to be the law of the ſame empire. At Straſburgh, Germany is conſidered as a republic, in which the Emperor only occupies the place of a conſul, or dictator; whereas here he is conſidered as a moſt abſolute monarch. Our own theology is ſufficiently barbarous; but here I have heard them read for an hour together, *de immaculata conceptione Mariæ*. Another time I heard a ſubtile doctor making very ſerious enquiry whether, ſuppoſing any man to have had exiſtence before Adam, he would have been tainted with original ſin! As to Chriſtian ethics, they are ſtill taken from *Buſenbaun*, *Voit*, and their fellows. I have heard ſuch laſcivious deſcriptions in the public ſchools as, had they been found in a profane book, would unavoidably have placed it in the *index* of prohibited books. It is true indeed that Buſenbaun, in his *Morality for the Stewes*, has declared that it is right to read plainly upon morality, even though it ſhould excite ſinful affections in the ſcholars, and even though thoſe affections ſhould break out into ſinful actions. For he ſays, "it will do the more good at confeſſion." As to their metaphyſics, they are the very quinteſſence of pedantry and nonſenſe. Though I was not ſurpriſed to hear a a learned profeſſor demonſtrate, that two ſingle ſubſtances could not kiſs and embrace each other, and that it was not impoſſible but that one and the ſame thing ſhould exiſt in the ſame inſtant a thouſand times in different places; I could not well conceive what my learned man meant to do with this laſt propoſition, which I remembered to have ſeen in a metaphyſical book, till at length it ſtruck me, that it was intended to make the people underſtand how the body of Chriſt might be in every conſecrated hoſt from Canton to Berlin at the ſame inſtant; for every thing here has a reference to religion. What amazed me moſt, however, in my metaphyſician, was the ſeeming extent of his erudition. There was not a metaphyſician from the *Æthiopian Troglodite* to

John James, whose works he did not seem to have read through; he quoted from every language that ever existed, and in the course of half an hour confuted at least six antagonists. He amused me, in short, so much, that I could not help going often to hear, and get what I could out of him. At length I borrowed of a student, who was in the same house with me, the metaphysical lecture book he read from, which was written by the Jesuit Storchenaw. At first sight you would imagine that this Jesuit had found out the secret of making metaphysics overturn all possible knowledge. Not only all the old sects, such as the Pythagorean, Platonicians, and Epicureans, but likewise all the fathers of the church were here collected together. Next to these, you find all that has been written in the middle or latter centuries, by Machiavel, Hobbes, Spenser, Descartes, Mallebranche, Bayle, Leibnitz, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, Bolingbroke, Hume, Helvetius, the author of the *Systeme de la Nature*, and a thousand other writers, who certainly never dreamed of being confuted thus in a lump, by a jesuit of the university of Vienna. The student, of whom I borrowed the book, conceived himself to be possessed of the kernel of all these writers, nor had he the least doubt himself to be able to overturn all the fine sophistry of Bayle and Spinosa, with two leaves of his book. You may suppose I was eager to be acquainted with a man who knew so much. But how surprised was I, when a friend of his assured me he had never read a line either of Bayle, Machiavel, Voltaire, or many other writers whom he had confuted! He himself had once lent him three quarto volumes only for one single evening, and in a few days after found them answered in a dissertation.

The best lectures are, without a doubt, those given on physic. Van Swieten has done what was to be expected from him in this branch. The professors affect to be of no sect either past or present, but accustom their scholars to abuse Hippocrates, Galen, Boerhaave, &c. and to trust only to themselves. Except Storck, however, who is physician to the Emperor, there are hardly three good physicians here. Yet the method of learning practice is a good one. Every candidate for a degree has a certain set of patients in the hospital. These he visits and prescribes for, and then writes down the symptoms of their disease, together with his reasons for giving the drugs he orders. The professor then comes; looks over the prescriptions, compares them with the state of the patient, and makes his observations on them.

LETTER XXV.

Vienna.

VIENNA swarms with literati. When a man accosts you, whom you do not know by his dirty hands for a painter, smith, or shoemaker, or by his livery for a footman, or by his fine clothes for a man of consequence, you may be assured that you see either a man of letters, or a taylor; for between these two classes I have not yet learned to distinguish. It would be vain for you, however, to ask me the names of these great men; for I confess I know none but the very few who have a real title to that appellation, such as Hell, Martini, Storck, Stephani, Denis, and Sonnerfels, the only philosopher who deserves the name, the only one who unites useful knowledge to patriotism, taste, and elegance. As to those among the highest ranks, who either cultivate their knowledge for themselves, or employ their talents in the service of their country, they would be ashamed of the title of man of letters, degraded as it now is.

I happened by chance to take up a book, written by a professor of Lintz; it is called the *Learned*, but for its contents might as well have been called the *Unlearned* Austria, as it does not give an account of a single original work that has merit, but only mentions about

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one hundred writers of diſſertations, bad verſes, ſermons, and miſerable comedies. But the place abounds in ſuch authors, whoſe knowledge of the world does not exceed that of a common footman. In Paris you would be ſurpriſed to find a man of letters not acquainted with the hiſtory of his own country, that of Europe, and ſo forth. Here it is a prodigy to meet with one who knows any of theſe things.

Many of the Emperor's officers, with whom I am acquainted, deſerve the title of learned men much more than the miſerable wretches to whom it is given. Beſides profeſſional knowledge, moſt of the former poſſeſs a certain knowledge of the world, and the habits of converſation; and I know ſeveral of them who may be called philoſophers, which is not the caſe with four of the other claſs.

The Italians and French are generally reproached with having worn themſelves out. This may be true, but it did not happen before we had produced maſter-pieces in every branch of ſcience; whereas theſe people, as has indeed been acknowledged by their own writers, have gone ſtraight from barbarity into barrenneſs; nor has philoſophy ever had her day here. The reaſon of this may be eaſily aſſigned. Hitherto the dæmon of monkery has held the national ſpirit in its claws; and though attempts have been made to ſet it free, the dæmon has only allowed it liberty enough to play, and has hitherto been both powerful and provident enough to prevent its ſlave from becoming its maſter. It is Joſeph who muſt break theſe chains.

After what I have been telling you of the ſtate of things, you will not be ſurprized when you are told that moſt of the men of merit here are foreigners. Lacy, Laudohn and Wurmſer, in the army, were not born here; and as to the reſt, Storck is a Suabian; Denis, the great Auſtrian poet, a Bavarian; and Hell, the mathematician, a Sileſian; nay, though the higher poſts of the ſtate are occupied by natives, yet are the Emperor's confidential ſecretaries foreigners. What is more, all the new enterprizes have alſo been ſet on foot by foreigners, who have been but indifferently rewarded. The inventor of that moſt uſeful of inſtitutions, the penny poſt, was obliged to run away for debt; a French officer who had been called in to make ſome improvements in the artillery, had his work made ſo uneaſy to him, that he was obliged to look for more gratitude at Naples; and an Engliſhman who had taught them the art of gelding horſes ſafely, being paid only in great promiſes, and neglected when the buſineſs was done, was made ſo unhappy by it, that he ſhot himſelf through the head, and left a note upon his table, purporting that he died becauſe he had been led into contracting debts, a thing he was not accuſtomed to. This neglect of merit is not to be charged to the court. Thoſe who can come into the Prince's ſight are no where more ſplendidly rewarded than they are here; but then it muſt be confeſſed too, that there is no place where the minions of a court ſo well underſtand the art of keeping talents out of ſight. The Emperor indeed ſtrives to break theſe intrigues as much as he can, and to meet merit half way; but it is impoſſible for a great monarch to do every thing.

I have little to ſay of what concerns the arts, though I ſaw the academy's annual exhibition of painting and ſculpture. The former conſiſted merely of portraits. In ſtatuary there were only two buſts, one of the Emperor, the other of the Empreſs, which gave me any pleaſure; but you know I am no great connoiſſeur. The great triumph of the arts is the theatre, of which therefore I ſhall give you an account in my next letter.

LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

Vienna.

SIXTEEN years ſince, harlequin was the life of every dramatic performance; nothing was agreeable but what he did or ſaid; though the critics of the northern parts of Germany have hiſſed him from their ſtages, the multitude here ſtill wiſh for his return. When harlequin was diſmiſſed, attempts began to be made towards forming a national theatre; this was done by ſlow degrees, but it has at length come to conſiderable perfection. I have ſeen them play the *Pere de Famille* here nearly as well, I think, as it could be acted on a Paris theatre. The company is ſelect, but it has the ſame faults as that of Paris; the faults which every company muſt have that is not under very ſtrong government.

I was converſing ſome days ago upon this ſubject with one of the principal actors: "We form," ſays he, "a kind of parliament amongſt ourſelves, and the intendant of the court has no more power over us, than the king of Great Britain has over the Houſe of Commons." So much the worſe, thought I; the republican form of government, which is always a bad one, muſt be particularly ſo for a company of players, part of whom deſire *always* to be the kings and princes which they are upon the boards, and to hold their comrades in the ſame ſtate of ſubjection they do there.

I muſt introduce you to the acquaintance of the principal of theſe whigs; they are really worthy to be known to you, for they deſerve the reſpect in which they are held, and which has gained them admittance to all the beſt ſocieties of the place.

The elder *Stephanie*, the manager, is an extraordinary man off the ſtage. He has read much, and has a very good heart. He has a great deal of wit, and all the manner and poliſh of a man of the world. It is a pity that his make is not the beſt for the theatre; his feet are ugly, and the belly is not quite what it ſhould be, to correſpond with the upper part of the body. He endeavours as much as he can to conceal this defect by artificial poſtures, but you ſee that his figure hurts him. After Brockman, he is the beſt ſpeaker on the ſtage, but not the moſt pleaſing, as his voice often wants force. His pronunciation is remarkably good, which he owes to his education in Saxony. His countenance is naturally expreſſive, though not ſo much ſo on the ſtage as it might be, from the circumſtance of his being fair, and not painting ſufficiently. His principal parts are thoſe of affectionate fathers. I have no where ſeen *Le Pere de Famille* played better than by him; but as he is conſcious of the imperfections of his figure, and has to do with an unmanageable ſet, he is often forced to take up with parts not made for him. On this principle I have often ſeen him play young, lively princes with no great credit to himſelf; ſtill, however, there is ſenſe in all he does, and he makes every thing that can be made of a part. Beſides ſeveral tranſlations from the French and Engliſh, if I miſtake not, he has written ſeveral original pieces.

His younger brother is the direct o[illegible] of him, a rough, ſtiff, arrogant man, with the face of Meduſa, and at firſt ſight [illegible] more in[illegible] for a corporal of grenadiers, than for an actor. He plays the part[illegible]y boys, tyrants, executioners, and the like, which are all ſo natural to him [illegible]body elſe can do them as well. He is ſtill more valuable as a poet than as an actor. Notwithſtanding all the faults found with him, his pieces are repreſented on all the ſtages of Germany, even on thoſe where people exclaim moſt loudly againſt them: they contain, indeed, a great deal of nature, admirable characters, and often very fine plots. It is a pity that theſe merits are ſhaded by ſome imperfections; but the author is not ſufficient maſter of his language, and his fertility (for he ſells his pieces by the dozens) often compels him to take up with impro-

bable ſtories. If he would but give himſelf a little more time to correct and poliſh, he might paſs for one of the beſt poets of the time. His *Love for the King*, founded on the hiſtory of Charles II. his *Deſerteur aus Kindeſliebe*; his *Bekanntſchaft in Bad*; his *Wolfe in des Keerde*, and his *Unterſchied Bey Dienſtbewerbungen*, though not worked up to claſſical elegance, beſpeak true genius. He is entirely callous to all criticiſms, both in his acting and writing; laughs at, or abuſes the critics to their faces, or if needs muſt, brings them to order with his fiſts.

Brockman has been here for ſome years; he was known to fame long before, and enjoyed the ſame reputation at Hamburgh, which Garrick did in England, and Le Kain at Paris. It was a great while before they could perſuade him to come to Vienna, owing to the fear he had of the republican cabals of this theatre, and his not being upon very good terms with his wife, who was engaged here; but at length conſiderable offers prevailed on him. He is one of thoſe players who do not pleaſe you moſt at firſt ſight, but improve on you the more you ſee them. You muſt be accuſtomed to ſomewhat of an unwieldy figure, and ſomewhat of a hoarſe voice, before you can value his merits as they deſerve; but whoever can get over theſe ſlight defects is ſure to be enraptured with his expreſſion. Not a ſhade of paſſion eſcapes him. The uncommon eaſe of his action conceals the extraordinary ſtudy which he has beſtowed on every motion and every word. He is conſtantly before the looking-glaſs, and every thing in him beſpeaks underſtanding, induſtry, and practice. His chief part is Hamlet, which, however, the republican conſtitution of this theatre does not allow him to play, as it is a rule here not to take from any man a part which he has once acted, and this part is poſſeſſed by Mr. de Lange, a gentleman of whom I ſhall ſpeak more freely hereafter. Brockman, however, is like Garrick, and can play every part, from the ſultan to the ſlave.—I do not know a greater proof of a thorough knowledge of the world.

We now come to a man who is truly an *unique* in his way, I mean *Bergopzoomer*, one of the greateſt *charlatans*, and, at the ſame time, one of the greateſt workmen in his art I have yet ſeen. He kept a theatrical academy at Prague, where he hit upon the ſingular deviſe of making every motion of the hands or feet by letters of the alphabet. When he ſaid A, B, C, D, &c. his ſcholars were to fall into the correſponding attitudes. He is likewiſe the author of a very dreadful tragedy, the chief character of which (played by himſelf) diſpatches all the reſt, and then diſpatches himſelf. Deeds of blood are his *forte*. I ſaw him play Richard the Third very well. He is ſtrong, but well made, has a wonderful voice, a lively eye, a great deal of expreſſion in his countenance, and knows how to make good uſe of all theſe advantages. He excels even Brockman in art, for he paints his face of all poſſible colours, in order to hit the face of the perſon he repreſents to the life. He puts on a great deal of falſe hair, which he tears off when he is in a paſſion, and toſſes about the ſtage by handfuls. His wounds muſt bleed true blood: when he is in great paſſions he often ſpits blood. I ſaw him throw himſelf on the ground in Richard, and grin, and grind his teeth in ſuch a manner, as really made me ſhudder. With all this, there is [illegible]rance of nature in his expreſſion of the paſſions, that forces an [illegible]s to forget all his trick and grimace. His *Fayel** ſurpaſſes ever[illegible] have ever ſeen. He thoroughly underſtands the advantage an a[illegible]ining a proper climax of voice. In the part of *Camillo Rota*, in *Emilia Galotti*, he makes the whole pit ſhudder, without any motion of the arms or any alteration of countenance, barely by ſpeaking five or ſix words. Nor does he excel only in the parts of kings and murderers. His *Sir John Reſtleſs*, in *All in the Wrong*, is a maſterly performance. You know what a difficult part that is.

* A character in the tragedy of Percy.

it is a pity hat he will not play theſe kind of parts oftener. To ſum up his character, he is a good companion, and, what is more rare to be met with in a player, a man of fortune.

Amongſt all the actors, there is none who has ſo many friends and protectors amongſt the great people, as Mr. *Miller*. The man underſtands every thing; he makes lotteries at the public aſſemblies, keeps toy-booths in them for the ladies; has a clever wife and handſome daughter, who play upon the harpſichord in the houſes of the great, and he knows how to improve all theſe advantages. His credit is ſo good, that he is ſaid, though I believe matters to be a little exaggerated in this reſpect, to have conſtantly 50,000 guilders of other people's money in circulation. He lives like a great man with the great. His houſe ſtands in one of the beſt and moſt expenſive parts of the town. He has a ſuit of rooms furniſhed with great taſte and magnificence. He hires an elegant garden in one of the ſuburbs, where, in ſummer time, he keeps open table for all the world. All the wits of Germany bring him letters of recommendation, and he takes them into his houſe. The acquaintances he thereby makes amongſt the great perſons here, and the learned perſons there, fully pay him for his hoſpitality. He has alſo written ſome plays, but theſe have not anſwered ſo well as his dealings in toys. He is the moſt inſinuating man in the world, and as he endeavours to ſerve every one, ſo he is deſirous of being ſerved by them. As an actor, he is intolerably vain. His proper parts are thoſe of pedants, footmen, and tattlers; but as he does not like to play a different part on the ſtage from what he plays off it, he will be enacting courtiers and petits maitres.

Mr. *Lange*, whom I mentioned before, is a handſome man, and has a very good voice. His fault conſiſts in his being a painter. All his attitudes on the theatre are academical, and his ſtiff movements remind us of thoſe drawing-ſchools in which they put the figure in attitudes, in which it is ſeldom or never ſeen in nature. He might give up his Hamlet to Brockman, and be no loſer; but he has a perverſity about him which is a ſign of a ſmall underſtanding. When he is to ſpeak a ſpeech, which he thinks will meet with applauſe, he comes as near to the pit as he can, and often goes beyond the ſide-boxes. He has too little underſtanding to act the parts of ordinary life. His *forte* is in heroes of romance, and he excels in *Coucy*, in *Fayel*. He has no command of his fine voice, but falls by degrees into ſinging. He often ſtrikes his breaſt with his double fiſts. He has many friends, and an amiable wife, who ſings very well. By means of his friends he often poſſeſſes himſelf of parts to which he has no other pretenſions. In fine, he is likewiſe one of the few players who are rich.

The only actor of the firſt claſs, who remains to be ſpoken of, is Mr. *Steigenteſch*, whom I had much rather ſee in a room than on the ſtage. He is a man of very univerſal knowledge, ſpeaks ſeveral languages, and has a great deal of wit; but his little figure, and a conſiderable degree of affectation, ſpoil his acting, which, however, beſpeaks a great deal of underſtanding and knowledge of the world. He plays beaux and coxcombs, which as well as lovers are [illegible] hands.—I ſhall ſay nothing to you of the remainder, as it would make the catalog[illegible]

Madame *Sakko* has the pre-eminence amo[illegible] She was formerly [illegible] Mademoiſelle *Richard*, and was more known to the g[illegible] betwixt the Rhine and the Elbe, by the charms of her perſon than by her acting. She ſeemed for a time to have loſt in love purſuits thoſe aſtoniſhing talents which nature had given her, but they diſcovered themſelves by degrees, and ſhe has endeavoured to make up for the time loſt by uncommon ſtudy and application. She poſſeſſes a feeling heart, a Greek profile, a fantaſtic, or, if I may ſo ſay, a romantic countenance, eyes full of fire, a very fine per-

ſon, and a ſilver toned voice. Thoſe who would be quite melted, muſt ſee her in the part of *Gabrielle de Vergis*. For the firſt time in my life in a theatre, I felt tears fall from my eyes. Tragedy, however, is not her ſole *forte*; ſhe plays the parts of fine ladies, marchioneſſes, and devotees, with the ſame felicity. She has a thorough knowledge of the world, and all the doors of this place, thoſe of the imperial cabinet itſelf not excepted, are open to her. She is ſuch a miſtreſs of her motions, that a friend of mine compared her to an inſtrument which plays treble and baſe at the ſame time. Indeed, all the motions of her mouth, eyes, arms, and body, are in ſuch thorough uniſon with, and ſet off each other ſo well, that I do not know to what ſhe can better be compared than to an inſtrument of this ſort. There are not three actreſſes in the world to be compared to her; and ſhe is worthy to be, as ſhe is, the goddeſs of the public's idolatry. Still, however, ſhe was forced to wait ſome time before the public ſaw her merit. Her action, like *Brockman's*, does not pleaſe at firſt ſight, as that of *Bergopzoomer* and *Lange* does. This is common to all that is very fine; you muſt examine and compare the parts, before you can be ſtruck with the beauty and ſymmetry of the whole.

Mademoiſelle *Teutſcher* and Mademoiſelle *Nannette Jaynet* are the next. Theſe ladies would be good actreſſes if there was no *Sakko*. I know no other ladies to mention to you but Madame *Huber*, who on and off the ſtage enacts the part of a proud, quarrelſome, and fooliſh wife to perfection.

The whole company is in the pay of the court, and every individual in it, keeps his ſalary for life, even when he ceaſes to be ſerviceable. The higheſt ſalary paid by the court is 1200 guilders; beſides this the principal actors have 600 guilders for fire and clothes, and what remains of the receipts after the expences are paid, is divided amongſt them. The receipts generally amount to 120,000, and the expences to 80,000 guilders a year. The ſuperflux is divided according to the ſalaries. Thoſe who have children endeavour to procure them a ſmall appointment as ſoon as poſſible. In general theſe are given with great liberality. They made Madam *Sakko's* huſband (by profeſſion a dancer, but of no manner of uſe), inſpector of the wardrobe, with an appointment of 500 guilders; ſo the two together have 2300 guilders, or about 250 pounds a year. The ſecond rates have from 800 to 1000 guilders, and the thirds from 400 to 600 guilders. Jacynel and his two daughters receive 4000 guilders, or about 400 pounds a year.

The cabals and intrigues which exiſt in this commonwealth, you can have no conception of: every new part makes a quarrel, in which the courtiers take part; the public ſuffers accordingly. If this company was under good management, it would be one of the three firſt in Europe. As things now are, authors are greatly injured. When a play is offered, it is read in the theatrical parliament, when the majority of votes decides whether it ſhall be acted or not; the conſequence of this is, that a good play is often refuſed, either becauſe ſome of the firſt actors have no good part in it, or becauſe they will not leave a good part to another, or becauſe they are not at leiſure to ſtudy a new part, or which is oftenеſt the caſe, bec[illegible] they know nothing of the merits. The [illegible]thor of a new piece, to [illegible] with a pre[illegible] is entitled to a third part of what his au[illegible] produces, and may [illegible] withſtanding theſe advantages, new plays work [illegible]arce, that they ha[illegible]ed to call in the aſſiſtance of a German opera. are ſo ſ[illegible]els this daily occaſions betwixt the two companies, and the contempt they The quarr[illegible] have for one another, is truly ridiculous. The Empreſs takes care that the public manners of the act[illegible]ſſes ſhall be more decent than they are at Paris.

Upon the whole, the public of this place has as bad a taſte as that of Munich. Every thing here cries out *panem et circenſes*, and the multitude ſeem to have no other wiſhes than

than to have their paunches well filled, and a theatrical entertainment by way of deſſert; but neither the taſte or morals are improved by this. The generality wiſh for the return of harlequin, who though he cannot appear as he uſed to do, with his motley coat and wooden ſword, often ſtruts about in the hero's dreſs to delight them; at leaſt it is only to this that I can aſcribe the miſerable pantomimes with which the tragic actors interſperſe their tragedies. The general taſte is for grimace, buffoonery, and exaggeration. Of a good plot, natural and eaſy dialogue, or pure ſtyle, they know nothing. I have heard ſeveral things applauded here which would have been hiſſed at Paris, if the French of them had been as bad as the German was.

Beſides the national theatre, ſix or ſeven ſtrolling companies occupy the ſuburbs. Theſe are of the ſort I have been uſed to in Suabia. The actors conſiſt of taylors, perriwig-makers, apprentices, and ruined ſtudents, who are ſometimes on the ſtage, ſometimes in the hoſpital, and ſometimes in the army. Theſe gentlemen play by a kind of half light, favourable to the purpoſes of intrigue. Thoſe of them ſucceed beſt who have their booths in a garden, where a man may walk with his friend betwixt the acts. They are ſo conſcious that the public does not come to ſee them, that half the company is commonly in the ale-houſe whilſt the play is going forward, and one man acts three or four parts.

LETTER XXVII.

THE editor of *Voyages en differentes parties de l'Europe* ſpeaks very contumelioufly of the German nobility, and ranks the Neapolitan ones far above them in point of income. He ſhould at leaſt have excepted the Auſtrian nobles, as there are ſeveral there who poſſeſs more than any ſix of the richeſt Neapolitans he mentions. Prince Francis Lichtenſtein, the elder branch of that family has at leaſt 900,000 florins, that is 2,300,000 French livres per annum. In Moravia only, he has twenty eſtates, which conſiſt of twenty or thirty villages each; he is, without compariſon, the richeſt man in Europe. Lord Cavendiſh, who paſſes for the moſt opulent man in England, has not above 80,000l. a year. At Paris there is not either a farmer general, or a man of quality, whoſe income paſſes 120,000 livres. Neither Prince Radzivil, nor Prince Ctzartoriſky in Poland, nor any of the Ruſſian nobility, have eſtates like thoſe of Prince Lichtenſtein. Prince Eſterhazy has upwards of 600,000 and Prince Schwartzenberg above 400,000 guilders a year. There are upwards of forty people here who have eſtates of 100,000 guilders a year, the greateſt, as Mr. Pilati ſays, that any Neapolitan poſſeſſes, and twelve, beſides thoſe I have mentioned, who have as much again. The houſes of Charles Lichtenſtein, Averſberg, Lobtowik, Paar, Palfy, Kolloredo, Hasfeld Schonborn, and many others are much richer than the dukes Pignatelli, and Matalone, or the princes of Palagonia and Villa-Franca, at Naples.

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe vaſt revenues, moſt of the great houſes are in debt, which may be very eaſily accounted for; as in other countries, ſome one favourite luxury or other h[illegible] the aſcendant, here they all reign; nor is there any ſpecies of them you can name, either horſes, ſervants, the pleaſures of the table, play, or dreſs, but what is carried to the utmoſt exceſs. Here are ſeveral ſtables of fifty, ſixty, or more horſes; whoever has an eſtate of 50 or 60,000 florins, muſt have from twenty-four to thirty horſes; and it is a moderate eſtabliſhment, which conſiſts only of a *maitre d'hotel*, a ſecretary, two *valet de chambre*, two running footmen, one or two huntſmen, two coachmen, five or ſix footmen, and a porter. The houſes of Lichtenſtein, Eſterhazy, Schwartzenberg,

zenberg, and ſome others, keep fifty footmen, beſide which, the two former have a body guard. A ſingle plate of fruit often coſts from 60 to 70 florins, and Count Palm once appeared in a coat that had coſt 90,000 guilders. It is common to give from 30 to 40,000 florins for a lady's dreſs; and though hazard is forbidden, there are ſeveral games at which you may loſe from 15 to 20,000 florins at a ſitting.

Prince Rohan *, who ſome time ſince was ambaſſador from France here, endeavoured to vie in expence with the inhabitants of the place, but, beſides getting conſiderably into debt, he was obliged to confeſs at going away, that though a man ſpends his money with more taſte at Paris, a great deal more may be ſpent at Vienna. It is, indeed, very true, that they ſpend their money without taſte or enjoyment, and ſeveral of them would do better to throw half their incomes out of window, and ſet the populace a ſcrambling for them, for they would have as much pleaſure themſelves. At Paris every man has ſome branch of œconomy, ſomething upon which he ſaves, that he may afford to be expenſive upon other occaſions. There is likewiſe ſome diſcernment ſhewn in the choice of pleaſures, and the poor, the arts, and even the native country, come in for ſome ſhare of the expence; but here all is idle pomp and magnificence. Amidſt the wretched ſcenes exhibited by the mixture of ſuperfluity and miſery at Paris, the friend of mankind recollects that there is a *Beaumont* and a *Curé de St. Sulpice*, who divide among the indigent a great part of the ſuperfluities of the rich. But here there is no ſource of conſolation for the old, and often ſick beggar, who ſlinks into the coffee-houſes and beer-houſes at duſk to procure alms, whilſt the great ſpend upon a ſingle meal, what would feed a private family for a year.

The arts enjoy as little from the riches of this place as the poor do; almoſt all the palaces and gardens beſpeak nothing but a taſteleſs profuſion; and as to collections of pictures, I have ſeen none but the Lichtenſtein gallery that deſerves any notice. It is true, indeed, that this may ſtand in the place of many; it conſiſts of ſix hundred pieces by the beſt maſters, and is divided into twelve rooms, which have a magnificent appearance, but then this is all that is to be ſeen beſides the imperial collection.

I had forgot to mention one trait exceedingly characteriſtic of the country. In ſome houſes, the maſters of which affect to live in the higheſt ſtyle, it is cuſtomary, when an entertainment is given, to provide doſes of tartar emetick, and ſet them in an adjoining room; thither the gueſts retire when they happen to be too full, empty themſelves, and return to the company again as if nothing had happened.

Muſic is the only thing for which the nobility ſhew a taſte; ſeveral of them have private bands of muſicians, and all the public concerts atteſt, that this branch of the arts is in the greateſt eſteem here. You may bring together four or five large orcheſtras, which are all incomparable. The number of private virtuoſi is ſmall, but there is no finer orcheſtra of muſic in the world. I have heard thirty or forty inſtruments play together, all which gave ſo juſt, ſo clear, and ſo preciſe a ſound, that you would have thought you heard only a ſingle very ſtrong inſtrument; a ſingle ſtroke gave life to all the violins, and a ſingle blaſt to all the wind inſtruments. An Engliſhman, by whom I chanced to ſit, was aſtoniſhed not to hear in a whole opera, I will not ſay a ſingle diſſonance, but one haſty ſtroke, one too long pauſe, one too loud blaſt. Though juſt come out of Italy he was enraptured with the juſtneſs and the clearneſs of the harmony. There are about four hundred muſicians here, who divide themſelves into particular ſocieties, and often labour together during a long courſe of years. On a particular day of the year they have a general concert for the benefit of muſicians' widows; I have

* The celebrated cardinal of that name.

been

been aſſured, that the four hundred play together as diſtinctly, as cleanly, and as juſtly as when there are only from twenty to thirty. This is certainly the only concert of the kind in the world.

One of the moſt pleaſing ſights I have ſeen here was that of the lemonade booths in the ſummer evenings. They put up a large tent in ſome of the public parts of the town, round it are ſeveral hundred ſtools, which are occupied by the ladies and gentlemen of the place. At ſome diſtance there is a band of muſic; the wonderful muſic, the feſtive ſilence, and the familiarity which night diffuſes over every thing, have all of them an unſpeakable good effect.

To ſee the equipages of Vienna, you muſt go to a fire-work on the Prater in the ſummer time. The Prater is a wood of oaks and beeches on an iſland of the Danube, near the city. Towards the entrance, under the trees, there are about thirty tents, furniſhed with chairs and tables, in which you meet with all kinds of refreſhments. The place is conſtantly reſorted to by day; but to ſee it in its ſplendor, you muſt go to a fire-work; about twelve thouſand people aſſemble and take their ſupper under the trees. Towards the entrance of the night, on a given ſignal, they flock to the meadow, ſurrounded with high trees, in which the ſpectacle is exhibited. Directly oppoſite to the firework is a magnificent amphitheatre filled with ſeveral hundreds of ladies, whoſe high painted cheeks, rich jewels, and light ſummer clothes, have an unſpeakable good effect. The pit betwixt the amphitheatre and the firework is filled as full as it can hold with men. At the concluſion of the feſtival a moſt extraordinary ſight takes place; a row, of from twelve to fifteen hundred coaches, phætons, and other four wheeled equipages, goes from the wood to the city, in ſo direct and cloſe a line, that when they ſtop, the beam of the hinder carriages are cloſe upon the cheſt of the fore ones; the conſequence of which is, that as they go only in full trot, or gallop, many of the carriages are broke, and the people in them expoſed to the utmoſt danger: moſt of theſe are gentlemen's coaches, with four or ſix horſes to them; the number of theſe in this place are at leaſt three thouſand five hundred; there are about five hundred hackney coaches, and about three hundred coaches that are let out. Notwithſtanding the number of equipages on this occaſion, there is hardly ever the leaſt diſorder; the foot-paſſengers have their road, which no coachman dares to break in upon. The bridge betwixt the ſuburb of Leopold and the Prater, in which the preſſure is ſtrongeſt, is divided into four parts; the two outermoſt of theſe are for the foot-paſſengers, and the innermoſt for the coaches; that is, one for thoſe who are going from, and another for thoſe who are coming to the city. This order is kept up through the wood and on the *chauſſé* in the ſuburb, till you come to the city, and ſome *cuiraſſieres* ride to and fro with drawn ſabres to ſee that the order be obſerved. There is no inſtance of an accident having happened at the time of a feſtivity; all the caſualties that take place through the neglect of coachmen, happen in the daily buſineſs of the city; there are, however, never above ſeven people driven over in a year, whereas at Paris we reckon there are twenty.

As to the firework itſelf, I ſet it far above all the amuſements of this place, not excepting the national theatre itſelf. M. Stuwer, who was the artificer, whoſe works I ſaw, underſtands it thoroughly; he exhibits whole gardens, large palaces, and temples, in due perſpective, with all their different ſhades of colour, and almoſt as large as the life. His machines are particularly large and beautiful, and often make from ſix to eight fronts, from fifty to ſixty feet long. At the opening of the exhibition, they let off ſeveral hundred rockets, which fly up with a noiſe like thunder, ſhake the whole foreſt, and make it light as at noon day. A few years ago he had a rival called Girandolini, who, in the eſtimation of all connoiſſeurs, had much more merit than himſelf, but was

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the victim of the bigotry of the public. Girandolini, who, as a ſtranger, had more difficulty to combat with, than the other, was obliged to uncommon exertions to obtain money, to do as much as Stuwer. He had a great number of labourers at work during the whole ſpring and winter, but in the ſummer, on the day announced for the exhibition, there happened a great thunder ſtorm, which ſpoiled all he had done. His diſappointment led him to uſe imprecations, and he was diſcouraged as an atheiſt.

The *Augarten* is likewiſe one of the ſummer amuſements, at which you may meet with all the fine world. This is a large park, which ſtands in the ſame iſland of the Danube as the Prater does, and is to the eaſt of it; it is a work of the Emperor's, who, as the inſcription over the door ſtates, has opened it, as a friend of mankind, for a place of relaxation to all mankind. It is, however, viſited only by the higher orders; the people who ſee it is not made for them, voluntarily exclude themſelves: it is aſtoniſhing in how ſhort a time this park is become what it is. The Emperor, who is determined to ſee his work complete, ſpares for neither pains or expence to procure trees half grown, and full grown from the moſt diſtant part of the globe. Though there are a great variety of different trees and ſhrubs, and the walks have all the beauties that one can deſire, there is a regularity and uniformity in the whole, which makes it like a true Engliſh garden. A very broad arm of the Danube, which waſhes its banks, gives it a great deal of life. The moſt pleaſing perſpective in the whole is that of a large foreſt in perſpective, which has been cut through on the other ſide of the river, and is bounded by the diſtant hills of Moravia, which flit about it like light clouds. There is a magnificent pavilion, in which is a billiard-table and refreſhments of all kinds. Thoſe who wiſh to ſee this place in full beauty, muſt viſit it in the height of ſummer in the morning. The cuſtom has prevailed for ſome years paſt, of coming here to drink mineral waters; theſe, it is true, are fetched from upwards of a hundred miles diſtance, and can therefore do no great good, nor is there any need of it, for the invalids are moſt of them very well, and only come here to enjoy the eaſe and freedom which obtain at Spa, Pyrmont, and other water-drinking places. Here all ranks, particularly the nobleſſe and the literati mix together; the ladies drink that they may ſhew themſelves in *negligés*, and the men drink becauſe the ladies are not ſo ſtiff in *negligés* as they are when full dreſſed.

There are ſeveral other places of public reſort in this town; that which is moſt generally viſited is the Rempart, which, though expoſed to a very warm ſun, is almoſt always full. The middling people cannot go to church in the afternoon, without taking a turn round the Rempart, which takes them up an hour; thoſe of higher ranks walk to ſhew their dogs, which in this place only are ſafe from horſes and carriages. Hounds are a great article of luxury here; the fine folks endeavour to outdo each other in them; at preſent the little Pomeranian breed is all the mode; one of them either ſnow white, or coal black, and with a ſharp ſnout, will fetch from ten to fifteen ducats. Prince X. gave twenty-five ducats for one; every man who ſets up at all for ton, muſt have his *ſpiſſchen*, which is here the proper name of the dog. The peaſants, who are the better for this folly, have built a dog-market adjoining to the poultry-market.

The garden of the Belvedere in the ſuburb of Rennevig, formerly in the poſſeſſion of Prince Eugene, is likewiſe at preſent a public walk; the garden has nothing particular about it; but the palace, both on account of its builder, and its admirable ſituation, is one of the moſt remarkable places in the town; from the balcony on the terrace, you command a view over the whole town, and all the country round. Some years ago the imperial pictures were moved hither; the gallery conſiſts of twenty-two large rooms;

the lower ſtory is tenanted entirely by Italian maſters. The beſt picture is a Cupid in the act of drawing his bow, by Corregio. It was bought for 18,800 ducats, by the Emperor Charles VI. but with many other pictures had been entirely neglected and trodden under foot, ſo that part of it was entirely ſpoilt, but what remains is Corregio ſtill. The upper ſtory is tenanted by the Flemiſh maſters, who, as in duty bound, do not keep company with the Italians. The gallery is open to every body three days in the week.

About a mile and a half from the city, in a fenny hollow, you meet with Schonbrurm, the ſummer reſidence of the Empreſs, but where the confined proſpect and bad air did not allow me to ſtay two days. The palace is immenſe, built in a truly great ſtyle; the furniture, too, is truly imperial; there is one room furniſhed with tapeſtry from the *Gobelins*, that coſt 300,000 guilders; here too is the menagerie of wild beaſts, ſo delightfully ſung by Metaſtaſio. The moſt remarkable I ſaw, was a true elephant of the large breed from India; it was ſent as a preſent from the Stadtholder, who gave 10,000 guilders for it. On an eminence behind the palace the Emperor has built a *ſala terrena* in the ancient ſtyle, with two rows of pillars on each ſide. This points out the ſpot where his mother ſhould have built, if ſhe had choſen to have had a fine proſpect and good air. When the Empreſs is here, ſhe ſees only capuchins and old court ladies. This is likewiſe a place of public amuſement, as the garden is always open, as is the palace alſo, at all ſuch times as the Empreſs is not there.

The Kalteberg, which lies on the Danube, about three miles from the city, pleaſed me infinitely more; the way to it is through a wonderfully well cultivated country. At ſome diſtance to the left, on the ſlope of the hill, and under ſome very old oaks, you ſee field marſhal Lacy's elegant villa, with his Engliſh garden. By degrees you gain a thick foreſt on the brow of the hill; on the top of this ſtands the Camaldeuleuſe convent, in the fineſt point of view you can imagine. Under ſome trees before the convent are a table and ſome benches, where the ladies, who cannot viſit the inſide of the monaſtery, without ſpecial permiſſion from the archbiſhop, are entertained till their friends return. Every monk has his own ſeparate hut, with a little garden belonging to it. To the outer cell there is a terrace which looks over a perpendicular precipice into the Danube, and commands a proſpect of which a monk of this ſort is quite unworthy. You have the whole city like a ground plot under your feet; you think you hear the conſtant hum in it, and your eye carries you over this part of Auſtria, as far as to the borders of Hungary and Moravia. The majeſtic Danube winds through an immenſe plain; at ſome diſtance it conſiderably widens, and, being covered with no woods or elevations, caſts a ſilver appearance on the landſcape. To your right, the wood crowned hill you are upon gradually decreaſes to the ſuburbs, whilſt to the left it ſtretches its high neck along the Danube, to where, at three miles diſtance, you ſee the golden hill of Enſerſdorf, which produces one of the beſt Auſtrian wines. The numberleſs fine villages, the blue hills ſwimming on the horizon, and all the various aſpects of wood and water, diffuſe a delight, which impreſſed me to ſuch a degree, that I could not help communicating my enthuſiaſm to the monk, who was near me. "Happy," ſays I, "muſt be that brother who inhabits the outer cell." "No," ſaid he, "we are not of your opinion, none of uſe chuſe to live in it, for it is too much expoſed to the winds, and is as cold again as any other." In a moment the man brought me out of my enthuſiaſm. You know I am one of thoſe, who in ſummer never think of winter, and who hate nothing more than to be forced to ſee the ugly ſide of things, be they as natural as they may, whilſt I am taken up with the beautiful ones. After having ſeen all that the monks had to ſhew, hair ſhirts and all, we gave them money to ſay a maſs for us, and haſtened to our ladies under the trees. We had ſent before us a cold collation, and ſome bottles of Shunlaver

laver and St. Jorger. The day was fine, and the ladies in good humour, ſo that I do not know whether we might not a little prophane the entrance to the holy place. This pilgrimage was undertaken in the firſt days of my arrival here, but I have often been at the place ſince, and have found pleaſure there, even in bad weather.

There are ſeveral other public places, amongſt which you may reckon Mount Calvarie, and other places of devotion, which are viſited by the young people of both ſexes, not ſo much from motives of piety, as becauſe they are protected from the inſpection of the police.

LETTER XXVIII.

Vienna.

THE preſent court poſſeſſes ſeveral valuable collections, all of which are as much as poſſible open to the public. The imperial cabinet of medals hath ſcarce its equal in the world; there are twenty-two thouſand ancient coins; the modern coins are extremely valuable; likewiſe a very valuable, and to thoſe who wiſh to ſtudy the hiſtory of the middle ages, a very precious part of this collection, is that which conſiſts of all the coins and medals from Charlemaine to this time. The thought was Charles the VIth's, but the collection owes its exiſtence to the Emperor Francis, who laid out great ſums upon it. I ſay nothing to you of the ſeveral other rich collections of natural hiſtory, mathematical inſtruments, &c. &c. but, that like every thing the court poſſeſſes, they are open to every body, without the leaſt trouble. But the library is one of the moſt precious in the world. It conſiſts of more than three hundred thouſand volumes, twelve thouſand of which are valuable manuſcripts. The building in which they are preſerved is one of the handſomeſt in the town. It is open every morning till twelve o'clock, for all perſons who chooſe to come. They are furniſhed with tables, chairs, pen, ink, and paper; a ſecretary looks in the catalogue for the books wanted, which are immediately taken down from the ſhelves by ſome livery ſervants belonging to the court. There are fires in the room all the winter. None of the ſervants are allowed to take any thing. When once you are acquainted with the librarians, one of whom is always in a room adjoining, it is not ſo difficult to obtain prohibited books as has been pretended. Mr. Pilati, indeed, in his travels, ſays, that you cannot have a good book without the archbiſhop's permiſſion; but I myſelf read the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, and all Machiavel's works through, without any leave.

Excluſive of the court library, there are ſeveral other public places where people may read. The bookſeller Trattnern once took it into his head to have a learned coffee-houſe in his great palace. He promiſed to provide the ſubſcribers with all the newſ-papers, periodical publications, and pamphlets, in all the living languages. If this project had been properly followed, it might have proved the foundation of an academy, or learned ſociety; but the ſubſcribers ſoon ſaw that Trattnern had no view but what regarded his own pocket. This Mr. Trattnern compels the profeſſors to ſell him their manuſcripts, and pays them not a farthing for them. He conceives himſelf to have this privilege as bookſeller to the court, and exerciſes an intolerable tyranny over all the bookſellers and *literati* of the place. Notwithſtanding the high tone he affects, he does not ſcruple to deſcend to the loweſt meanneſſes. He prints over again, with the imperial privilege, works which have been already printed with this privilege in the other parts of Germany. They ſay he has perſuaded the Empreſs, that let a book be ever ſo ſucceſsful, the bookſeller gets nothing by it, if he pays the expence of printing; ſo that beſide giving him the copy, ſhe often pays the whole expence of printing the books ſhe

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takes an intereſt in; but though Trattnern flatters her foibles in many reſpects, there is not a perſon in Vienna who diſobeys her orders more ſtrenuouſly. If you will pay him enough for them, he will procure you all prohibited books, even the moſt ſcandalous; and theſe are the only books which the generality cares for; for it is not as with us, where you meet with *Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws*, *Voltaire's Univerſal Hiſtory*, and *Rouſſeau's Social Contract*, in the hands of people who make no pretences to literature. Here are many literati who know nothing of theſe, and the like books, which they leave entirely to the higher nobility, and ſome of the officers. What ſucceeds moſt here is buffoonery, and even the bettermoſt part of the reading public, is ſatisfied with plays, romances, and fairy-tales. I know a dozen young men of letters, as theſe creatures here call themſelves, who have read nothing ſince they came from ſchool, but German and French poets. I was once tempted to go round the table of the public library to ſee what the readers were employed in; two or three out of about four and twenty were reading ancient writers, one was reading Sully's Memoirs, and all the reſt had either romances, or were looking over ſuch books as the *Muſeum Florentinum*, and the deſcriptions of the *Antiquities at Herculaneum*, for the ſake of the prints. I muſt, however, make one obſervation in honour of the Hungarians; theſe generally call for the ſeveral hiſtorians of their own country, and they appeared to me to read them with an animation that beſpoke the freedom of their government. May it not be owing to this difference of government, that the Hungarians, as I have generally obſerved, have more patriotiſm, and conſequently care more for the hiſtory of their native country than the Auſtrians do? I have not found one of all the latter who had a taſte for any ſuch thing.

After what I have been ſaying, it is not extraordinary that the ſocieties of this country ſhould be as dead as they are. The ſubject of the theatre is ſoon exhauſted, after which there is nothing left but the news of the day, and trifling obſervations. It is only the women who keep up the converſation at all; theſe have infinitely more wit, vivacity, and knowledge of all kinds of things, than the men. In ſeveral houſes I was in, the men had nothing to ſay after the firſt quarter of an hour, but their wives and daughters kept up the converſation with great chearfulneſs. It is very true, that their fund conſiſts only of the news of the day, but the news gives riſe to remarks, and remarks give riſe to obſervations and debates that often prove very intereſting; with the men there is not even this reſource, for they are too ſtupid even for this.

The women of this place are handſome and well made, but they have no colour, and their faces are not intereſting. They are eaſy and lively in their motions, their gait, and their ſpeech. They are more compoſed, more determined, and more manly than the French women, but not ſo heroic as the Engliſh. I cannot give you a better idea of them than by telling you they are between French and Engliſh. There are no great beauties here, nor any very ugly women. They have not yet imitated our country women in their winter-dreſs, which continues to be of Polanaiſes, trimmed with very expenſive furs, which reach down to the feet. As theſe dreſſes have no high pockets, are open at the breaſt, and fall eaſily about the lower part of the body, they are favourable to the ſhape, and remind us of the Greek ſimplicity. A tinge of ſuperſtition, peculiar to the women of this place, is united to great ſenſibility of heart, and rather tends to increaſe, than to repreſs love, friendſhip, and benevolence. Moore has made ſome good obſervations upon this ſubject, but nothing gives a better idea of the thing, than ſeeing a lady beſpeak maſſes in a convent, and give alms, with a wiſh that God may recover her ſick *Ciciſbeo*.

The *Ciciſbeat* is upon the ſame footing here as in Italy; it ſubſiſts among the great as a mode that has been once eſtabliſhed; the poor take it up as a matter of trade; and it

is only amongſt the merchants and manufacturers that you meet with any inſtances of jealouſy. I cannot forbear giving you a droll inſtance of the effects of this, which took place ſome years ago. A man of faſhion having been rather too frequent in his viſits to a rich tradeſman's wife; the huſband, who was diſpleaſed with the intercourſe, took the following method of putting a ſtop to it: one morning, when he knew the lovers were together, he ordered all his ſervants to be in waiting with flambeaux on the ſtairs; he then ſtepped into the room, and told his excellency, that his ſervants were come to light him home; the other was exceedingly ſurpriſed, but affected not to underſtand him; upon which the merchant immediately took him by the arm, and led him very ceremoniouſly down ſtairs; here the ſervants, armed with their flambeaux, ſurrounded him on all ſides, and led him into the middle of the ſtreet in broad day light; the tradeſman in the mean time ſtanding upon the ſteps of his houſe making bow upon bow, and under the pretence of recommending himſelf to the nobleman's cuſtom, ſhouting out his name as loud as he could.

You ſeldom hear of any extraordinary inſtances of impropriety and indecency in this place. Conſidering the ſtate of the country, it is not extraordinary, that a taſte for pleaſure ſhould be ſo prevalent as it is, it having certainly more food here than any where elſe. The number of poor is much ſmaller than at Paris, and probably, than at London. Every thing, even the clothing of the loweſt ſervant maid, beſpeaks a great degree of affluence. The prodigality of the higher nobility, the many, and great appointments paid by the court, and the extenſive commerce of the middling claſſes, greatly aſſiſts the circulation of money. The conſtant circulation of the town is eſtimated at twelve million of imperial guilders, or 12,000l. ſterling. The expence of living is likewiſe leſs than it is any where elſe, and Vienna is probably the only town in which the price of the neceſſaries of life is not equal to the quantity of gold in circulation. This ariſes from the great want of money in the neighbouring Hungary. You have good wine here for three kreutzers the bottle, and a very good dinner for twelve. I know a *traiteur*, who for thirteen ſols a head, furniſhes a *table d'hote*, conſiſting of vegetables, broiled meat, a pudding, or roaſted calf's-liver, and beef; the bread and a gill of wine are included: in a word, the man with the *forty crowns* might live here very well, but if he has more, he will certainly be tempted to ſpend it. The more nature gives, the more neceſſities men make to themſelves, and ſhe is ſo profuſe here, that they of courſe become ſo too. The infinite number of richly penſioned dependants of the court, the numerous nobility, and the many ſtrangers who come here only for amuſement, know no other pleaſure, than to follow it whereſoever it leads. Riches, idleneſs, and the liberality of nature, muſt render a people diſſipated, whoſe religion is the oppoſite to frugality, and whoſe governors cannot give their ſpirits any other occupation.

The commerce of this country is now extremely flouriſhing; but it was a long time before the Auſtrians knew how to enjoy the advantages which nature had provided them with. Notwithſtanding they were maſters of one of the largeſt rivers in the world, which carries ſhips upwards of ſeventy German miles before it comes to them, and afterwards opens them a way into the Levant and Black Sea; there was no ſpirit of trade among them till the laſt Emperor's time. It is true, Charles the Sixth had done what he could to promote this ſpirit throughout the whole of his dominions, but though his attempts had been ſucceſsful in other places, he met with a diſappointment in the dutchy of Auſtria and the capital, for the nobility of theſe places ſtill conſidered merchants as a kind of brute beaſts; and the jeſuits kept the proteſtants, who in the ſequel, did moſt for induſtry, either entirely at a diſtance, or were ſure to cruſh them, when they found means to creep in. The court, in ſhort, contracted many debts, and its credit grew too

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weak to afford any ſubſtantial ſupport to thoſe who needed its aſſiſtance. The Emperor Francis, having reſtored the finances, was himſelf a merchant, and by degrees the nobility began to look upon the induſtrious merchant with a ſomewhat leſs degree of contempt. Still, however, a great deal was reſerved for the preſent Emperor, whoſe popularity, and averſion to old prejudices, are in no inſtance more conſpicuous than in this. He introduces ingenious artiſts and merchants into the firſt ſocieties. It is true, indeed, that thoſe who think all merit conſiſts in birth and external appearance, neglect nothing to make the plebeian feel he is out of his element; but a word from the monarch ſets all to rights, and the more the nobleſſe diſturb themſelves, the more Joſeph is ſure to take opportunities of humbling their pride. Some years ago, when he was at Prague, he came into a large company, leading a citizen's wife by the hand; all the ladies immediately began to ſtare, but he took no farther notice of it, than by going down with her the only dance he danced.

After all, commerce would not be very flouriſhing, had not the clogs it was under, when the Monarch's confeſſor was the director of all the departments in the ſtate, been taken off, and were it not moſtly in the hand of ſtrangers.

The facility with which ſo many foreign families make large fortunes, is a public and ſtriking inſtance of how much they ſurpaſs the natives in activity and underſtanding. The baron de *Fries*, the court banker, a *Mhulhauſe* by birth, who had no capital, has become, in an incredible ſhort time, one of the firſt bankers in Europe. He is worth at leaſt four millions of guilders. Moſt of the principal manufacturers and merchants come from Suabia, Franconia, Saxony, and other parts of Germany. The citizens of Nurenburg, Augſburg, Ulm, Lindaw, and other cities, meet here with a refuge from the tyranny, which every day more and more obtains in their own countries. Moſt of them have made their fortunes by good ſenſe, induſtry, and eſpecially by that frugality which ſo eſſentially diſtinguiſhes them from the natives. There is no doubt, but that the ſtrangers, and eſpecially the proteſtants, will likewiſe make a flouriſhing place of Trieſte.

With all this, however, trade is ſtill far below what it might be; but it makes great ſtrides every day. It is ſaid, there are already above a hundred ſilk weavers' looms in the place. There are alſo pluſh and cotton manufactures, and foreign trade is carried on with Auſtrian and Hungarian wines, Bohemian and Moravian linens (which go by Trieſte into Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey,) wrought and unwrought iron, ſteel and copper, leather, china, and other articles; theſe produce ſeveral millions. All this the government protects ſo heartily, that it has always a fund ready for the encouragement of the enterprizing and diſcreet projector. This fund it lends out without intereſt for five, ſix, or even ten years, after which it receives intereſt gradually from one to two or three per cent.

From theſe beginnings great advantages are, no doubt, to be expected in the next generation, when, inſtead of being proud of their debts, the nobility ſhall deign to be in company with a rich trader, and inſtead of reaſoning on a bill of fare, will converſe with him on the profits of the year; but education muſt firſt be thoroughly reformed, &; whilſt it is truſted to French abbés and chambermaids, all that is done for trade is na- patch-work. Swiſs

There is bad news about the town; a few days ago the Empreſs returned eſſes into from a country expedition, and this indiſpoſition is now become a ſerious diſ the Rhine phyſicians fear an inflammation in the lungs, which, from the frequent, while the ex- weather, is the common illneſs of this place. I hope to begin my nery think that the ſpirits than I finiſh this. Fare thee well. [illegible] ut it is not ſo; for [illegible] rt in much greater plenty ſtill, if

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LETTER XXIX.

Vienna.

IT is paſt, and the great Thereſa, who, with all her weakneſſes, was one of the greateſt monarchs that ever ſat on the throne, is no more.—I will ſay nothing to you of the grief of her ſubjects, nor of the pompouſneſs of her funeral, nor of the mighty attendance that followed her to her grave; all theſe you will ſee in the public prints. It was well known that, either from the weakneſs natural to old people, or the apprehenſion that her ſucceſſor might make innovations ſhe diſapproved, ſhe had long looked upon death with ſome kind of fear and terror. This made her wiſh to avoid it, as it drew near; but when ſhe found this impoſſible, religion ſhewed itſelf in its full luſtre, and, though conquered, the Empreſs was ſtill the heroine. She converſed for ſeveral hours together with her ſon, and employed her cares about her family. To the laſt inſtant ſhe was the beſt of mothers. The ſucceſſor, on his part, though at the time of life when all the paſſions are at the higheſt, and though he felt himſelf on the eve not only of poſſeſſing a large empire, but of being free from the controul he had hitherto met with in his moſt favourite projects, was in this moment only a ſon. He forgot every thing elſe, and could only weep for a mother, with the value of whoſe heart he was acquainted.

The family affection that obtains in the imperial houſe is very remarkable. I muſt lay before you ſome paſſages that ſet this amiable princeſs's character in a very ſtrong point of view. No ſtranger to the pleaſures of virtuous love, ſhe wiſhed her children to enjoy them, but would have them enjoy them in the bounds impoſed by virtue and religion. With theſe views ſhe had given a free conſent to her daughter's marriage with a portioned prince of the houſe of Saxony, though contrary to the Emperor's inclination, who was afraid of the imperial houſe being burthened with too many dependants. Upon the ſame principle, when her ſon Maximilian was made coadjutor of the Teutonic order, and in conſequence obliged to take a vow of chaſtity, ſhe obtained a diſpenſation for him from the Pope, in caſe he ſhould ever chooſe to leave the order and marry. Nor was it her fault that her other two daughters were not married, as nothing would have made her ſo happy as to ſee herſelf ſurrounded with a numerous train of grand-children. Another *trait* of the ſame kind was her retaining the truly maternal love of her children, however elevated or however diſtant they were from her. As a proof of this, ſhe would frequently write both to the Queens of France and Naples, letters not only filled with the beſt of advice, but when there was occaſion for them, with the tendereſt motherly reproofs. She would often reprove the Emperor in company for trifles, after he had come to the imperial crown. This authority, however, which ſhe preſerved over all her children to the laſt inſtant of her life, was ſo tempered with true affection, that it diſpleaſed none of thoſe over whom it was exerciſed. Her happieſt hours uſed to be thoſe in which ſhe received letters from the courts of Verſailles, Parma, Naples, and Milan. Then ſhe would ſhut herſelf up in her cloſet, with her moſt intimate friends, and pour into their boſoms the pleaſure of which the mother of ſo fine an offspring.

wards the Archduke governor of Milan, and the Duke of Saxe Teſchen, whom the Emamong whom ſhe was wont to call his very *dear* relations, will feel her loſs very ſeverely, as they he could not ſuffer from the œconomy which the Emperor is ſo rigid a maſter of even attempts had it.

of Auſtria and Empreſs's death is known, you may obſerve a wonderful change in the faces kind of brute bea priests and court attendants. The prelates, who a few days ſince for induſtry, either of the people in the ſtreets, now ſneak about chop-fallen, and the means to creep in. The cour courtiers

courtiers ſeem to be buried in thought how to pay their debts. But before I indulge myſelf in conjectures on what is to come, I will lay before you the preſent ſtate of the country as the Empreſs left it.

The Houſe of Hapſburg Loraine, now ranks as one of the greateſt powers in Europe; the only rivals of its greatneſs are Ruſſia, France, and Great Britain; but at the beginning of this century, and till the time it belonged to the late Empreſs, it was one of the middling powers of Europe, and it required all the ſtrength of England, and all the money of Holland, to ſupport it, whenever it attempted to take any great part in buſineſs. Even at the time when the ſun did not ſet in its dominions, it was not as formidable as it is now; at length the loſs of ſo many kingdoms and provinces taught it, that the ſtrength of a ſtate does not ſo much conſiſt in the quantity of its internal power, as in the uſes it is able to make of it. A great man, who ſerved it at a time when it was ſtill in poſſeſſion of Alſatia, Naples, Sicily, and ſeveral other countries, compared it to a pyramid, which ſtands upon its point, and totters by the weakneſs of its principal part. The pyramid is now ſomething lighter, but it ſtands, as nature intended it ſhould, on its own proper foundation, firm and unſhaken.

If all the Auſtrian dominions lay together, they would contain a larger extent of country than France. Hungary, with Tranſylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Temeſwar, and part of Dalmatia, contains 4760 ſquare miles; Bohemia 900, Moravia, with part of Sileſia, 430; the circle of Auſtria, Styria, and the Dukedom, with Carynthia, the Ukraine, the country belonging to Auſtria in Suabia, the Earldom of Falkenſtein, the newly acquired part of Bavaria, and part of Frioul, 2200; the Netherlands, 500; the poſſeſſions of Lombardy, 200; the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, together with Buckovina, which has been taken from the Turks, 1400; in all 10,360 ſquare miles; whereas, France hardly contains 10,000. You will ſay, the difference is not very great—it is not; but when the expected junctions of Tuſcany, and the Modeneſe are made, it will be worth attending to. As to natural bleſſings, they have been beſtowed ſtill more plentifully here than in France; for there are no luxuries to be met with in the latter which ſome countries belonging to the Emperor do, or may not produce, wine, oil, and ſilk not excepted; and as to matters of prime neceſſity, ſuch as corn and cattle, they would be able to furniſh half France with them, after providing their own people. The ſeveral ores too, which are found in the hills round Hungary, in the Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, are of as much profit to the country, as thoſe of Portugueſe and Spaniſh America to their poſſeſſors; ſo that if there was only ſuch a ſea coaſt as ours, and the country was improved to what it might be, no doubt it would be a fourth richer than France; but our fortunate ſituation, the waters we command on all ſides, and the navigable rivers, which carry out our exports from the moſt remote parts of the country, give an advantage which is not to be diſputed.

Hungary is, without doubt, the richeſt part of the Auſtrian dominions;—it not only poſſeſſes every thing that is produced in the other countries, but feeds them with its overflow, and excels them as much in the quality, as in the quantity of what it produces; but here we have great occaſion to obſerve the truth of that axiom, that the more nature does for man, the leſs he commonly does for himſelf. The inhabitant of the Swiſs mountains extracts his ſuſtenance from his nakedneſs, and has changed wilderneſſes into cultivated and inhabited lands; the Hollander has turned the muddy ſands of the Rhine and Maeſe, what the ſea is conſtantly diſputing with him, into a garden, while the excellent grounds in Hungary ſtill lie waſte. I believe, that at Vienna, they think that the plenty Hungary is able to export, is owing to its own population; but it is not ſo; for were it three times as much peopled as it is, it would export in much greater plenty ſtill,

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if the cultivation was what it is in the greateſt part of Suabia. As things now are, not only a great part of this fruitful land is uncultivated, but even that which is cultivated is not turned to near the advantage it might. In this country they know nothing of artificial cultivation, ſuch as dunging in a cheap way, the mixture of different earths, and the uſe of chalky clay to manure, though parts of the country produce this laſt commodity in great abundance. They ſuffer, at leaſt more than half the ground there is need for, to lay fallow. Their common way of threſhing, is by driving oxen over the corn, by which half of it is left for ſtraw. When you are travelling through this country, you think yourſelf going over a wild, though you are in fact upon a bottom, which with very little trouble would produce fifty, ſixty, or even one hundred fold. The roads are of an immenſe breadth, and the fields adjoining them of ſo little value, that the poſtillions drive through them, without the leaſt ceremony, whenever a little mud or rain in the highway reminds them of its being more convenient.

The inhabitants excuſe their bad farming by the little value which grain bears, and ſay, that if their harveſts were ten times greater, they ſhould gain nothing by them. There may be ſome truth in this, but the fault is certainly owing originally to a bad government. The value of grain would undoubtedly increaſe with an increaſed population; and if the farmer had ſufficient encouragement, the land might be put to other uſes beſides the growing of grain. They already grow a great deal of tobacco, ſaffron, and other valuable articles; but there are numberleſs others which might be produced, if, what you will ſcarce believe, government did not rather ſeek to diſcourage, than promote agriculture.

The exportation of the Hungarian wines, one of the richeſt products of the country, and which, if it were free, would ſoon ruin the ſale of the French wines in the North, is clogged with innumerable obſtructions. Theſe the legiſlature impoſes under the idea, that if once they did not exiſt, the trade of the Auſtrian wines would be ruined. The diſcouragement in conſequence has been carried to ſuch a height, that not long ſince there exiſted a law, that no quantity of Hungarian wine ſhould be exported without exporting ſo much Auſtrian wine with it. This, no doubt, ſuits the Auſtrian nobility who have eſtates with vines upon them; but it is feeding the little finger at the expence of the whole body; for, as none but thoſe who can afford to pay exorbitantly for their drink will buy the Auſtrian wines, the conſequence is, that, except a few of the rich nobility, France ſupplies all the North, which otherwiſe would take its wine from Hungary. Nor does the evil end here; the Hungarian peaſant, who is oppreſſed by his lord, ſeeks to drown his ſorrow in the cup, which he either makes himſelf, or can buy in moſt places for two, three, or four creutzer the bottle. The conſequence of this is, that men who in their youth are plump, ruddy, and ſeemingly built for ever, grow pale, emaciated, and dwarfiſh, and begin to droop after thirty, ſo that the population is already much diminiſhed, and would grow leſs and leſs, if it were not for the acceſſion of foreigners. It is partly owing to this, and partly to the want of education, that many tracts of the country have the exact appearance of American lands, and, were it not that you ſee no ſcalps or enemies ſkulls to drink out of, you would often think yourſelf in company with ſo many Cherokees. The tax on Hungarian tobacco, when exported, is no leſs hurtful to the agriculture of this country. Certainly the farmers of this part of the revenue in the Auſtrian dominions ought to have it in command to import ſuch a proportion of Hungarian tobacco, with all they import from other places.

There is no country in the world which has a greater variety of inhabitants than Hungary. The ancient poſſeſſors of the country were partly Tartars and partly Sclavonians.

Amongſt the former we may reckon the Hungarians, now properly ſo called, the Cumanians, the Seclers and the Yatſigers. Their manners and appearance plainly ſhew that they are of kin to the Calmucks, and deſcendants of the old Scythians. Their deep eyes, angular cheek bones, and yellow ſkins, diſtinguiſh them from the Sclavonians, who beſides are whiter, more fleſhy, and ſtouter built. There are ſeveral parts of the country in which both the races are continued pure and unmixed. The Sclavonians conſiſt of Croats, Bohemians, (who originally are a branch of the Croats,) Servians, Ruſſians, and Wenden Polackers. There are beſides German coloniſts, but if they chooſe to poſſeſs lands, they muſt buy their nobility for 2000 ducats, which make about 22,000 livres. Beſides all theſe, there are Walachians, Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Gypſies, which laſt are the richeſt of all theſe foreigners.

All theſe people, a few of the German coloniſts only, and the higher nobility, which is modelled after the faſhion of the court of Vienna, excepted, are ſtill in a barbarous ſtate.

Indeed it muſt be owned that the court inſtead of ſucceeding in improving them, as it has done the reſt of its ſubjects, has rather done them harm than good, by the attempts it has made for the purpoſe. Whilſt they were left to themſelves, they were warlike, and like all the children of nature, whom a falſe policy has not ſpoiled, open-hearted, hoſpitable, frank, and ſteady to their promiſes. An old officer, who ſpent his youth among the Croats, has aſſured me, that they are not to be known ſince they have been diſciplined; for, inſtead of being a truſty, ſpirited, and generous ſoldiery, they are become a band of treacherous, tricking, cowardly robbers. "I had much rather," ſaid he, "have had to do with them when they were entirely undiſciplined, and under the influence only of their own laws and cuſtoms. It is true they plundered both friend and foe when we went into the field, and committed every kind of depredation in the towns where they were quartered; but theſe were the workings of a ſtrong ſenſual appetite, which did not prevent their being of the greateſt ſervice. They uſed to take the moſt dangerous out-poſts, in the very teeth of the enemy—never deſerted—would follow their officers with the utmoſt fidelity through any dangers—could faſt many days without making any complaints, and provided you left them what they had ſtolen, which they did not affect to conceal, were indefatigable on a day of battle. The alteration which diſcipline has effected in them is, that they, indeed, ſteal no longer openly, but they ſteal ſecretly, and ſteal from each other whenever they can; they have learned the methods of concealing their thefts, and are always making cabals againſt their officers; and though become too cowardly to deſert when there is any danger attending deſertion, they are ſure to do it whenever they can with ſafety. They grumble whenever they are kept two days embodied in the field, and never put on their uniform without curſing it. They look upon their overſeers as their enemies, and hate them. Formerly, it was an unheard of thing, for a Croat to go over to the Turks, but now they join them to the number of twenty and thirty, and plunder their native country. The ſame thing is true with regard to the Sclavonians; and even the reſt have been rather hurt than bettered by regulations not adapted to their circumſtances."

What this gentleman ſaid from experience is conformable to true philoſophy; for it is only by religion that you can ever be ſucceſsful in civilizing a barbarian. Any other attempt, any reſtriction which tends to cure him of his vices, without ſhewing him the advantage of virtue to himſelf, only makes a motley compoſition of the faults of the two ſtates.

LETTER XXX.

Vienna.

NO doubt but there is much illuſion in Rouſſeau's idea of ſocial contract. Fate, which plays ſo many other games with us, throws us into ſome peculiar ſociety, by which we are fettered before we have time to think of a contract. Accident, and iron hearted neceſſity, have been the true legiſlators of all the monarchies, ariſtocracies, democracies, and their numerous ſubdiviſions, that ever exiſted in the world. It is likewiſe certain, that upon the whole, we find ourſelves better under the direction of capricious fortune, than if we had ſet down originally to bind and connect each other in eternal chains. The will of the ſtrongeſt ſtill remains the ultimate decider of all difficulties, and whatever covenants there might have been, it muſt have been ſo, as often as the ſtrongeſt ſhould have felt his weight, or his intereſt ſhould have come in competition with that of others.

It is nevertheleſs true, that in theſe various gallies to which we are chained, the good of the whole cannot be better promoted, than when the will of the whole, or at leaſt of the majority, are directed according to the plumb-line of legiſlation, and of ſocial contract. No Sultan has any thing to fear from this participation of his power, though he ſhould divide it with all his ſubjects, from his Grand Vizier, to the loweſt ſlave under him. The ſovereign, whether he has one head or a hundred, cannot promote his own intereſt more effectually, than by conſidering his ſupreme will as the reſult of the enlightened wills of all, or the greater part of his ſubjects. A real oppoſition between the intereſts of the governor and his ſubjects never exiſts, when it ſeems to do ſo, it is only the cozenage of accident. All hiſtory is full of this truth, the attention to which will effectually ſecure the people from tyranny, even when the private character of the ſovereign is a cruel one. The prince can never be more ſecure from murder, treachery, and rebellion, than when he has convinced his ſubjects that their intereſts is the rule of his legiſlation, and it muſt be ſo, if he will not hurt himſelf. Intereſt is the moſt ſacred band among men, and their happineſs depends upon knowing what it truly is. The misfortunes of men have been always more owing to their governors not knowing in what their true intereſts conſiſted, than to their wickedneſs or depravity.

Superſtition, and the diſſipation of princes together, firſt invented that ſpecies of politics, the principles of which Machiavel firſt collected, but did not invent. Nero and Auguſtus had already uſed it, but it was only in modern Italy that it was conſidered as a true art of government. From thence, with other arts and ſciences, did this hoſtile art to human nature ſpread itſelf over the reſt of Europe. The miniſters of ſeveral European courts, which had formed themſelves after the Italian models, imagined they would govern the better, the finer and more ſubtle policy they adopted. Lewis XI. Richelieu, and Mazarin, were the great maſters of this art, and from that time to this, the happy times of Henry IV. alone excepted, it would have been looked upon as folly in France, to have aimed at governing the people by love, generoſity, and information with regard to their true intereſts.

The prieſts, particularly the jeſuits, whoſe government of their own ſociety is eſtabliſhed upon principles of the ſame kind, contributed much to give them currency in courts. There they were treated as holy myſteries, which, like the philoſopher's ſtone, could make demigods of the poſſeſſor. Blinded by this political art of gold making, princes dared to deviate from the plain and ſtrait line of nature, that line which always conducts to happineſs, which is the ſame in a ſtate as in a private family, according to which every

governor muſt conſider himſelf as the maſter of a private family, who has no other view than to promote the happineſs of his children, and his ſervants.

The Jeſuits, and ſome Italian *parvenus*, introduced the ſpirit of Machiaveliſm into this country. I do not know whether it is to be attributed to the humour of the nation, or any other cauſe, that it was not attended with the ſame bad conſequences here, as in Italy, France, Spain, and even England, where the groſſeſt abuſes of religion, friendſhip, and love, were ſanctified under the name of ſtate neceſſity; and treachery towards friends, with the murder of fathers and brothers, were only conſidered as political *jeu d'eſprits*. Although this court has not ſtained itſelf ſo deeply with royal blood, or even with that of dangerous ſubjects, as thoſe above mentioned, it muſt be confeſſed that its adminiſtration, particularly what relates to Hungary, has had ſome little appearance of cunning and oppreſſion about it. No doubt but that religious prejudices, from which the Empreſs, amiable as ſhe was, was not quite free, have contributed in great meaſure to this.

On the very aſpect of things, one ſees that the government of this country is inſidious. The intereſts of the higher nobility are different from thoſe of the reſt of the country; their under tenants, which make the greateſt part of the people, are not feudal ſubjects, neither have they any real property; they are farmers who may be turned out of their farms upon the leaſt diſſatisfaction. The nobility contributes nothing but free gifts to the neceſſities of the ſtate, though it is in poſſeſſion of half the produce of the country. It is almoſt the only order in the ſtate, for the higher orders of the prieſthood are choſen from the nobility, ſo that the intereſts of the two orders is in fact one. The cities are too ſmall in number, and too inſignificant in themſelves, to form any corps capable of making head againſt the other two. In ſhort, the boaſted freedom of Hungary is only a privilege of the nobility and clergy, to live at the expence of the whole country.

Hitherto, the court have tried every artifice to deprive the nobility of this pernicious preponderance. The conteſt between the ſovereign and the nobles ſoon broke out into ſeveral rebellions, the moſt famous of which were thoſe of Tekely and Ragotzki. The execution of Counts Serini, Nadaſti, Frangipani, and Settenback, which followed cloſe, have been quoted by ſome, to ſhew that the court of Vienna, though generally unwilling to recur to them, is not incapable of uſing Turkiſh meaſures to free itſelf of troubleſome and dangerous dependants. I own I think that its conduct on other occaſions ſufficiently juſtifies it from theſe reproaches; and indeed, if the teſtimony of hiſtory is to be believed, it appears that theſe nobles were traitors. The plan which the court has followed for a long time to reduce this overgrown nobility, promiſes much more ſucceſs than any extraordinary acts of ſeverity, which only ſerve to irritate the minds of men, and ſet them more upon their guard. The court of Vienna, conſcious of the influence luxury and pleaſure have over the minds of men, allured the proud Hungarians from their freeholds to the court, or to the city. By diſtinguiſhed places, titles, and marriages, they gave them opportunities to ſpend their money in a brilliant way, to contract debts, and finally, by the ſeizure of their lands for the payment, to ſurrender at diſcretion. The deceived Hungarian looked upon it as an honour, to connect himſelf with the Auſtrian, who made a greater figure than himſelf at court, and took a greater ſhare in the government of the country. For this purpoſe he choſe his wife at Vienna, and fettered himſelf by this means. The lady too, by introducing the court manners into his houſe, finiſhed corrupting him, and made him entirely dependant. There is hardly an Hungarian noble, at this time of day, that is either free from debt, or that does not, like the Auſtrian one, look upon his debts as an honour. The court has conſequently

no further commotions to fear in this country, as the diſcontented people will not eaſily find a leader with power and conſequence enough to make their riſings dangerous.—The diſſipation of the Hungarians has alſo bound them to the court by another tie, as their neceſſities no longer allow them to ſerve for nothing, but make the pay of the court an object to them. Another way that has been taken, has been that of allowing the Auſtrian nobility to purchaſe Hungarian eſtates, in proportion as the owners were obliged to ſell them, or as they fell into the crown by forfeitures, &c. At this time of day, ſeveral amongſt the firſt Hungarian nobility are Germans, who ſtrengthen the influence of the court. The two nations are mixed, their manners are nearly the ſame. The more perſons partake of it, the more indifferent the Hungarian is to its liberty, and the leſs eſtate he poſſeſſes, the leſs he cares for his country. The promotion of the higher eccleſiaſtics to great preferments, is another mode of binding the nobility, which the court has practiſed with ſucceſs.

Beſides what has been already ſtated, the court uſes ſeveral other means, that depend upon time and circumſtances. One of the moſt efficacious is, the loading the produce of Hungary with very heavy taxes. Theſe oppreſſions, indeed, immediately affect the nobility only, to whom the exports properly belong, as the people have no property; but, indirectly, they hurt the whole country, and particularly the manufacturer, and merchants in great towns, by the diminution of the coin in circulation. The duties on the exports of Hungarian wines are ſo conſiderable, that the Croats who inhabit the mountains are obliged to buy the wine, which, but for theſe duties, they might have as cheap from their fellow ſubjects in Venetian Dalmatia. The fact is, the court had rather let the country loſe money than ſuffer Hungary to be rich.

Almoſt all the employments of the country, which the conſtitution does not require to be given to natives, are poſſeſſed by Germans, who often prove the moſt terrible deſpots. Thus, in the cities of Illyria, which depend entirely on the council of war, and are entirely under military government, almoſt all the employments are held by foreigners. The Germans have made themſelves ſo odious here by their tyranny, that the Croat knows no more odious name, than to give a man that of a Suabian. 'He is a Suabian,' means with them every thing that is deteſtable and contemptible. Under the name of Suabian, the Croat, as well as the inhabitants of Vienna, includes every German, who is not an Auſtrian. The natives of Auſtria, who are ſent into Hungary, behave there like Turkiſh Pachas, or Nabobs: their pride leads them to make the Hungarians feel that they are the ruling nation; their diſſipation compels them to uſe every extortion to procure money; and they are made ſtill worſe than they otherwiſe would be, by the difference of their manners and religion. It is from the oppreſſion of foreigners, that the native Illyrian has taken the diſhoneſt and ſtubborn part of his character, which is ſo unnatural to him.

Notwithſtanding that the principal places are occupied by great men, it is impoſſible to be more worthleſs than the greater number of public ſervants are. Generally ſpeaking, there is not a grain of patriotiſm, a grain of knowledge, a grain of good will, or a grain of activity amongſt them. Pride, vanity, ſelf-intereſt, and hard-heartedneſs, diſtinguiſh them all. The only things they look up to, are the pays and the titles, and they treat buſineſs as a matter of indifference. Do not imagine that I exaggerate, for I aſſure you that what I ſay is, with very few exceptions, literally true. The native Hungarians, who have a ſhare in the government of their own country, have infinitely better underſtanding of the duties of their places, and more delight in diſcharging them than the Auſtrians; and yet theſe poſſeſs almoſt all the places, and the others are expoſed to their tyranny!

Our

Our great Henry uſed to ſay, "happy is the gentleman who has his 5000 a year, and does not know me." If the Imperial court is deſirous that the Hungarian ſhould enjoy any kind of happineſs, it is certainly not that recommended by the great Henry. They look upon it as indiſpenſibly neceſſary to bind them in court chains, and take away every feeling of liberty and true honour from them. They do all they can to ſtifle their national ſpirit; they have no idea of the honour of ruling over a free and ſentimental people, but conceive they muſt make ſlaves of the whole nation in order to govern it.

The moſt cruel violations of the national contract, and the liberty of mankind, have been thoſe which have ariſen on a religious account. I can ſafely affirm that it would take two hundred years more to undo the miſchief which this court has done itſelf, during the two laſt hundred years, by the religious perſecutions in Hungary. It is, indeed, one of thoſe contradictions which moſt feelingly beſpeaks the debility of the human mind, that whilſt the preſent adminiſtration on the one hand does all it can to promote population and induſtry in Hungary; on the other, it perſecutes in every way poſſible, the moſt induſtrious part of its ſubjects, and that part whoſe religious opinions are the moſt favourable to population.

One fourth of the inhabitants of the Hungarian dominions, in which I include Tranſylvania and Illyria, are Catholics; one fourth are Greeks, Jews, and Anabaptiſts; the other half are Lutherans, or reformed. From the circumſtance of the religion of the country being Catholic, it was natural to expect that the Roman Catholic religion would be the eſtabliſhed one of the ſtate. With this no ſenſible man would have been offended; —but to take away three hundred churches from the Proteſtants, while the Jews had the power of building as many ſynagogues as they pleaſed;—to force Proteſtants to go twelve miles to church, whilſt many Catholic churches were tenanted by rats and mice only;—to take away the Proteſtant ſchools, and yet to allow the parents to ſend their children abroad for education;—to be eager after improvement in agriculture and induſtry, and yet rather ſee the land inhabited by Calmucks and Gypſies, than by laborious and moral Proteſtants;—to treat theſe worſe, in ſhort, in every reſpect than the Turks or Jews, this certainly was pulling down with one hand, what the court was endeavouring to rear with another; it was deſtroying the national character, without improving the external circumſtances of the people. It is now well known, and the example of the Engliſh fully proves it, that the only way out of barbariſm is through real religion. Judge then what it muſt be to tread this road backwards, and to ſubſtitute the ſuperſtitious ſpirit of monkery, for the mild and induſtrious ſpirit of proteſtaniſm. And yet the Auſtrian government *has* done this, and it has done it, at the very time when it was endeavouring to curb the power of the prieſts in the other parts of its dominions, and forming ſuch eſtabliſhments of education, as muſt ſooner or later lead to Proteſtant principles.

The Proteſtants in Hungary are, it muſt be confeſſed, far behind their brethren in other countries, in induſtry and knowledge, and yet, notwithſtanding this, and that they are only one fourth of the inhabitants of Hungary, they pay half the taxes, and are ſtill much richer than their Catholic or Greek brethren. A ſtriking ſign, ſure, if ever a ſtriking ſign there was, how much their religion correſponds with the good of the whole, and how little the court knows of its own intereſt. What the court has moſt hurt itſelf by, is its treatment of the Greeks, who form ſo large a part of the inhabitants of this country. Inſtead of rendering the prieſts of theſe ſemi-barbarians uſeful paſtors, and thus enabling them to civilize their countrymen, and make them good members of ſociety, all they have been ſolicitous about has been now and then to convert an ambitious or avaricious prelate to the eſtabliſhed church. The ſwarms which generally followed

theſe deſerters, commonly changed nothing but their name. From being Greek barbarians they became Catholic barbarians, or, as a reſpectable Auſtrian officer ſaid, it was only adding another mark to the forehead of the ſwine. In the mean time the court troubled itſelf very little with the education of the Catholic, and united prieſthood, and ſtill leſs with that of the non-united, things which it is ſo much the intereſt of the legiſlature to attend to, as the ſureſt means of improving the agriculture of the country, and promoting its exports.

The Greek prieſts in Hungary, and Illyria, are exactly in the ſame ſtate as the Roman Catholic prieſts were, in the time of Charlemagne, that great man who laid the firſt grounds of national improvement in religion, and began his work with the prieſthood. I doubt much whether moſt of them can write and read, but I am ſure they cannot reckon beyond three or four, without the help of the fingers, and know not the uſe of the pocket handkerchief. One of theſe ſhepherds of ſouls, a Macedonian by birth, who valued himſelf much on his knowledge of the Greek, and the reputation of his countryman, Alexander, took it into his head to inſtruct me, as a young man, in the hiſtory of the Trojan war. He told me that a Trojan prince, having run away with a French princeſs, the Greek and Roman Emperors, the King of France, and the ſeven Electors, went to Troy and took the city after an aſtoniſhing long ſiege, by means of a wooden horſe filled with armed men.—The man had heard the hiſtory by tradition, in Saloniki, or ſome other town of his ignorant country, but had not read a ſingle old Greek author, or a ſingle hiſtory. Notwithſtanding this, he was looked upon as a wonder of learning by his colleagues. Spite indeed of their groſs ignorance, theſe prieſts are held in greater veneration by the people, than either oracles of Delos or Delphi were. Theſe are true privileged thieves, who never ſhew a ſpark of underſtanding but in the tricks they play to rob the people of the fruit of their toil; but are yet ſo convinced of their pretenſions to the wool of their ſheep, that they make no ſcruple of taking the head with it, if the patient animals will not ſuffer themſelves to be ſheared quietly. The Catholic prieſts, who live at any diſtance from the large towns, are little behind the Greeks in ignorance and ill manners, nor are they far behind them in ſhearing the ſheep. Their whole library conſiſts of their breviary, and the only thing they ſtudy is the Latin language. I happened to converſe with one of them who is extremely reſpected in his own diſtrict, and really is diſtinguiſhed for a better underſtanding and better manners than the reſt of them. The converſation turned on the German coloniſts who go into Hungary. I aſked them how they treated them when they could not bear the climate. His anſwer was, "*Damus illis licentiam repatriandi.*"—And now I mention theſe Germans, I cannot help obſerving to you how extraordinary it is, that whilſt a third of North America is peopled by theſe wandering Germans, whilſt one half the inhabitants of the Cape, Batavia, and Surinam, (the two laſt ſome of the moſt unhealthy places any where to be found,) are Germans, who thus croſs extenſive ſeas to break up waſte lands, or to get hard bread in the capacity of day labourers; Hungary, which has work and bread for ſo many millions, ſhould receive ſo few. Surely this muſt be owing to the prevalence of greater barbariſms than any poor prieſts barbarous Latin; for as to the pretended cauſe, unhealthineſs of climate, Hungary is no more unhealthy than ſeveral other climates, and the natives know how to take precautions againſt the damps ariſing from the moraſſes. But the want of freedom in religion explains all; it is greatly owing to this cauſe that all the uſeful men emigrate, and leave Hungary only the worthleſs ones. The great fault of this government is that they baniſh the Proteſtants, who are the moſt uſeful part of their ſubjects. Theſe indeed have little deſire to ſettle in a country in which they muſt often go journies of ſeveral days, to ſee a prieſt of their own perſuaſion,

perſuaſion, where they are not allowed to build a church, and where the hatred towards them and their religion effectually and perpetually excludes them from civil employments. All theſe hindrances are removed under the gentle government of the Dutch and Engliſh, who of courſe run away with all the uſeful emigrants, and leave Auſtria only the worthleſs ones. The perſons who ſettle in Hungary, are for the moſt part abandoned ſcoundrels from Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia, and the countries about the Rhine. On their arrival they commonly ſquander the ſmall ſums of money they have raiſed at home, by the ſale of their eſtates, and as government takes little care about them, they generally die of grief, or diſorders ariſing more from their diſſipation than the climate. That part of them which happens to beg its way back again, repreſents the climate worſe than it is, as an excuſe for having left it. This alſo deters many people from coming. Thoſe who have money enough prefer America to Hungary, which by this means becomes the refuge of ſuch only who have a few ducats to pay their paſſage on the Danube.

Theſe, however, ſuch as they are, would ſtill be a conſiderable gain to ſo poor a country as Hungary is, if government was ſufficiently intereſted in their fate to provide for the diſtreſſes they muſt be expoſed to from the danger of the climate and their own inexperience, and to give them ſome aſſiſtance in their firſt ſettlement. There ſhould be an office eſtabliſhed at Vienna, or Preſburg, where theſe wanderers ſhould be taught the firſt rudiments of the art they have occaſion for. They ſhould be told in what places they are likely to meet with moſt of their own countrymen, as nothing promotes coloniſation ſo much as when the new comers find perſons of the ſame manners and language with themſelves, or with whom they are connected by the ties of friendſhip or relationſhip. The Germans, as it is well known, are ſo divided amongſt themſelves, that thoſe of one circle look upon thoſe of another as abſolute ſtrangers to them. All the Bavarians ſhould therefore be ſettled in one diſtrict, and the inhabitants of Franconia, Suabia, &c. in ſo many others. Above all things, they ſhould be taught to guard againſt the dangers of the climate. Hungary is in itſelf not more unwholeſome than Italy, Spain, the South of France, or any other warm country; only as there are moraſſes all over it, the difference betwixt the heat of the day and the cold of the night muſt of courſe be very ſenſible to a German; but he has nothing to do but to imitate the natives, who follow what inſtinct teaches them, and wear a warmer cloathing. The rich Hungary wines, likewiſe, deſtroy many a ſtranger, and they ſuffer ſtill more from the very palatable, but dangerous melons, which are in ſuch plenty that you may have them almoſt for nothing. Where the body is conſtantly weakened by the influences of a very warm ſun, theſe fruits muſt be very prejudicial, and the rather, as it is the cuſtom here to eat them without bread. Againſt all theſe dangers and difficulties the emigrant ſhould be ſecured.

The ſmall ſum of money which is given for the journey is not ſufficient to obviate theſe inconveniences; on the contrary, the emigrants ſhould have as little ready money as poſſible, as they cannot know how to make a proper uſe of it in a new country, they muſt conſequently either be robbed of it or waſte it. What they ought to be ſupplied with is wood for building, cattle, and corn; and it ſhould be the peculiar duty of the civil and religious miniſters of the ſtate, to aſſiſt them in their civil and religious neceſſities. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the prieſts and governors of Hungary are not the people fit for this buſineſs; for if the court was to be at this expence, they would take care to be themſelves the greateſt gainers by it; but the court has hitherto manifeſted too ſmall a deſire for the cultivation of Hungary, to beſtow much expence upon it; its principle has been to reap all it could without ſowing any thing. If it had not

been

been for this, what has been ſpent upon the conqueſt of a very ſmall part of Bavaria, would have brought in ten times more in a much ſhorter time, by laying it properly out on the cultivation of Hungary.

The greateſt ſource of confidence for a Hungarian patriot is, that his preſent King feels the connection betwixt his own intereſt and that of the ſtate. That he knows how to value liberty and mankind; is blinded by no prejudice, will not ſuffer his hands to be bound by any adherence to old cuſtoms, and has ſtrength and reſolution enough to attempt the Herculean labour of civilizing this important part of his hereditary dominions.

LETTER XXXI.

Vienna.

I TOLD you in my laſt, that the great Hungarian nobility live entirely according to our *ton*. Our faſhions reach to the borders of Moldavia, and Wallachia, and from Preſburg to Cronſtadt, all that is called the fine world ſpeaks our *patois*. Formerly they uſed their own language, at leaſt to expreſs common things, but every body now gives *dinès*, *ſoupès*, and *dejunès*. There are balls *paré* and balls *maſqué*; every town with four or five houſes in it has its *aſſemblées*, and *redoutes*. The men play whiſt, and the women wear *poudre à la Marechale*, and have vapours. The bookſellers ſell Voltaire in ſecret, and the apothecaries ſell mercury openly. The men have an *ami de la maiſon* for their wives, and the wives a *fille de chambre* for their huſbands. They have men cooks, and maitre d'hotels; they have ballets, comedies, and operas, and they have debts upon debts.

In the year 1740, when the Hungarian nobility took the field for their *King* Maria Thereſa, the firſt ſight of ſuch troops ſtruck the French army with a panic. They had, indeed, often ſeen detachments of theſe *diables d'Hongrie*, as they uſed to call them, but a whole army of them drawn up in battle array—unpowdered, from the general to the common ſoldier—half their faces covered with long whiſkers—a ſort of round beaver upon their heads inſtead of hats—without ruffles or frills to their ſhirts, and without feathers—all clad in rough ſkins—monſtrous crooked ſabres, ready drawn and uplifted—their eyes darting flaſhes of rage ſharper than the beams of the naked ſabres—was a ſight our men had not been accuſtomed to ſee. Our oldeſt officers ſtill remember the impreſſion theſe terrible troops made, and how difficult it was to make the men ſtand againſt them, till they had been accuſtomed to their formidable appearance.

All this is now at an end, the Hungarian nobleman begins to leave off his long beard, and dreſſes much after the French faſhion.

It is remarkable enough, that whilſt in imitation of the Hungarian ſoldier, the Huſſar has become an eſſential part of the Pruſſian army, and has alſo been received into the French regular troops, the true original is loſt in his own country. Not one of the fourteen or fifteen regiments of Huſſars in the Emperor's ſervice is made up entirely of Hungarians. Experienced officers have, it ſeems, thought ſuch regiments could no longer be of any ſervice; it may be ſo, but it is certain that the Hungarian has entirely loſt his ſpirit by diſcipline, for, like other wild men, he deteſts the artificial arms againſt which his ſtrength and courage are of no avail, and if ever he ſhews himſelf in his native fierceneſs, it is only when the firing is over and he comes to cloſe engagement. Here indeed the hero ſometimes ſtarts out again. But this was not enough to make the Hungarians a match for the Pruſſian Huſſars in the Sileſian war; on the contrary they always proved inferior to them.—After all, however, if this laſt change had not been

made,

made, it is certain that the preſent nobility of Hungary could not bring into the field, and maintain ſuch armies as were raiſed in 1740.

The Eſterhazy, whoſe eſtate amounts to above 600,000 guilders a year. The Paleſy, Schaki, Erdoby, Sichy, Forgatſh, Kohari, Karoly, &c. and many others, who have from 100,000 to 200,000 guilders a year, are unable, notwithſtanding theſe large eſtates, to live within their incomes. The expences they have been put to by the political alteration of manners of the laſt forty years, have reduced them to neceſſitous dependance. The court, however, does not look upon even this weakneſs as a ſufficient ſecurity. The Hungarian regiments of infantry, amongſt which there are likewiſe many Germans, and ſeveral regiments of Huſſars, are conſtantly quartered in Bohemia, Moravia, and the German cities; on the contrary, ſeveral of the German regiments, particularly the heavy horſe and the dragoons, are quartered in Hungary. There is no province in the hereditary dominions of Auſtria which has ſo many troops in it as Hungary has, in proportion to its population and exports. This may in ſome degree be owing to the cheapneſs of proviſion for man and horſe. If it be ſo, in caſe of a war breaking out on the confines of Germany, the court loſes in a few weeks what it has been ſaving by this policy for many years; for the forced marches which the cavalry are obliged to make to their places of deſtination, generally kill half the horſes before they have got there. For my own part I have little doubt but that the true motives of this allotment of troops are to make the Hungarians acquainted with the other members of the empire; to extinguiſh their natural ſpirit by the ſight of numerous armies in every part of their country; to accuſtom them to ſubordination; and in ſome degree, perhaps, to increaſe the conſumption of the country, and ſo promote the circulation of coin.

The Engliſh proceed upon a quite different plan; their principle is to keep up as much as poſſible the national ſpirit of the troops, from an idea that the intereſts of the government are the ſame as thoſe of the people, and that they have nothing to fear from a mutiny. Upon this ground it is, that their patriots have taken up a notion, which no doubt will ſoon be realized, of making every regiment provincial, by quartering it conſtantly in the county whoſe name it bears, and by ſuffering no man to be enliſted in it but thoſe of that county; whence they think a ſtill greater degree of attachment to the native place will be produced. The Imperial council of war would not be pleaſed with a project of this kind. It conſiders it as a ſtated maxim of policy, to ſend the ſoldier as far as may be from the place of his birth, and to compoſe the regiments of men taken from various countries. Thus different cauſes have different effects, and John Bull and Squire South ſtill act upon different grounds.

None of the Auſtrian hereditary dominions have a national militia, excepting only the Bannat troops, or Illyrians; but theſe are only half ſoldiers, and their officers are at leaſt for the moſt part Germans or Hungarians. In time of war, every Hungarian nobleman, in proportion to his eſtate, either raiſes a number of men, or ſends the money for them to the war department. Theſe recruits ſeldom form ſeparate bodies, but are incorporated with the reſt of the army. Above all, care is taken that the ſoldiers ſhould be free from all other ties, and only animated by the ſoul of the army, the wonder-working ſtick.

You muſt not however conceive this *Palladium* of the Auſtrian army, this wonder-working ſtick, as the abſolute *ſine qua non*. A few years ſince, indeed, it ruled the great machine altogether; but now that has been brought into regular movements, it is only looked up to with reverential awe and ſubmiſſion. According to a proclamation of the humane Emperor, the officers are to make as little *phyſical* uſe of it as poſſible. But as to *moral* purpoſes, it is in all its glory, and its idea takes place in the common ſoldier,

of all love of his country, all good humour, all ſenſe of honour, all hope of advancement, and every other feeling. All his occupations bring him back to this idea, and from his A, B, C, to his logic, all he knows is compriſed in the two little words, *thou muſt*.

There cannot be a doubt, but in obedience and ſtrong ſubordination, the principal ſtrength of an army conſiſts; but is it impoſſible to unite them with any idea of feeling for ſelf in the ſubaltern and underling? Are ſentiments of perſonal honour, of bravery, and of patriotiſm, entirely prejudicial to an army? Certainly not: and were it only to meliorate the condition of the poor ſoldier, were it only to make his hard fate leſs ſevere, it ſhould be the policy of princes to promote thoſe feelings which can ſweeten ſo many bitter hours, and alone enable them to meet death.

With the power which Auſtria now poſſeſſes, it might at one ſtroke cut off all the privileges of the Hungarian nobles, which are contrary to the good of the whole, and which it has been ſo many years endeavouring to undermine. A few hundred families would murmur for a few years, but the thing would not go beyond murmurs; the inhabitants of towns and the peaſants would ſtand up for the intereſts of the court, which are their own. The religious animoſities, which formerly ſerved as a pretence for an inſurrection, no longer blinds the people to their real good; and open, liberal treatment would ſoon win over the nobility, whom the artifices now in uſe only alienate and corrupt. If once that part of their privileges, which militate againſt the good of the whole, were well defined and ſuppreſſed by one ſingle act of authority, they would then become ſuſceptible of patriotic virtues; whereas, at preſent they look upon the government as hoſtile to them, and do nothing but what they are compelled to by power or bribes. In that caſe, the multitude of the nation would not be the moſt abject ſlaves, nor the great the moſt cruel deſpots that are known. If, beſides this, the court was to ſpend the ſums neceſſary on eſtabliſhments for education, and the prieſts of the ſeveral religions would endeavour to eſtabliſh them without perſecution or partiality, in the next century Hungary would be one of the moſt flouriſhing countries in Europe. The Hungarian would no longer be poor, in the middle of a country abounding with every neceſſary of life. The poverty of the people, and the exceſſive riches of the nobility, would no longer offend the eyes of the humane by the ſhocking diſproportion between them. Then the court alſo would no longer object to the raiſing provincial regiments, as it would be conſiſtent with its intereſts. The lively Croat, or Hungarian, animated by the love of his country and a ſenſe of duty, would no longer refuſe to ſubmit to proper diſcipline; all the army would be inſpired with a ſpirit, which diſcipline alone cannot give, but which united to diſcipline is the ſtrongeſt ſecurity for terror abroad and happineſs at home.

The Hungarians in general are extremely proper for a military life; they want nothing to be perfect ſoldiers, but the kind of education which a good government might give them. The Croats particularly have all the requiſites for ſervice. Their mean height is ſix feet; they are bony, fleſhy, quick, and lively, and can bear the extremes of cold and hunger. In a word there are no better made men in Europe, notwithſtanding which they are the moſt miſerable part of the Imperial army; a ſure ſign that government either neglects them, or does not know how to diſcipline them properly. Sometimes it has been propoſed to incorporate them with other corps, but this would only be to take away their natural advantages, and furniſh them with artificial ones in their ſtead. Such a change would put an end to their uſual way of life, to which they are indebted for their hardineſs. They commonly dwell ſix or ſeven families under the ſame roof. As their frugality enables them to bring up many children, they marry early

early, in the vigour of their youth, and their children are the produce of their unimpaired manhood. Their juices are ſtill uncorrupt, and the deſtructive diſtempers which poiſon the ſources of life are not yet introduced amongſt them. The patriarchal government ſtill ſubſiſts amongſt them, and the grandfather who has grown old amidſt his children and grand-children, ſtill retains an authority over them. As by this means their manners are preſerved uncorrupt, nothing more is requiſite than to humanize their prieſts; this would render them uſeful ſubjects to the ſtate, without commerce, manufactures, or arts, which the court has lately endeavoured to introduce amongſt them, in my opinion not to their advantage. An education more ſuitable to the nature of their country, and their peculiar conſtitution would by degrees deprive them of their natural ferocity, and they would become more tractable, in proportion as they acquired better notions of religion, agriculture, and the other things connected with their well being. Their ferocity, the natural conſequence of their barbarity, is the true reaſon why they are ſo averſe to diſcipline, and the only way of getting the better of this, and making them like the other ſubjects of the Houſe of Auſtria fit for military ſervice, is domeſtic education: this alone can bring them out of their barbarity, without depriving them of their other advantages.

Suppoſe the new court was to adopt the other plan, and incorporate them with the other troops, ſuppoſe it was to make ſlaves of them in the beſt years of their lives, and when the voice of nature crieth moſt loud, what would be the conſequence? Accuſtomed to all the vices which obtain in a ſtanding army, they would conſume the vigour of their lives in pernicious indulgencies; they would return to their native country corrupted with a variety of wants they did not know before. Having acquired a taſte for the pleaſures of forbidden love, they would either not marry at all or marry later than their anceſtors; all their domeſtic ordinances would be aboliſhed, nor would their wives be any longer diſtinguiſhed for their chaſtity. Their children would imitate them in their vices, and the conſequence of all would be, that in the ſecond generation you would hardly be able to diſtinguiſh them; and in the third, or at moſt the fourth, not know them at all from the other ſubjects of the empire, ſo totally would they have loſt the ſize, ſtrength, frugality, and fine form, which now ſo eminently diſtinguiſh them. To attempt the change propoſed would be taking a dangerous leap from barbarous to civil life, and all that could be expected from it would be a broken limb, if not a broken neck.

LETTER XXXIII.

Vienna.

I HAVE given myſelf all the trouble poſſible to come at an exact eſtimate of the goods annually exported from, and imported into Hungary, and by that means to acquire a tolerable idea of the national riches; but the receipts of the cuſtoms, the only ones by which you can form a good judgment, are either ſo imperfectly or ſo ſecretly kept, that there is no depending upon them. All I can therefore ſay upon the ſubject muſt conſiſt of report and conjecture. I was aſſured then by a creditable man, that the exports amounted to twenty-four, and the imports to eighteen millions a year, making a balance of ſix millions in favour of the country. With reſpect to the exports, I can ſay nothing upon them with certainty, for the reaſon I have juſt given; they are, indeed, greater than I could have imagined, even from the poſitive calculations I have been able to make; but if we compare the exports and imports, we ſhall find it is impoſſible but that the former ſhould be ſtated too high; for with ſuch a balance of trade as Hungary muſt by this means have, it ought to be one of the richeſt countries in Europe, whereas nothing

nothing is ſcarcer than money in this country. Of the twenty millions of revenue which Hungary, together with Tranſylvania and Illyria contributes to the ſtate, three at the moſt comes to Vienna, and the ſums which the few noble families that reſide out of it carry from the country, are replaced by what foreigners in employment ſpend in it; many millions therefore muſt remain in Hungary, and if to theſe are added ſuch a balance of trade as I have ſtated, ſuppoſing it only to have continued five years, the country muſt be much richer than it is.

If we conſider a little the variety of commodities which Hungary muſt import from abroad, it is impoſſible it ſhould have even an equal trade; it is obliged to purchaſe almoſt all the productions of art, beſides an aſtoniſhing number of thoſe of nature. Clothes alone coſt four or five millions of florins per annum; wrought ſilks, linens and cottons as much more; coffee and ſugar muſt at leaſt come to two millions and a half; tin, glaſs, colours, and drugs, muſt coſt them annually many millions. In this eſtimate we do not take in toys of every kind; foreign wines for the liquoriſh palates of the great men, who cannot be contented with the admirable produce of their own vineyards; foreign horſes, coaches, harneſſes, and a great many other foreign articles. The quantity of the natural productions, which Hungary on the other hand gives the ſtranger, cannot come up to any thing like the ſums theſe articles muſt coſt. According to a rough calculation I have made, Hungary exports the value of about five millions and a half of oxen, ſwine, and horſes, four millions of corn, hay, &c. three millions of wine, half a million's worth of tobacco, ſilk, (moſtly from Sclavonia,) citrons, cheſnuts, and other fruits; and ſome millions of minerals, eſpecially copper; ſo that if I ſet the export at ſixteen, and the imports at eighteen millions, it will be much nearer the truth.

I do not think I do Hungary any injuſtice by thus ſtating its expences at two millions; its ſituation, and the nature of its government, prevent it from making all the uſe poſſible of the rich treaſures it poſſeſſes; and the high degree of luxury which obtains in all orders prevents its owing to its own induſtry ſeveral articles which it procures from the ſtranger, though it might prepare them itſelf. Having juſt told you the great ſums annually paid for clothes, it will perhaps aſtoniſh you to hear, that there is no country in Europe fitter for breeding ſheep than this is. Prince Eugene, who was as great a judge of political improvements as he was a general, perceived this, and having procured ſheep from Arabia, gave himſelf all the trouble poſſible to propagate the breed in the country of Ofen. The Emperors Charles and Francis made many wiſe regulations for the ſame purpoſe; but hitherto it has been unſucceſsful. The nobility, who poſſeſs almoſt all the lands, are too proud and fooliſh to attend to agriculture; the farmers have no property, and the inhabitants of the towns are depreſſed by religious perſecutions.

The negligence of the police in not ſtemming the torrent of luxury, is inconceivable. I have often been tempted to believe, that government did not think it worth its while to attend to the circumſtances of this country, either becauſe it did not yield in proportion to its greatneſs, or that the impetuous temper of the court was ſuch, as not to allow of any eſtabliſhments that were to produce fruit in after ages: be this as it may, whether the court is all for preſent enjoyment, or has not political wiſdom enough to erect for futurity, the inſtances of its neglect are moſt glaring. I will lay one of them before you: Notwithſtanding the extreme poverty of the country, they allow the Jews to go about with coffee, ſugar, tobacco, oil, and quack medicines of all kinds, from village to village, where they ſell them in ſmall quantities, and much adulterated.

The climate of the ſouthern part of Hungary is extremely favourable to the growth of ſilk; but except in Sclavonia, which is not improved as it ought to be, there grows

none, notwithſtanding the example of their neighbours the Venetians, and the facility of procuring mulberry trees from Italy. The only art which is carried to any degree of improvement is that of mining. Here all that mathematics could do has been adopted. You would be aſtoniſhed at the ſight of the machines in uſe to clear the water from the pits, and to carry on the other neceſſary operations. The gold and ſilver mines of Cremnitz and Shemnitz produce but little to the crown, owing to its keeping part of them in its own hands, and not farming the whole. There are other gold and ſilver mines in the country, but thoſe of Tranſylvania excel them all at preſent, and promiſe to do ſtill more ſo in future. I believe, however, that the court gets much more by the copper than it does by the gold and ſilver mines, eſpecially ſince the cuſtom of ſheathing the men of war with copper has prevailed. Hungary is able to furniſh all Europe with copper; upon the whole, half of the four millions of florins which the country gets by its mines comes from Hungary.

The country has an extraordinary appearance; it is incloſed on all ſides with high hills, in the midſt of which are plains, which you may travel through for ſome days without perceiving the leaſt elevation. You meet with immenſe deſerts, in the midſt of which, as in thoſe of Tartary, are wild horſes. The woods are filled with wolves, an animal ſcarce ever ſeen in Suabia, Bavaria, or Auſtria. Near the banks of rivers, in the plains, there are moraſſes, which here and there form lakes; the drying up of theſe will be a great advantage to the country, by making its rivers navigable, adding great quantities of land to it, and purifying the air. The beaſts are all very different from thoſe of Germany; the horſes are ſmall, light, and not handſome, but uncommonly lively and ſtrong; a Hungarian uſes only three or four in going from Vienna to Turkey, in a conſtant trot or gallop; their breed has been greatly improved in the ſtuds of the nobility, in ſeveral parts of the country. The oxen are the largeſt and moſt beauteous I have ever ſeen; they are all aſh-colour, or white, and I do not recollect to have ſeen a red or brown one in the whole country; their fleſh is remarkable well taſted; even the poultry are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of other countries by their ſize and ſhape; in ſhort, all that has breath here, atteſts, either by its growth or its agility, the wonderful vigour of nature.

The artificial appearance of the country is as remarkable as the natural. In one place, perhaps, you ſee palaces upon which art has exhauſted all its magnificence, and within a few paces you come to countries where men dwell in caverns under ground like the wild beaſts. At Preſburg, Port, and Ofen, which are the largeſt cities in the country, and each of which contains 30,000 men, you believe yourſelf in the moſt enchanting country in the world; and within a few miles of their gates, you ſeem to be in Mingrelia.

The ſtrongeſt proof poſſible that the country is miſerable, is the contraſt of extreme poverty with extreme riches, and the more ſtriking that contraſt is, the greater is the miſery. A people may be very poor, and yet very happy; but when amidſt ſtraw huts, which hardly protect their inhabitants from wind and weather, you ſee marble palaces towering to the clouds, when in the midſt of immenſe wilderneſſes tenanted by miſerable ſkeletons, who hardly find roots in the fields to keep body and ſoul together, you meet with gardens with fountains in them, grottos, parterres, terraſſes, ſtatues, and coſtly pictures; it is a ſure ſign that one part of the inhabitants live by pillaging the reſt.

Not long after my arrival here, I made a party of pleaſure to the caſtle of Count Eſterhazy, which lies about a day's journey from Preſburg. Without a doubt, you are already acquainted with it from Moore's travels. There is no place in France, Verſailles alone excepted, ſo magnificent as this; the caſtle is immenſely large, and full of

every

every ſumptuous article of expence that can be conceived. The garden contains every thing that human wit has invented for the improvement, or, as you may call it, the perverſion of nature. The pavilions of all kinds appear like the habitations of ſo many fairies, and every thing is ſo much above what you meet with in general, that you think you are dreaming when you behold it. I ſhall not attempt to give you an exact deſcription of what I ſaw here, but muſt however obſerve, that to the eyes of one who does not profeſs himſelf a connoiſſeur, there appeared to be ſomewhat too much. I recollect, that the walls of a *Sala-Terrina* were painted with figures twelve feet high, which to a ſon of the earth, as I am, appeared much too lofty for the ſize of the room. I know how much you are for the great ſtyle, and remember all you uſed to din into my profane ears about the fine forms of the Roman ſchool, but yet, I think if you had been here, you would have thought this rather too great a ſtyle.

What renders the magnificence of this place ſtill more ſtriking, is the very extraordinary contraſt of it with the country round. The lake of *Neuſiedler*, which is not far from the caſtle, forms a large moraſs, which extends for the ſpace of ſeveral miles, and threatens in time to lay the great edifice under water, as it has already done great part of the country, which was formerly very productive. The inhabitants of the country round have the appearance of ſo many ghoſts, and are regularly plagued with agues every year. About half the money which the prince has laid out in beautifying his caſtle, would not only have been ſufficient to drain the fens, but would have taken as much land again from the lake. As this is ever upon the encreaſe, there is great reaſon to fear it will entirely overflow the low country: the only way to prevent this, will be by making a canal to communicate with the Danube, an enterprize which would do the prince more honour than all the trifles he has been about. Within leſs than a day's journey from the caſtle, on the other ſide, you will meet the Kalmucks, Cherokees, Hottentots, and inhabitants of *Terrà del Fuego*, in all their ſeveral occupations and ſituations.

Unwholeſome as the country is, particularly in ſpring and winter, and though the prince himſelf has the ague very often, yet is he thoroughly ſatisfied, that there is not a finer or more wholeſome ſpot under the ſun. His caſtle ſtands quite alone, and he ſees nobody but dependants, or ſtrangers who come for the purpoſe of admiration. The prince has a puppet-ſhew theatre, which is really extraordinary in its kind, for the puppets perform whole operas. You really do not know whether you ſhould wonder or laugh moſt, when you ſee the *Didone*, the *Alceſte al Bivio*, played throughout by puppets. The prince's orcheſtra is one of the beſt I have yet heard. The great Haydn is his compoſitor; and he has got a poet, who is often very fortunate. The ſcene-painters too are diſtinguiſhed men; in a word, the thing itſelf is little, but all the appendages are very great. The prince often hires a company of ſtrolling players, and keeps them for a month to play to him, and his ſervants compoſe all the audience. Theſe gentlemen appear upon the ſtage with their hair about their ears, and the dreſſes it pleaſes ſporting fortune to furniſh them with at the time; but it all does very well, for the prince is not fond of grand tragic movements, but on the contrary, delights in any extempore pieces of wit, which theſe gentlemen may ſtrike out, or which may be ſtruck out for them. This prince has alſo a body-guard, compoſed of very fine men. I was very ſorry that I could not ſee the famous Haydn, who was gone to Vienna to conduct a large concert. It is ſaid, the prince has given him permiſſion to make a journey to England, France, and Spain, where he will be received as his merits deſerve, and get enough to come home with his purſe well filled. He has a brother, who is *Maeſtro di Capella* at Straſburg, a man of as much genius as Haydn himſelf, but who has not induſtry enough to arrive at the ſame degree of reputation.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIV.

Viennæ.

I SHOULD not have ſaid ſo much of Hungary, had I not recollected, that you conſider it as an unknown country. What I have to ſay of the other parts of the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria will be ſo much the ſhorter.

Auſtria, properly ſo called, has throughout the appearance of a happy country; here are no ſigns of the ſtriking contraſt betwixt poverty and riches, which offends ſo much in Hungary. All the inhabitants, thoſe of the capital only excepted, enjoy that happy mediocrity, which is the conſequence of a gentle and wiſe adminiſtration. The farmer has property; and the rights of the nobility, who enjoy a kind of lower judicial power, are well defined. The ſouth and ſouth-weſt parts of the country are bounded by a ridge of hills, the inhabitants of which enjoy a ſhare of proſperity, unknown to thoſe of the interior parts of France. I ſaw ſeveral villages on the banks of the Danube, whoſe inhabitants dwelt in ſtone houſes. A ſure ſign of their well-being, is their eating meat almoſt every day, and roaſt meat once or twice a week. There are many villages and market towns, the inhabitants of which have bought themſelves off from vaſſalage, are now their own governors, and belong ſome of them to the eſtates of the country; amongſt theſe is the beautiful town of Stockeraw, about which is one of the prettieſt countries I have yet ſeen. The cloyſters, the prelates of which belong to the eſtates of the country, are the richeſt in Germany, after the immediate *prelacies* and *abbacies* of the empire.

The cloyſters are ſome of the richeſt in Germany. One of the great convents of Benedictines is worth upwards of four thouſand millions of French livres, half of which goes to the exchequer of the country. A monk of this cloyſter, with whom I was converſing on the ſtate of religion, endeavoured to convince me of its decreaſe ſince the reign of Charles VI. by telling me, that in thoſe times they paid only five or ſix thouſand florins to the ſtate, whereas now they pay near ten times as much. There are no great hopes that this thermometer will ſtand ſtill under the preſent Emperor; on the contrary, it is rather to be feared that it will fall to nothing; Kloſterneuburg, Polten, Gottevaich, and ſome other prelacies, are as warm as that I have juſt mentioned.

Lower Auſtria yearly exports more than two millions worth of guilders of wine to Moravia, Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, Bavaria, Saltzburg, and part of Styria and Carinthia. This wine is ſour, but has a great deal of ſtrength, and may be carried all over the world without danger; when it is ten or twenty years old it is very good. Notwithſtanding this, however, all this trade would be knocked up at a blow, if the exportation of the Hungary wines was not reſtrained by ſevere prohibitions.

Theſe limitations, of which I have ſaid ſomething to you in a former letter, make part of a plan, which was probably originally deviſed by the prieſts, and which the nobles have helped them to make perfect. It is an ancient law, and the peaſant ſhall introduce no alterations on his eſtate. He is not allowed to root up his vines and turn his land to tillage or paſture. There is no doubt, but this extraordinary law took its riſe from the tithes paid to the clergy; as theſe were always to be paid in kind, they of courſe oppoſed every degree of alteration. Were the law now to be altered, many eſtates would certainly loſe a great deal by it, but others would be increaſed in proportion; for inſtance, a great number of the ſaffron fields, the cultivation of which is always troubleſome and expenſive, would be turned to other and better purpoſes. Even in Krems,

where the beſt ſaffron grows, the inhabitants complain exceedingly of being obliged to cultivate this commodity. There are likewiſe ſeveral other articles, ſuch as flax, hemp, tobacco, and the like, which the farmer might grow were it not for this prohibition, which alſo prevents him from taking the advantage of the markets, and varying the produce of his land in proportion as the value of the things changes. With regard to agriculture itſelf, every ſpecies of prohibition is detrimental; all that the legiſlature has to do is to remove natural obſtacles; when this is done, nature will do the reſt of herſelf. This country is very well peopled. Mr. Schloſſer, in his political journal, which contains an account of the population of Auſtria, eſtimates that of this country at 2,100,000 men. For my part, I conſider this eſtimate as much too large; but the fact is, that partly from the ignorance, and partly from the pride of people here, who love to ſwell and magnify every thing that belongs to the country, it is extremely difficult to get at the truth. A ſtranger, however, who has been here ſome time, and has ſtudied whatever belongs to the country very accurately, aſſured me that the population of Upper and Under Auſtria together did not amount to more than 1,800,000 men. If you include the inhabitants of the capital in the number, ſtill this will be a very conſiderable population.

The revenue of this country is about 14,000,000 of florins, of which the city of Vienna contributes above five, as one man in the capital earns as much as three in the country.

The ſouthern parts of Auſtria are covered with hills, which riſe gradually from the banks of the Danube to the borders of Stiria, and are covered with woods. They loſe themſelves in the maſs of mountains which run to the ſouth of Germany, and ſtretch through all Stiria, Carniola, Carinthia, and Tyrol, to the Swiſs Alps, and are probably, after Savoy and Switzerland, the higheſt part of the earth.

The inhabitants of this extenſive ridge of mountains are all very much alike, they are a ſtrong, large, and the *goitres* excepted, a very handſome people. The people of Tyrol, whom I viſited in an excurſion from Munich, diſtinguiſh themſelves by their diligence. Some drive a trade with figures made of ſtucco as far as Holland; others make works in ſtone and wood for the churches; another part of them travel through Germany with Italian wares and fruits, and bring home a large quantity of money. A fourth ſet deals in quack drugs, ſalves, wonder-working pills, eſſences, tinctures, &c.

Notwithſtanding its woods and the hills covered with ſnow, Tyrol is well inhabited and well peopled. It contains about ſix hundred thouſand ſouls, and pays the ſtate about 3,000,000 of florins. The ſilver and copper works at Schwaſs are one of the moſt profitable things in the Emperor's hereditary dominions, and the ſalt works at Halle yield annually about 300,000 florins.

Inſpruck is a fine city, containing fourteen thouſand inhabitants. Boſſen is the moſt conſiderable after this. They had formerly very fine fairs, but theſe have been entirely ruined by the cuſtoms; all Tyrol complains of and curſes the cuſtoms.

The Carinthians excel the other inhabitants of theſe mountains in ſtrength and ſize. They are like their horſes, which are reckoned the ſtrongeſt in Europe, and never tire. Their bread is made of maize; and their land produces the beſt ſteel known, which the Engliſh uſe for their fineſt works. The population conſiſts of four hundred thouſand ſouls. The inhabitants of Carinthia, Gorz, and the Auſtrian Iſtria, may be ſet at five hundred thouſand. Stiria contains about ſeventy thouſand inhabitants. Gratz, the capital, is a fine city; there are perſons in it who who have from 30 to 40,000 florins income, and the luxury that prevails is not to be deſcribed. They have four regular meals, viz. at morning, noon, evening, and night. Ducks and chickens are the ordi-

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nary food of the common citizens. They made me almoſt ſick only with the ſight of their paſties, tarts, ragouts, &c. They talk of nothing but the kitchen and the cellar; and, their attention to the preparation of their dinners only excepted, do not ſeem many degrees above orang-outangs. The other luxuries are in proportion. This is the great mart for all indecent and irreligious books. Hence they are exported into the reſt of the country. You find villages in Tyrol entirely inhabited by ſtatuaries; they will, however, always be more famous for their capons than their learning. You may have a capon here for 20 creutzers, a pair of fine chickens for 10 or 12, a bottle of very good wine for 12, and a pound of rye bread for one. Gratz and the ſuburbs contain about thirty thouſand inhabitants.

The country is cultivated to the top of the higheſt hills. Though paſturage is the principal buſineſs of the people, the land produces corn enough to nouriſh its numerous inhabitants, or if there is ever the leaſt want, they are ſupplied from Hungary almoſt for nothing. The flax and hemp, which have been introduced here, as well as in Carinthia, are extremely good, and produce very large ſums. The mines employ a great number of people, and as they are worked very cheap anſwer extremely well. Indeed the whole of the country is favourable to this kind of buſineſs. The hills are covered with wood, which in general coſts no more than the expence of cutting down and tranſporting to the place where it is to be uſed in the furnaces. Sometimes too it is floated by the rivers without any expence of tranſporting at all. The numerous brooks in the valleys afford opportunities of erecting the furnaces near the pits, ſo that every thing contributes to ſave expence. The beſt mineral of the country is iron, of which they make an excellent ſteel.

The number of thoſe who have the *goitre*, and the ſize of it, is more remarkable in Styria than in Carinthia, Ukrania, or the Tyrol. Some think this diſorder owing in part to the ſnow and ice water, and in part to the particles of earth and ſtone with which the wells of the country are impregnated. Others will have it, that it ariſes from the cuſtom of ſeaſoning the meat a great deal, and drinking cold water afterwards. I beg leave to add a fourth cauſe, and leave all to operate together for the production of this phœnomenon. The cauſe I mean is the cold, to which all the inhabitants are expoſed. You know that the ſolar rays, being reflected on all ſides by the hills which encompaſs the valleys, occaſion an extraordinary heat. I recollect, as I have been wandering through narrow valleys, to have breathed an air ſo glowing, that it ſeemed to come from a furnace. Whenever, therefore, there is the leaſt motion in the air, the preſſure will make it more ſenſibly felt than on higher vales or hills, where it can expand more; the cold is conſequently greater. Now as theſe people commonly go with their necks and throats bare, whenever there is a cool current, the weak part of the throat is the firſt attacked by the moiſture, and the perſpiration there is ſtopped.

It is an obſervation which has been made in Valois, Savoy, and other countries, that the inhabitants of the lower vallies are more expoſed to this evil, than thoſe which live higher up. This, no doubt, muſt be owing to the more frequent changes of air in the low grounds, whereas higher up it always continues cool. There are alſo a kind of ideots in this country, who can hardly ſpeak, and are only fit for the labours of the field. Their number is great, and the neglect with which they are treated, whilſt they are young, may probably have tended to increaſe their ſtupidity.

All the inhabitants of theſe hills are freemen, who have long ſince ſhaken off the feudal yoke, under which the greateſt part of Europe ſtill groans. The marks of their freedom are very viſible, for, ill as this country has been treated by nature, in compariſon with its neighbour Hungary, it is every where much better cultivated, and more

populous than the latter. When you ſee the farmer here force his nouriſhment from the almoſt bare rocks, and think of the beautiful plains in Hungary that lay waſte and uncultivated, the value of property and liberty ſtrikes you in its full force. Theſe countries and Auſtria are not half as large as Hungary, and yet they not only yield a much greater revenue than that does, but there is an appearance of eaſy circumſtances throughout, of which the Hungarians have no notion. O that governors would but ſee how much the intereſt of the governed is united with their own!

The characteriſtic of the inhabitants of all this country is ſtriking bigotry, united with ſtriking ſenſuality. You need only ſee what is going forwards here to be convinced, that the religion taught by the monks, is as ruinous for the morals as it is repugnant to Chriſtianity. The Cicisbeos accompany the married women from their beds to church, and lead them to the very confeſſional. The pilgrimage to Mariazell is a ceremony half religious and half profane, with which the ladies of Gratz are highly delighted. Their lovers generally accompany them there; in ſhort, it is to the people of this country what Bath, and the other water-drinking places, are to the reſt of Europe. A friend of mine had the honour to accompany a lady who went there with her lover. As it was expected that the next day, being the feaſt of the Virgin, there would be great crowds at confeſſion, the lady was aſked, whether it would not be better to expedite matters over night: "No," anſwered ſhe, "for if I do, I ſhall have to confeſs again to-morrow morning, before I can go to the ſacrament with a pure conſcience." She was preſſed to anticipate a confeſſion, but this it ſeems would not do. The women of faſhion make no more ſcruple of ſpeaking of their lovers in public companies than thoſe of Vienna do. A *cicisbeo* is, it ſeems, as much the faſhion as Hungary water. The women of this place are not like the French ones, who let their lovers languiſh a great while; on the contrary, they are eaſily gained. Their lovers are chiefly officers, or high churchmen, between which orders, on this account, there is a conſtant rivality and jealouſy.

The bigotry of the public in theſe parts, which, from the mixture of gallantry with it, is ſtill to be found even amongſt people of rank, degenerates amongſt the common people into the groſſeſt and moſt abominable buffoonery. The *Windes*, who are mixed with the Germans in theſe countries, diſtinguiſh themſelves by a ſuperſtitious cuſtom, that does little honour to the human underſtanding, and would be incredible, if we had not the moſt unequivocal proofs of the fact before our eyes. Many years ago, they ſet out, in company with ſome Hungarian enthuſiaſts, to Cologne on the Rhine, which is about one hundred and twenty German miles diſtant, to cut off the beard of a crucifix there. Every ſeven years this operation is repeated, as in this ſpace of time the beard grows again to its former length. The rich perſons of the aſſociation ſend the poorer ones as their deputies, and the magiſtrates of Cologne receive them as ambaſſadors from a foreign prince. They are entertained at the expence of the ſtate, and a counſellor ſhews them the moſt remarkable things in the town. I know not whether we ought to laugh moſt at the remote town of Cologne, or at thoſe poor peaſants. There is, indeed, ſome excuſe for the former, as the farce brings in large ſums of money at ſtated times, and may therefore deſerve political encouragement, but ſtill, however, it is the moſt miſerable and meaneſt way of gain that can be imagined. Theſe *Windes* have alone the right to ſhave our Saviour, and the beard grows only for them. They firmly believe, that if they did not do this ſervice to the crucifix, the earth would be ſhut to them for the next ſeven years, and there would be no harveſts. For this reaſon they are obliged to carry the hair home with them, as the proof of having fulfilled their commiſſion, the returns of which are diſtributed amongſt the different communities, and

preſerved as holy reliques. The Imperial court has for a long time endeavoured in vain to prevent this emigration, which deprives agriculture of ſo many uſeful hands. When the *Windes* could not go openly, they would go clandeſtinely. At length the court thought of the expedient of forbidding the regency of Cologne to let them enter the town. This happened ſix years ago, and the numerous embaſſy was obliged to beg its way back again without the wonderful beard, (which, without doubt, the capuchins, to whom the crucifix belonged, uſed to put together from their own. In future they will not, moſt probably, run the danger of travelling ſo far for nothing. I do not hear but that, ſince this accident, the corn has come up as well as it did before; but whether the beard is ſtill growing or not I cannot ſay. I could give you ſtill more ſtriking traits of the ſuperſtition of the inhabitants of the inner parts of Auſtria, but as this ſurpaſſes them all, it may ſerve as a ſufficient meaſure of the human underſtanding in theſe parts. The trade which theſe monks carry on with holy ſalves, oils, &c. is ſtill very conſiderable; a prohibition of the court, lately publiſhed, has rather leſſened it, but it cannot be entirely ſuppreſſed till next generation. It is now carried on ſecretly, but perhaps to nearly as great an amount as formerly.

LETTER XXXV.

Vienna.

AS there were ſome of the provinces of the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria which I did not viſit, you muſt content yourſelf with ſuch accounts of their population and commerce as I have been able to collect, partly from public papers, and partly from converſations with ſenſible men. In order to give you an idea of their comparative merits, we will firſt caſt our eyes upon the whole. Mr. Schloſſer, whoſe uſeful letters I have already mentioned, and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of hereafter, gives a liſt of the reſpective populations of the Auſtrian monarchy, according to which the whole amounts to twenty-ſeven millions. I fancy he is now convinced himſelf that his correſpondent ſaw the ſubjects of Auſtria through a magnifying glaſs. As ſeveral parts of this liſt have been amended from better accounts: thus, for inſtance, in Auſtrian Poland and Bukowina, they now reckon only two million eight hundred thouſand ſouls; whereas, in the firſt liſts, they were reckoned at three millions nine hundred thouſand.

The firſt number of theſe "Political Letters" contains another liſt, which ſeems to me to approach much nearer to the truth; for though the population of particular parts may be laid too high, this is made up for by the omiſſion of the particular provinces of Illyria and Bukowina, which are entirely left out. The following liſts I have in a great meaſure from the beſt hands:

	Souls.
Hungary, with the now annexed Temeſwar	5,400,000
Illyria	1,400,000
Tranſylvania	1,000,000
Auſtrian Poland, together with Bukowina	2,800,000
Bohemia	2,100,000
Moravia	1,000,000
Sileſia	200,000
Carried forward	13,900,000

	Souls.
Brought forward	13,900,000
Upper and Lower Auſtria, and Styria	700,000
Carniola, Ukrania, Gorts, and Iſtria	1,000,000
Farther Auſtria and Falkenſtein	300,000
Tyrol	600,000
Netherlands	1,800,000
Lombardy	1,200,000
	19,500,000

I will not inſiſt upon it that this liſt is ſo accurate as to make it a great violation of truth, to give round numbers, and ſtate the whole at twenty millions; but I would not believe in more than twenty millions, if all the privy counſellors in the empire ſaid it together.

It only requires eyes to ſee, that the territories of Auſtria are not ſo well peopled throughout as France is. The difference in the ſize of the two countries is inconſiderable. How then is it poſſible that Auſtria ſhould be as well peopled as France (which hardly contains twenty-four millions) when the greateſt part of it has no conſiderable manufactures, and in great part of Hungary and Poland there are not even hands to do the neceſſary work? Agriculture, in however flouriſhing ſtate it be in a country, does not render it as populous as manufactures do. The ſphere of the former is contracted, that of the latter not. You would fill a large tract of country with the men who inhabit one of our large manufacturing towns. But beſides this, the agriculture of Hungary and Auſtrian Poland, which make above one half of the Imperial dominions is not nearly ſo good as that of moſt of our provinces. In France the towns are at leaſt as full again of inhabitants as thoſe of the Auſtrian dominions, and yet the country, take it altogether, is well peopled. It is only thoſe parts of the hereditary dominions of Auſtria, that are German, which can vie with France in agriculture and population.

Some of the *data* on which the liſts which make the population of Auſtria amount to twenty-ſeven millions are founded, are truly ridiculous. For inſtance, Mr. Schloſſer's correſpondent will have it that the Auſtrian Netherlands contain four millions; though the United Netherlands which are ſo much larger and moſt uncommonly peopled, do not contain more than two millions five hundred thouſand inhabitants. The circumference of all the Auſtrian Netherlands contains, at moſt, five hundred German ſquare miles. According to this account, therefore, each ſquare mile would contain eight thouſand men; and as Luxemburg and the northern parts of Brabant are confeſſedly but thinly peopled, the remaining provinces muſt have at leaſt ten thouſand ſouls in every ſquare mile; a population, I will venture to ſay, not to be met with in any part of Europe, the environs of London, Naples, and Paris, not excepted. In a journey I made to Holland, I was aſſured from good information at Bruſſels, that the population of the Auſtrian Netherlands amounted only to one million eight hundred thouſand ſouls, and this is a great deal; as even, according to this ſtatement, there will be three thouſand ſix hundred men for every geographical German ſquare mile.

The ſtatement of the income of the Houſe of Auſtria, which Mr. Schloſſer gives us, is accurate as far as it goes, but is not quite perfect. He does not reckon Illyria, Lombardy, and the Netherlands; and the exports from Hungary and Tranſylvania are put rather under the mark. I fancy the following will turn out a pretty accurate account:

	Imperial.
Bannat	1,500,000
Tranſylvania	3,000,000
Illyria	6,000,000
Poland, together with Bukowina	1,200,000
Bohemia	21,400,000
Moravia	500,000
Sileſia	700,000
All the circles of Auſtria	32,700,000
Netherlands	7,000,000
Lombardy	8,000,000
	82,000,000

Theſe 82,000,000 of Imperial guilders make about 98,400,000 Rheniſh guilders, or about 215,000,000 of French livres; which is about 145,000,000 livres leſs than the income of our court, (the colonies not included,) and about as much as the revenue of Great Britain. When we conſider that France contains about 4,000,000 more inhabitants than Auſtria does, that its commerce is much more flouriſhing, and that Hungary and Illyria yield ſo little in proportion to their ſize, the proportion of the produce of the two countries will be thought pretty near the truth.

The account of the expenditures which Mr. Schloſſer's correſpondent has ſubjoined to his account of the revenue is notoriouſly falſe. The expences of the army are laid at 17,000,000 of guilders; but though, in proportion to the ſtrength of the two countries, the army of this court coſts a third leſs than ours does, the Emperor's military expences, including the large magazines and recruiting money, come to 28,000,000 a year. Some perſons of credit make the ſum ſtill larger. Mr. Schloſſer's correſpondent ſtates the penſions only at a million; but it is eaſy to ſee that as much again may be given in penſions, and yet none of thoſe who muſt neceſſarily ſubſiſt by the bounty of the court be much richer. Beſides all this, the account of the expenditure muſt be falſe; for Mr. Schloſſer's correſpondent has made it agree with the revenue, which he has ſtated at 27,000,000 guilders leſs than it really is.

I recollect to have read in a ſpeech ſpoken in parliament by an Engliſh miniſter, who wanted to ſhew the rank his country held in the ſyſtem, a comparative ſtate of the revenues of the ſeveral great powers in Europe. He eſtimated the revenue of France at twelve, that of Great Britain at nine, that of Ruſſia at ſeven, and that of Auſtria at ſix millions ſterling. This is ſilly enough; but it is not as abſurd as what is ſaid by Linguet, who, in his annals of Europe, ventures to entertain a doubt, whether Auſtria has power enough to ſecure the weſt of Europe from the danger of a Turkiſh invaſion; and, therefore graciouſly adviſes the other European powers to help this houſe to a ſlice of Germany or Turkey, in order to enable it to meaſure ſpears with the Turk. Auſtria is ſtill without doubt the ſecond power of Europe. The revenue of Ruſſia conſiſts of 32,000,000 of rubles, which, according to the preſent value of the ruble, does not amount to more than 64,000,000 of Imperial guilders. No doubt but Ruſſia may do aſtoniſhing things with its income at home, where the firſt neceſſaries of life are alſo cheap; but it has not nearly the number of reſources to carry on operations out of its own borders as this court has. The times of Leopold and Charles VI. have long been gone by. Within this laſt twenty years a change has taken place in the adminiſtration of the Imperial finances,

nances, which will aſtoniſh the world, as ſoon as this court has an opportunity of ſhewing its power. I do not believe it wants as much time as Ruſſia wanted when it begun the laſt war to be a full match for the Turks. As the revenue of Great Britain was nearly equal to that of this country, previous to the breaking out of this war, but has been a little leſſened by the loſs of America, Auſtria has no rival to fear, even at preſent, but France; but the former is a riſing power, and in fifty years time the two crowns will be nearly equally ſtrong. Though it be true, that Ruſſia does contain ſome millions of men more than the Auſtrian monarchy, there are amongſt the former ſeveral Kamtſchatdales, Samoides, and Laplanders, who are of little more political eſtimation than their cattle. Both powers are making haſty ſtrides to greatneſs, and in the next century will probably play the parts which France and England played from the end of the laſt to the middle of this, that is, the quiet and balance of Europe will depend upon them. This court will not ſuffer the Ruſſian to take one ſtep, without taking the ſame, or perhaps two, as was the caſe in the partition of Poland, which I now know for certain, originated in this country. Ruſſia bore all the expences of the Turkiſh, or to ſay better, of the Poliſh war; and when matters came to a diviſion, Auſtria gained more than Ruſſia and Pruſſia together. The Auſtrian part of Poland, together with Bukowina, which was taken from the Turks, is not larger than the ſhare which Ruſſia had; but it contains more men, and produces at leaſt half as much again as the Ruſſian and Pruſſian parts put together. According to the beſt accounts, the Ruſſian part contains only two millions one hundred thouſand, and the Pruſſian ſix hundred and fifty thouſand; whereas in the Auſtrian, as I have ſtated them, there are two millions eight hundred thouſand ſouls. Beſides this larger population, Auſtria has likewiſe the advantage of the very productive ſalt-works of Wielitſka, and the greateſt part of Poland is dependent upon it for this neceſſary of life. The ſtrength of Auſtria is compact; but that of Ruſſia is broken. They talk here of a partition of Turkey, as a thing reſolved on by the two Imperial courts, and even the public papers begin to mention it; but I do not believe it, as it is well known that there was a plan of the ſame kind formed by the two courts in the year 1730. Should there, however, be any thing in it, and ſhould not our court have a power to conjure the ſtorm, this would probably be the laſt treaty of friendſhip between Auſtria and Ruſſia; for as ſoon as the Porte ſhall be deſtroyed, and the two Chriſtian empires have their limits on the borders of the Black Sea, they muſt of neceſſity grow jealous of each other, as with reſpect to trade, and other circumſtances, they will be exactly in the ſame ſituation as France and Great Britain were in, with regard to each other.

LETTER XXXVI.

Vienna.

BY degrees the Emperor begins to ſhew a little of the plan which he has ſo long kept concealed in his own breaſt. You muſt not expect me to give you a circumſtantial account of the new regulations which have appeared, or will appear in future. I think of leaving this town next week; but you will have quicker and more complete intelligence from the newſpapers, than I can give you on my travels. Certainly our chaſte French Gazette is not the channel to convey matters of this kind to you; it will indeed inform you very circumſtantially, that the Emperor went one day to church, another day a hunting, and a third to the concert; that he let his hand be kiſſed, and what coat, or great coat he wore in one and the other place. You will not hear by this channel, of the laws

laws relating to toleration, of the abolition of cloiſters, of the diminution of the papal authority; you will not hear that liberty is promiſed to every ſectary to worſhip God in his own way; that Auſtria has become independent of all foreign influence; that monkery is no more; that the clergy are become the ſervants of the ſtate: the abolition, too, of feudal tenures; the diminution of the pernicious privileges of the nobles; the reform in the courts of juſtice; greater ſimplicity in all the operations of government; univerſal and rigid œconomy; advancement of philoſophy; extenſion of civil liberty and patriotic feelings; encouragement of merit; all theſe things are attended to by Joſeph, with a zeal and ſteadineſs which will render Auſtria in a ſhort time, the aſtoniſhment of the world, and one of the moſt flouriſhing and mighty empires in it.

Perhaps you will aſk what is to become of the arts? Will there alſo be academies of inſcriptions and belles lettres; Arcadian aſſemblies, academies of painting and ſtatuary? Moſt certainly there will! One of the latter is an old inſtitution; and as for the others, there are as many able ſubjects here as at Paris. Here are perſons enough who have time and talents ſufficient to make each other ſenſeleſs compliments in periodical publications; to make parties to raiſe ſome inſipid performance, the author of which has flattered their vanity into repute, and to oppreſs a writer of merit, who has ventured to diſpute their judgment. Nor are there wanting perſons who are capable of giving the moſt old faſhioned thought an air of novelty, or publiſhing mutilated tranſlations as their own works. It is indeed but eight or ten years ſince moſt of the new pieces which appeared on the French and Engliſh ſtages, were publiſhed here as original compoſitions. Theſe things, therefore, will exiſt; but the Emperor will ſcarcely lay out a penny in this way; he knows better what to do with his money; and it had been well for us, had we applied the money which theſe inſtitutions have coſt us to any other purpoſe, had it been only that of making canals to carry off the dirt which makes ſuch a ſtink in the choaked up common ſewers, and has already ſuffocated many.

Here, methinks, I ſee you look on me with contempt; for I know you live and move only for the belles lettres, and pity us barbarians who do not ſacrifice ſo ardently to the divine arts. Well do I remember all the kind things you uſed to ſay of my ſtupidity and coldneſs, or whatever elſe you pleaſed to call it, whenever I happened not to have the feeling you had, on meeting with a good epigram, a lively deſcription, or a fine print or drawing. But, my dear brother, every man ſees things in his own way, and, as in compliance with your leading paſſion, I have taken the trouble to give you a great deal of intelligence about the German theatre and poetry, &c. &c. and promiſe you a great deal more from the northern parts of Germany, you will not take it amiſs if I ſay ſomething to you in juſtification of my own taſte, and peculiar way of thinking.

Tell me then, my deareſt brother, if it be not a truth which all hiſtory atteſts, that in every nation the æra of the arts and ſciences has immediately preceded their fall? I will not be at the pains to prove this, by a long deduction of events from the hiſtory of Greece to this time. You may recollect the excellent note of a Tyroleſe monk upon a paſſage in Columella, publiſhed by the author of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe.* It contains the ſtrongeſt evidence which hiſtory can give, that a country in which thoſe arts which contribute chiefly to amuſement, are held in high eſtimation, and are the moſt ſucceſsful way of gaining honour and fortune, is a country verging faſt to ruin. You will ſay that the fault is not in the arts and ſciences themſelves. Right; but when they get a certain ſuperiority in a nation over the other employments of the mind, they muſt draw deſtructive conſequences after them. Frivolity, weakneſs, profuſion, neglect of more laborious purſuits and occupations, oſtentation, wrong judgment in chooſing the ſervants of the ſtate, a warm and immoderate deſire of ornaments, &c. are neceſſary con-

conſequences of all theſe elegancies, when they are carried to that abuſe which borders ſo near on the good uſe of them. And what do they contribute to the real happineſs of men? Are they any thing more than a ſplendid dream? How ſhort, too, has this æra been with all nations? After the generation of wits, generally there has ſucceeded a totally illiterate *horde*, who have awakened thoſe the arts had put to ſleep with blows, and laid them in chains before they had well rubbed their eyes. How long is it ſince the days of Corneille and Racine? And we are already exhauſted! Poor nation!

Not that I altogether refuſe my approbation to works of genius, or would leave them quite unrewarded. I only wiſh that an exceſſive liberality ſhall not confound merit and demerits, and encourage that contagious ſpread of *virtü* and *bel eſprit*, which, if not guarded againſt, ſoon infects a whole nation, and deſtroys the balance that ſhould ever ſubſiſt between the *uſeful* and agreeable. I am convinced the Emperor will not refuſe to do juſtice to the poet, the painter, and every artiſt of real merit, nor leave them unrewarded. But the application of philoſophy to the improvement of government; but thoſe branches of mathematics and phyſics which are connected with civil induſtry;—but thoſe arts and ſciences, in ſhort, which contribute to the laſting happineſs of the country, have ſtill more to expect from him. And can you take this ill of him? His court will hardly reſemble that of an Auguſtus, who could give a penſion of 4000 louis to a poet, whilſt he owed his old ſoldiers their pay. Certainly not. But Auſtria is advancing apace to the happy times of Henry IV. the times in which a nation begins to feel itſelf; when the foundation of national riches are laid; when civil liberty and peace are ſecured from the attacks of the monks and nobles; when the proper balance is eſtabliſhed between all ranks of the ſtate; when the fine arts and ſciences, agreeable to their proper diſtinction, are only uſed for recreation, and more is not expended on them than a prudent œconomical father, who meaſures all his expences by the ſtate of his fortune, would lay out on his pleaſures; and when from this very reaſon, to wit, becauſe they hold the rank they ought to hold, they thrive better than when exceſſive encouragement connects a train of votaries to them, who only love them for the ſake of what they procure. When the arts become the means of gaining a livelihood, there is an end of all great works; and when artiſts form a corporation, as with us, it is a corporation of apes and monkies. How rare are original geniuſes! Would millions raiſe a Voltaire?

Pardon this digreſſion, which was not ſo much a laſh to your hobby horſe, as an effuſion of my eſteem for the Emperor, whom I would wiſh to juſtify in your ſight. I know that you cannot eaſily forgive his doing ſo little for the fine arts; but conſider, brother, he lays out from 10 to 20,000 louis d'ors in ſupporting thoſe who carry on uſeful employments, every one of whom that wiſhes to eſtabliſh a uſeful manufactory, may have any ſum advanced at a ſmall, or even without any intereſt at all. He aſſiſts all who will ſettle in the country in every way. He makes roads, builds villages, towns, and harbours, and has an army of at leaſt three hundred thouſand men to ſupport. Ought he to be circumſcribed in theſe expences, in order to eſtabliſh an Academy of *Inſcriptions* and *Belles Lettres*? Forbid it patriotiſm, forbid it humanity!

Perhaps in time he will do ſomething for your goddeſſes, when all the court debts are paid, his finances in complete order, and the cloiſters thinned. His debts are certainly not ſo great as ours, and yet they amount to about 160,000,000 of florins, and he is obliged to pay 18,000,000 a year, in intereſt and capital. The lands belonging to the cloiſters and religious foundations, in the Imperial hereditary lands, are eſtimated at 300,000,000 of florins, of which nearly one half comes from the Netherlands and Lombardy. Poſſibly the muſes may in time inherit ſome of this immenſe wealth.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVII.

Vienna.

TO-MORROW I leave this place; I ſhall ſtay ſome time at Prague, where I expect to hear from you.

It is now evident what the Emperor was about during his mother's life-time. All the ſtrangers who are here, are aſtoniſhed at the ſhort time in which one of the greateſt and moſt total revolutions has been effected; a ſure ſign that it was thought of long before, and all the materials prepared. The nobility and clergy are every day more convinced that it will go harder and harder with them: but they make no reſiſtance; for both orders are entirely diſarmed. Notwithſtanding their great riches, the nobility are enfeebled by their effeminacy and diſſipation, and the clergy have a ſnake in their own boſoms which will ſting them to death. This ſnake is philoſophy; which, under the ſemblance of theology, has glided even to the epiſcopal chair. Moſt of the younger eccleſiaſtics are infected by the poiſon of this ſnake in the univerſities. They all know that there is a Febronius in the world, and ſome of them are only acquainted with him as a heretic; yet as the arguments of the cowl have a much greater effect upon them than the arguments of their profeſſors, and as the court is evidently friendly to him, they are not unwilling to be reconciled to their old enemies. The Bellarminiſts, who poſſeſs all the great benefices, ſtill make, it is true, the greater number; but if once they are in danger of loſing their cures, or the twenty-five thouſand advocates in the imperial dominions, who have long been ready with arguments, are ordered to charge, they will no doubt make very little reſiſtance.

I do not believe there is a ſingle man of underſtanding in the army, who does not moſt thoroughly approve the Emperor's new regulations. This part of the adminiſtration of the country has been in his hands a conſiderable time; and it carries marks in every part of it, of having been ſo. Amongſt all the Imperial officers I was acquainted with, I did not meet with one, of a certain age, who did not poſſeſs a certain fund of philoſophy. During my ſtay here, I found them by far the beſt company in the place; and, with the permiſſion of the Profeſſors, Doctors, and other Literati, muſt think them by far the moſt enlightened people in the Auſtrian dominions. I will anſwer for finding many corporals in the Imperial army who have more ſenſe than nine out of ten of the literati. There has long been a freedom of thinking and reaſoning in the army, which is a ſtrong contraſt to what obtains elſewhere, and does the Emperor the utmoſt honour. Every regiment has a library to itſelf, and the officers find means to procure every good book, however prohibited it may be. The King of Pruſſia has no longer Pope *be-ſalved* and *be-conſecrated* generals, as he uſed to call Daun, to contend with. Even amongſt the common ſoldiers you may obſerve a kind of natural logic, which is the conſequence of the way in which they are managed, and which you may trace in their tents, in their manœuvres, in their tables, and in every thing that belongs to them. There is not a veſtige left of the bigotry which heretofore made the Imperial army ſo conſpicuous. What indeed will the black troop undertake againſt a corps conducted as this is? The Emperor will not find the ſame facility in reforming the adminiſtration of civil and criminal juſtice, as he will meet with in reforming the church. There is ſtill a formidable darkneſs over all this part of legiſlation. The defects, partly owing to the laws themſelves, and the forms of adminiſtering juſtice, and partly increaſed through the ſtupidity, pedantry, diſſoluteneſs, ſelfiſhneſs, and want of patriotiſm of the ſervants of the court, have long been felt. The late Empreſs endea-

voured to remedy them, but in vain; for were the *Codex Thereſianus* ten times leſs barbarous than it is, ſtill little would have been done. There is a want of men to give vigour to laws, however good.

During the time he was only a kind of viceroy, the Emperor took all the pains he was able, to throw more light upon the adminiſtration of juſtice, and to render it more impartial; nor do I believe there is a ſingle inſtance of a ſtriking and notorious act of injuſtice having been committed by any of his immediate ſervants; but he could not create new ſubjects; and as long as pride, lazineſs, and the love of ſhew, continue to be leading features in the characters of the principal members of the courts of juſtice, it is impoſſible but that fraud, chicanery, and indeed roguery of every kind, muſt find their way in proceſſes ſo complicated as theſe are.

Criminal juſtice is, indeed, in a moſt piteous condition. When you read the *Codex Thereſianus*, you would conceive that it had been compoſed for a horde of *Baſchis*. Here are puniſhments for crimes which have not been heard of in the country for a century; and penalties very grievous indeed, but at the ſame time moſt ridiculous, when you compare the ſtate of the country and the ſtate of the law, for offences which happen every day, but raiſe no clamour, ſuch as fornication, adultery, and ſodomy. This, however, is not ſo great an evil; for let laws be as ſevere as they will, ſtill they expoſe civil and natural liberty to no danger, and the moſt inhuman laws that can be deviſed, are better than no law at all; or what amounts to the ſame thing, the non-obſervance of any. The latter unfortunately is the caſe here. It was ſoon ſeen that the *Codex Thereſianus* agreed neither with the manners nor the character of the people, and the court became aſhamed, at the time that all Europe was making an outcry about humanity, the abolition of capital puniſhments, &c. &c. of a ſtatute-book which had nothing in it but halters, gibbets, ſwords, &c. What was to be done? They would not repeal the law; but contented themſelves with an univerſal requiſition to the judges to be mild, and not to inflict capital puniſhments without neceſſity. This miſunderſtood lenity is the greateſt tyranny in the world. The moſt cruel law that can be deviſed cannot commit murder. On the contrary, the more cruel the law is, the more depravity and obſtinacy it beſpeaks to ſin againſt it; but the general direction, to "have recourſe to no capital puniſhments without neceſſity," tends to ſubmit the guilty to the diſcretion of the judge, and thus undermines one of the principal props of civil liberty. As long as laws, let them be as ſevere as they will, are rigidly obſerved, the tranſgreſſor is without excuſe. He knew the law, and not to guard againſt the penalty of it, beſpoke wickedneſs and weakneſs; but in the laſt caſe he may be the victim of circumſtances, with which his crime has not the leaſt connection. I will relate a fact to you, which happened ſome years ago at Lintz, which, though it relates to military juſtice, will give you a very good idea of the ſtate of criminal juſtice in this country.

Two grenadiers, who were among the handſomeſt men of the regiment, agreed to deſert from Stein, and engaged others to deſert with them. They were detected and condemned to die, as ringleaders, by the council of war. The whole regiment knew, that every general in the army had it in command to ſuffer no ſentence of death to be put in execution without the utmoſt neceſſity. As this neceſſity did not exiſt, General Brown was determined to grant a pardon, and he would have done ſo, but on a ſudden the whole ſcene changed. The comrades of the priſoners went to them in priſon, got drunk with them, and offered to go to the gallows in their ſtead; ſo perſuaded were they that the pardon would come. The whole of this was related to the General. The day came; the young men went cheerfully to the field; all Lintz had no doubt but the pardon would meet them there, when lo, and behold! General Brown found out that this was the reſerved caſe of extreme neceſſity,

and

and the men were executed. What was the conſequence? The General had a reprimand from Vienna; but did he deſerve it? Was it not a ſufficiently good excuſe for his conduct, to ſay, that deſertions were grown every day more common, from the idea that ſentences of death would never be carried into execution? In my opinion, theſe grenadiers were victims to the weakneſs of the legiſlation. Stability, not mercy, is the firſt merit of a law.

A general defect, which runs through the whole of this legiſlation is, that it is loaded with orders which are not made effective. There is no end of projects and writings. There are orders upon orders, injunctions upon injunctions, and reſcripts upon reſcripts; the laſt of which always overturns, or at leaſt very much limits the preceding one. This is ſo conſtant a thing, that ſeveral perſons in office in the country make it a rule, before they carry an order into execution, to wait five or ſix weeks to ſee whether it will not be contradicted. It would be a curious, and to the Auſtrian ſtate a very profitable buſineſs, if any perſon would take the trouble of collecting the contradictory laws which have been promulgated within theſe laſt eighteen or twenty years. This, no doubt, aroſe in part becauſe the Emperor and his mother had different plans of legiſlation; but now he governs alone, he will find it very difficult to bring matters right, as he cannot depend upon any aſſiſtance whatever from his ſubalterns.

The language of the courts of juſtice here is very ſingular. You muſt know, that they have a ſtyle of their own, which is totally different from the common ſtyle, and is called the chancellery, or law ſtyle. I have juſt been reading a reſcript of the Imperial court to the chapter of Saltzburg, who are engaged in a law-ſuit with their archbiſhop. It contains periods which fill a whole folio ſide of paper, and in which, with all the attention in the world, it is impoſſible to find a connection. Indeed, the more unconnected it is, and the more abounding in the ſcarceſt Latin and French words, the better this ſtyle is reckoned. There are likewiſe many German words, which are uſed in a ſenſe directly oppoſite to what they have in common language. I look upon it as quite impoſſible that the grandchildren of the preſent generation ſhould underſtand a ſingle ſyllable of all their jargon. Fare ye well.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Prague.

THE journey from Vienna to this place was one of the moſt pleaſing I have ever taken, notwithſtanding we did not meet with a ſingle good town, during a journey of forty-four German poſt miles. My company conſiſted of an Imperial officer, a prieſt, and a traveller from Lower Saxony. The officer had ſerved in the laſt war in Sileſia. He was a ſenſible man, and acted as our *Cicerone* on two of the moſt noted fields of battle recorded in modern hiſtory.

As long as we continued in Auſtria, the country appeared ſingularly well cultivated, and there was all the appearance of a high ſtate of happineſs and eaſe among the farmers; but in the parts of Moravia we came through, the inhabitants did not ſeem near ſo happy as their neighbours. Notwithſtanding this, however, the country is well cultivated throughout; nor do you ſee any of the wild deſerts, which are ſo ſtriking in Hungary. Snaym and Iglau are two very pretty villages. The inhabitants of theſe ſpeak German very well; but you obſerve that it is not their native language.

The whole country is made up partly of a plain, and partly of gently riſing hills; but on the confines of Bohemia, the hills riſe into more ſtately, as well as more fruitful mountains. The parts of theſe through which our road lay, were covered with fine

woods, villages, and ſeveral very ſtately caſtles, and there are mile-ſtones all the way. The roads are excellent. We met with few villages on the plains of Bohemia; it ſeems the Germans have a proverb, which ſays of a thing that is ſcarce, "that it is ſcarce as a village in Bohemia." As, however, it is evident from the liſt of thoſe who draw for ſoldiers, that the country is extremely well peopled, and as we ſaw ſome very good agriculture, and no barren ground, we did not at firſt know what to make of theſe appearances; but our officer, who had travelled over the country far and near, explained them to us. He told us, that moſt of the villages lay off the great road, in the neighbourhood of rivers and brooks, or behind woods, and that if we would go a mile and a half, either to the right or left, we ſhould ſee enough of them. This cuſtom of hiding the habitations in the rocks of the country, or behind woods, probably took its riſe in the time of wars, when the inhabitants endeavoured to procure ſhelter from the robbers and knight-errants who infeſted the land. No doubt the convenience of having water contributed ſomething to it. Between Kolin and Planiani, which are diſtant two German miles from each other, we came to the noted field of battle, which has taken its name from theſe two places, though it ought to have it from the ſmall village near which the action really happened. Here we got out, and our *Cicerone*, who was proud of having had his ſhare in the honour of that day, which did away the ignominy of Auſtria, went over the ground with us.

Many reaſons have been given why this battle proved ſo fatal to the King of Pruſſia, and, as in all other caſes of the kind, the hiſtorian will be puzzled to chooſe between the different relations of various ſenſible men, who were *all* eye-witneſſes, and *all* took part in the labour and difficulty of the day. Here, however, the event evidently depended upon the ground, which Daun knew how to make his advantage of.

Along the road, and to the right of it, there is a plain which extends as far as the eye can reach; on the left of this there is a gentle riſe, which makes a kind of peak near the village where the great action took place. On the right of this riſing, which you can hardly call a hill, you diſcover ſtraight before you a long, deep ditch, encompaſſed with ſteep walls, which have the appearance, at a diſtance, of a plain betwixt woods. To the left this hill ſinks in a remarkable hollow, and looſes itſelf backwards in a great plain. Daun's right wing was placed on the top of the riſing, and the remainder of his army was covered by the ditch on the left. The King of Pruſſia approached by the plain through which we were to paſs. He was compelled to fight, or give up the ſiege of Prague, and evacuate Bohemia. The only part of the Imperial army he could attack was the right wing. The gallant Pruſſians were not at all diſheartened by the inequality of the ground. Ever accuſtomed to conquer, their right wing advanced in ſilence up the hill. The Imperials, who had the advantage of the ground, beat them back again. Six times the Pruſſians returned to the attack; but as the ground was very narrow, they were at length much impeded by their own dead, who lay on the ſlopes of the hill they had to aſcend. Notwithſtanding all this, they would ſtill have gained the day, if Daun had not had time to flank his beaten right wing with cavalry. This immediately charged to the left of the hill in the flank of the Pruſſians, who, after the ſharpeſt conteſt, were at length obliged to give way. Whilſt they were retreating in good order, prince Maurice of Deſſau, whoſe bravery often approached to raſhneſs, took a ſingle battalion, and with it encountered the whole force of the Auſtrian army. This made the rout much greater than it would otherwiſe have been. The Prince would have fought his troops to the laſt man, if he had not been called off from his raſh headed attempt by the King's ſpecial command. As among other loſſes the King's guard had been entirely cut off, when the Prince came up to him, he began crying out, "My

guard Prince! my guard!" To which the other made anſwer, "My regiment, Your Majeſty! my regiment!" He thought, that as his regiment had been cut off, there was nothing worth ſaving.

Now it may probably have been a fault in the King not to have had any cavalry in his left wing; but if it was ſo, it aroſe from the unevenneſs of the ground. If the Auſtrians had not had the great advantage of having their right wing on an eminence, and the reſt of their army ſecure, in all probability the Pruſſians, who notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, made the victory dubious for a great while, would have got the day before Daun could have ſupported the attacked part with his cavalry, and in that caſe no perſon would have thought of a failure of cavalry on the Pruſſian part. The King, too, could not obſerve the motions of the German horſe, whoſe ſudden appearance from the hollow was the more formidable, from its being entirely unexpected, and what *a priori* muſt have ſeemed very improbable to the King.

Others ſay, that the King purpoſed to do nothing with his left wing, but intended to alter his mode of battle, and charge with his right, whilſt the prince of Deſſau was amuſing the enemy. In that caſe his flank would have been ſecured from the attack of the enemy's cavalry, and he would have had nothing to fear from the Auſtrian left wing on this ſide the deep ditch. But, ſay thoſe who maintain this opinion, the prince of Deſſau, inſtead of amuſing the enemy, made ſo lively and ſerious an attack, that the King was obliged to ſupport him, out of apprehenſion, that if the Prince was repulſed, the whole army might have been brought into diſorder by the flight of his regiment. I take this likewiſe to be one of thoſe after-thoughts which ſhew what a man ſhould have done, but not what he did, or had a mind to do. Others think, that the King truſting ſolely to his good fortune, which had done ſuch great things for him a little before at the battle of Prague, had neglected ſome neceſſary arrangements, particularly the bringing up his cavalry. But this ſeems one of the obſervations which a ſenſible writer makes after the time, to give himſelf the air of appearing to know more than other people. A man like the King of Pruſſia, who gives continual proofs that he does not ſuffer himſelf to be depreſſed by any reverſe of fortune, is not likely to have been too much raiſed by his ſucceſs.

Being now beaten, for the firſt time, after ſo many ſucceſsful battles, Frederick retreated in the beſt order poſſible to Saxony, through *Leutmeritz* and *Auſſig*. Depreſſed he was not, but a little out of humour, as his oldeſt brother, ſince dead, who carried part of the army back into Saxony, by Gabel, experienced. But, no doubt, you are well acquainted with this wonderful retreat, and the anecdotes concerning it, to be found in the book entitled, *Recuil de Lettres de Sa Majeſté le Roi de Pruſſe, regardant le derniere guerre*. If the King had gained this battle he would have been maſter of all Bohemia. All Auſtria would have ſtood open to him, and *Ollmutz* only would have prevented his going to Vienna. In this caſe he would have dictated to his enemies the conditions of peace, whereas the miſcarriage was followed by ſix years of bloody war.

The King commanded this action from the window of an upper ſtory of a public houſe, which ſtands alone, and is very near the road. It was with inexpreſſible pleaſure that we dined in the room, which commands a view of the field of battle on both ſides. Every thing here appeared ſacred to me; as I ſtood in the place occupied by the King, in the window which directly fronts the eminence which occaſioned his defeat, I felt all the mortification he muſt have experienced, when he found his troops giving way. There were ſome marks of cannon-balls in the walls of this houſe, and the King was not altogether ſafe.

Kolin

Kolin is a pretty little town; it is, without a doubt, the beſt place you meet with betwixt Prague and Vienna; the garriſon, however excepted, it does not contain above three thouſand five hundred ſouls. The houſes are not more than ſeven hundred, and do not ſeem to be very well inhabited. We reſted a little here, and were extremely well treated; you live very cheap and well all over Bohemia. Small hares, ducks, geeſe, &c. are the common food met with, in the ſmalleſt inns.

In order to give you an idea of the price of proviſions, I will give you an account of what the Saxon and I paid for a night's entertainment. You muſt know, that almoſt all the inns here have a bad appearance, and the innkeepers, notwithſtanding the plenty they afford travellers, ſeem to be but in indifferent circumſtances. Their houſes generally ſtand alone in the ſtreet, and have neither orchard, kitchen-garden, or any piece of land near belonging to them. They are obliged to pay ſo heavy a rent to the landlord, or nobleman to whom the houſe belongs, that they can gain but very little. At laſt we ſaw an inn in a village we came to, which had a better appearance; it had a roomy court, good ſtables, a neat garden, and was the property of the landlady. Now, ſaid we, as we got into our bed-chambers, we ſhall have another kind of bill, and no doubt pay for the fine proſpect which this room commands, the fine furniture, the exquiſite glaſſes and china, and in ſhort, all the fine things which we enjoy or do not enjoy. We had for ſupper a rice ſoup, with an exceeding good chicken, a ſallad, and two young hares broiled. We had excellent beer, which is remarkably good in Bohemia, and a pot of wine, which we found very bad, and would not have another, as we knew that wine was very dear all over Bohemia. We had two very clean beds, and ſome very good coffee for breakfaſt; and would you think it? when the bill was called for, it amounted only to forty-two creutzers, that is, about one livre and forty-two ſols French.

We ſtopped about three miles from Prague, and went ſome furlongs out of the way to ſee the famous field of battle of the year 1757. Here the Pruſſians overcame nature itſelf. It was impoſſible for the Auſtrians to have more favourable ground. A deep, broad, perpendicular ditch protected them from the enemy. They had a very formidable artillery, which defended the ditch by batteries placed to great advantage. When the Pruſſians made their firſt attack by the ditch, they fell like flocks of ſnow: the Auſtrian fire was terrible. There has not been a harder or bloodier action in the preſent century, nor is there perhaps in hiſtory, a ſingle inſtance of a *battle* won under ſuch circumſtances as the Pruſſians had to contend with. It is almoſt literally true, that they had at the ſame time a fort to take and an army to beat, which was ſtronger than their own. Conceive to yourſelf, a deep ditch flanked with cannon, on the other ſide of which is encamped a bold looking army of at leaſt ſeventy thouſand men. The Pruſſians marched through the ditch, and through the fortifications oppoſed to them, put the enemy to the moſt complete flight, and beſieged Prague, in which part of the flying Imperial army took refuge. But they paid dear for the victory; their loſs of men was infinitely greater than that of the enemy; accounts differ with regard to the numbers ſlain; ſome make them ſeven, others from nine to ten thouſand men. The truth, however, without the leaſt exaggeration is, that the immenſe ditch was filled throughout its whole breadth with dead men, who in many places likewiſe, lay in great heaps upon each other.

The ſtroke which the King felt moſt of all, was the loſs of the brave general Schwerin. We looked with the moſt ſolemn melancholy on the tree near which he fell. The preſent Emperor has erected a monument to him, which does no leſs honour to the perſon who ſet it up, than to him whoſe name it bears and eternizes. Many anecdotes are current with regard to the death of this brave man. It has been ſaid, that a rough

anſwer

anſwer given by the King to a meſſage he ſent him by an adjutant in the middle of the battle, to let him know it was impoſſible to win it, occaſioned him to ſeek death; but I do not believe this; for even ſuppoſing Schwerin to have remonſtrated on what he thought an impoſſibility, the king knew well enough that the word *obey* was ſufficient to remind him of his duty, and to make him do all that could be expected from a man of his character for courage and abilities; no, we muſt do Schwerin the juſtice to ſay that he died, becauſe according to the proverb, every man owes a death. He died like a patriot; he ſaw the violence of the conteſt, ſaw the good-will of his ſoldiers, and their courage, which the havoc death made all around them could not tame. Nothing, he found, but an act of deſperation on his part could ſave them, he therefore ſnatched the colours out of the hands of a dying cornet, crying, follow me, my brave boys, and rode up to the mouth of the cannon. A ball took him off at the head of his brave troops, but they fired by his courage and example, got up the hill, broke in on the enemy, and by that deed turned the day in favour of the King. After the battle the King beſieged Prague. Daun in the mean time collected the broken Imperial troops, got an army together and haſtened to the relief of the town, the garriſon of which was making a brave reſiſtance; this army the King was compelled to attack, or raiſe the ſiege; this brought on the above deſcribed battle of Kolin, in which he loſt all that he had won before.

LETTER XXXIX.

Prague.

BOHEMIA is a country favoured of heaven, the climate is excellent. In this excurſion I have become acquainted with ſeveral foreigners who make their conſtant reſidence here, and are induced to it by the wholeſomeneſs of the air, the goodneſs and cheapneſs of all the neceſſaries of life, and the cheerful good humour of the inhabitants,—and yet Æneas Silvius deſcribes the country as a part of Siberia, though it was, in all probability, more flouriſhing in his time than it is now; to be ſure the difference of the climate muſt have been ſtriking to a Roman, but I believe his eminence was here only in the winter; the ſpring is not ſo beautiful even at Rome as it is here; ſpring and ſummer are as remarkable as the winter is at Vienna, where you ſeldom ſee a regular ſpring, but the winter and ſummer almoſt join. The climate of this country is not expoſed to any of thoſe ſudden and inclement changes which are ſo fatal to health in other places. The winter colds are neither too ſharp, nor the ſummer heats too ſtrong. The air is dry, clear, and temperate. The country lies high, and forms a large extended plain, ſurrounded on all ſides by very high hills covered with rich woods. The vale in the midde, which is watered by the Elbe, the Moldaw, and the Eyer, of which you may eaſily form an idea, by caſting your eyes on the map, is protected from the force of the wind. The ſeveral hollows in the middle contribute to let out the waters, ſo that there are neither lakes nor moraſſes to fill the air with unwholeſome vapours. As the ſoil is ſtony only in very few places, the waters flow eaſily through the country, and make it fruitful, without filling the air, as is the caſe in ſeveral parts of Upper Switzerland, with catarrhs and coughs.

The country produces every thing that can contribute to the comfort of life in aſtoniſhing abundance, wine and ſalt only excepted. The greateſt part of the former is brought at a very moderate price from Bintz, where is a warehouſe for ſalt, which is brought from Gerund in Auſtria, and Halle in the Tyrol. The remainder is brought from Auſtrian Poland at a moderate price. There have been many ſucceſsful experiments

made to produce wine, and I have tafted fome melnikers very little inferior to the fecond fort of Bourdeaux wines. The firſt ſtocks were brought from Burgundy. The country, however, will hardly be able to produce a ſufficiency of this article for conſumption, but it has other advantages to make up for the loſs. As it poſſeſſes moſt of the prime neceſſaries of life, and by that means commands a ſuperiority of trade which none of the neighbouring countries can diſpute with it, it provides a great part of Sileſia, Saxony, and Auſtria with corn, and alſo ſells them ſome cattle. The circle of Saaſſer is alone able to furniſh all Bohemia, populous as the country is, with corn even in moderate years. The excellent Bohemian hops are carried as far as the Rhine in great quantities. The breed of horſes is likewiſe wonderfully improved within theſe few years, and bring annually large ſums of money into the country. The Bohemian tin is the beſt of any, next to the Engliſh; and they carry on a very conſiderable trade in alum, and ſeveral kinds of precious ſtones, particularly garnets. The large woods, in which the country abounds, furniſh materials for the wonderful manufactories of glaſs, which bring a great deal of money into the country, and find their way into every part of Europe from Portugal to Sweden. Within theſe few years they have alſo made large quantities of very good and uncommonly cheap hats, with which they ſupply great part of the inhabitants of Auſtria, Bavaria, and Franconia. The handkerchief and linen manufactories are alſo in good repute.

The Bohemian travels much. Some as dealers in glaſs, who go as far as England and Italy, and ſome as baſket and ſieve-makers. I have met with large caravans of theſe on the Upper Rhine and in the Netherlands. Theſe people commonly come home with pretty large ſums of money; they keep together like brothers whilſt they are in foreign countries. They have indeed an uncommon ſhare of patriotiſm, and a kind of confidence in each other, which often makes them paſs in the eyes of ſtrangers for a ſavage and barbarous people, though they really are not ſo.

Since the days of Huſs they have a ſecret hatred to the Germans, which does not ariſe ſo much from bad temper as from a kind of national pride. Moſt of the farmers who live near the roads ſpeak German; but as they do not like to talk to a ſtranger without neceſſity, they pretend not to underſtand a word of what the traveller ſays, and make their ſport of him amongſt themſelves. It has been attempted to make them ſend their children to German ſchools, but hitherto they have all proved abortive. They have an unſpeakable averſion to whatever is German. I have heard young men here talk of the battles which their anceſtors, under Ziſka, fought againſt the Germans, with a degree of warmth and pride, which made them very amiable in my eyes. They ſtill remember too, that the reſidence of the court at Prague formerly rendered the country flouriſhing, and lament that the preference which has been given to Auſtria, in conſequence of a ſlight miſunderſtanding, carries off large ſums annually from the country, which are ſent to Vienna partly by the court and partly by the nobility. The late Empreſs was extremely offended with them on account of this miſunderſtanding, and Bohemia was the only one of her old hereditary dominions which ſhe never viſited.

The Huſſites are ſtill very numerous in the country. Some think that a fourth part of the inhabitants are of this ſect, which has alſo ſpread widely in Moravia. Scarce four years are paſt ſince above ten thouſand farmers made a little ſtand to recover their freedom of opinion; but they were ſoon quieted, and the thing had no further conſequences.

Voltaire and ſome other hiſtorians have much miſrepreſented the famous Huſs and his doctrines. They look upon this reformer as a man of a very limited underſtanding, and think that his object went no further than to procure the clergy leave to marry,

and

and let the people have the uſe of the cup at the ſacrament. They love to make ſport with him, and ſay that he endeavoured to make the incomprehenſible myſtery ſtill more incomprehenſible, without having the leaſt attention to how much the human mind was lowered by ſuch myſteries. They deny him the philoſophical ſpirit, both of his predeceſſor Wickliff, or of his followers, Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin. I had formerly the ſame opinion of him myſelf; but ſince I have ſtudied his hiſtory and the hiſtories of his followers, I have conceived a much higher idea of him. I ſearched in the library of Vienna for all the documents that relate to this intereſting hiſtory. In Menker I found a vindication of the opinions of the Huſſites, addreſſed to the diet of Nuremberg. It is written in a German which I could not underſtand, till I had read it over ſix or ſeven times, and procured aſſiſtance from ſeveral of my friends. This wonderful repreſentation contains the whole confeſſion of faith of the Huſſites. They attack the whole ſyſtem of the Roman Chatholic church, purgatory, faſts, monkery,—and it is certain that they were only one ſtep behind Calvin. The ſtyle of this vindication has all the marks of intimate perſuaſion, and of the ſoundeſt underſtanding, only like Luther, the author ſometimes falls into the ſtyle of the times and runs into low language.

In fact, the ſole advantage which the other reformers had over Huſs, aroſe from the invention of printing ſince his time, as in conſequence of this, knowledge was much more widely ſpread, as the doctrines could be much more widely diffuſed. The doctrines of Huſs were loſt amidſt the wars which followed his death. They were ſtifled in the barbarity which overſpread Bohemia, when the people no longer attended to any teacher, but the ſword became the ſole decider of all controverſy.

I found ſufficient proofs that Huſs, notwithſtanding his obſtinacy and preſumption, poſſeſſed an enlightened and philoſophical mind, which, however, partook ſomewhat of the unpoliſhed character of the age in which he lived. I am ſometimes tempted to write his hiſtory, which perhaps is not yet ſufficiently underſtood. Whether I ſhall perſevere I know not, but in the mean time will collect what materials I can, and when I have time, try whether I have any talents for writing hiſtory—at leaſt I feel a great temptation to do this.

The preſent race of Huſſites flatter themſelves that the Emperor, whoſe ſentiments of toleration are well known, and who is very fond of the Bohemians, will reſtore to them their freedom of opinion; but people here generally think that they are deceived in their expectations; for as their ſentiments nearly approach thoſe of the Lutherans, it would not be very prudent to allow the eſtabliſhment of a new ſect, which always ſpreads ſome roots that may grow and be dangerous.

The Bohemians are a wonderfully ſtrong-built race of men. Dubravius, one of their hiſtorians, who was Biſhop of Olmutz in the ſixteenth century, compares them to lions. "As the land (ſays he, according to the manner of writing of thoſe times,) lies under the influence of Leo, ſo do its inhabitants poſſeſs all the qualities of that noble animal. Their high cheſts, ſparkling eyes, ſtrong thick hair, ſtout bones, ſtrength, courage, and irreſiſtible ſpirit, when oppoſed, all ſhew evidently that the lion is their ſtar, which they bear likewiſe in their coat of arms."

They are a handſome, ſtrong built, and active race of people; and you ſee evidently that they are deſcended from the Croats, who are ſome of the handſomeſt people upon earth. Their heads are a little too large; but their broad ſhoulders, and their thick-ſet bodies render the diſproportion not ſo viſible as it would otherwiſe be. They are without doubt the beſt ſoldiers of all the Emperor's troops. They bear the inconveniencies of the military life longer than any. Even hunger, that deadly fiend to every thing that calls itſelf an Imperial ſoldier, they can ſupport for a conſiderable time.

My journey through the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, confirmed an opinion I had long ſince taken up in other countries, which is, that the inhabitants of the mountains are by no means as good ſoldiers as thoſe who inhabit the plains. The Tyroleſe, Carinthians, Ukranians, and Styrians, have as ſtrong bodies as the Bohemians, but they are by no means as good ſoldiers as theſe, and without a doubt are the moſt wretched of all the Emperor's troops. Even in Switzerland, as I have heard from ſome of the moſt intelligent officers of the country, the Zurchers, and that part of the inhabitants of Berne, who live in the lower parts of the Canton, are infinitely better ſoldiers than the *Granbundtners*, and other nations who inhabit the top of the Alps. The true reaſon of this is no doubt to be ſought for in the peculiar way of living of a mountainous people, which is too particular for them ever to be able to change their way of life without ſuffering by it.

All people likewiſe who live by paſturage, are known to be much weaker than thoſe who live by agriculture, who are hardened by the weather and continual labour. The inhabitants of mountains, who according to the teſtimony of hiſtory, are moſtly herdſmen, defend their country with more perſeverance than the inhabitants of plains, becauſe the property they have in it makes them fonder of it, and becauſe the defence of their almoſt inacceſſible poſſeſſions is naturally much eaſier to them; but they are by no means as formidable out of their own country, and they ſoon get the *maladie du Pais*, which you know is ſo common amongſt the Swiſs.

The conſtitution and manners of the country contribute much to make the Bohemians ſuch ſoldiers as they are. The farmers live in a poverty which preſerves them from effeminacy and luxury much more effectually than any poſitive ſumptuary law could do. Beſides this, the feudal ſlavery ſyſtem, which obtains here in the extreme, accuſtoms them from their youth upwards to unconditional obedience, the great military virtue of our days. Their conſtant labour and ſcanty food renders them hardy, and, like the Spartans, they find the ſoldier's life far eaſier than ploughing the fields of their maſters.

It is inconceivable how a people in ſuch a wretched ſituation ſhould poſſeſs ſo many virtues as theſe do. They have given irrefragable proofs of their love of liberty, and in no city of the Auſtrian hereditary dominions have I met with ſo many true patriots as there are here. The Bohemian peaſant is generally looked upon as ſtupid and inſenſible, but take them all together, they have a great deal of feeling and natural underſtanding. I have converſed with ſeveral of them, who lamented the horrors of their ſituation in terms ſufficiently expreſſive, and ſpoke of the cruelty of their tyrants as it deſerved to be ſpoken of. They love the Emperor with a degree of enthuſiaſm, and are confident that he will break their chains. In the Huſſite war they gave proofs of courage which would obſcure all the famed deeds of the Helvetic one, if they were but half as well deſcribed or ſung as theſe have been: without any advantages of ſituation, and on even ground, they have with a handful of men defeated bands far better armed, and far better diſciplined than themſelves. Their onſet was irreſiſtible, and they would have inevitably ſecured that freedom to themſelves, for which they fought ſo well, if towards the end of the war, diſſenſions, moſtly foſtered by the ſpirit of party and prieſtcraft that had ariſen amongſt themſelves, had not ruined them, and if they had not been betrayed by treaties with their enemies.

I could not without the greateſt commiſeration look upon the handſome young farmers, who bare-footed, with torn linen, and ſtockings uncommonly tattered, and yet clean clothes, without neck-cloths, often without hats, were carrying corn or wood for their maſters to market. Their good appearance and cheerfulneſs ſeemed to me but ill-ſuited to their hard fortune. One of them who carried my great coat (which I had brought

out with me for fear of rain, but could not wear on account of the heat) in his waggon during a three days journey I took on foot, to the pretty village of Brandeis, was the drolleſt and beſt young man in the world. He had nothing on but breeches and ſtockings, but ſhewed us with a kind of vanity, a ſort of linen frock which was in the waggon, and which had almoſt as many holes as threads in it. His ſhirt was almoſt in pieces, and yet he aſſured me in his broken German, that he cared neither for wind nor weather: this led me into ſeveral philoſophical reflections upon the luxury of my uſeleſs great coat. My young man was all life and ſpirits, and his good-looking legs and ſunburned face had almoſt reconciled me to the ſlavery I had been ſo angry with. Thought I to myſelf, luxury is generally complained of, and temperance and hardineſs recommended to the farmer; but is it poſſible to preſerve them from effeminacy and luxury, if you once open the door of riches to them? On the other hand, the maſter is obliged to furniſh his ſlave with neceſſaries if he does not chooſe to ruin himſelf; and though the latter has no property, he is ſure of never being expoſed to beg his bread. No fire, no weather, no war can put him in a different ſituation at the end of the year from what he was when he began it. In this manner I was going on; but the thoughts that their hardineſs and frugality is no conſequence of their own good will, and that they are no more in their maſter's eſtimation than the cattle which plough the fields, broke off at once the contract I was making with ſlavery.—In the mean time my fellow-traveller accompanied my reflections with dancing and ſinging, and in the intervals talked to his two fine horſes, whoſe wonderfully ſleek ſkins were a ſtrong contraſt to his own miſerable clothing. He ſeemed to have a great love for the horſes, ſtroked and patted them; and yet they were not his, but belonged to a prelate whoſe ſlave he was. For my part, brother, I have no good idea of a prelate who covers his horſes backs with fine trappings, and ſuffers his ſlaves to go naked. But is a man to expect *conſiſtency* in a *prelate?*—My good young peaſant gave me a proof of ſtrength which aſtoniſhed me. Not far from the village where I intended to paſs the night, his ſpirited horſes attempted to run away, but the waggon fell into a ditch, loſt a wheel, and the horſes were forced to ſtand ſtill. The young man lightened the hinder axle-tree, where the wheel had failed, and thought the horſes would do the reſt, but the ditch was too deep; I would have aſſiſted him, but he proteſted highly againſt it, and ſetting himſelf with all his force to the waggon, in a moment it was right again, without the horſes having done any thing.—He refuſed the ſmall preſent I would have made him, and as we went along, laughed at me whenever I talked of his miſerable circumſtances, and ſeemed to think it ſtrange I ſhould imagine that he wanted any thing: poſſibly his maſter makes up to him in good eating and drinking, what he ſuffers him to want in clothes.

I ſaw every where amongſt the peaſants excellent horſes. The Emperor and all the German nobility have furniſhed their ſtuds with Moldavian, Tartarian, and Tranſylvanian ſtone horſes, which have much improved the breed. For a guilder any man may get his mare covered in the Imperial or noble ſtuds.

Bohemia furniſhes a great part of the horſes for the dragoons, and the race becomes every day better and more numerous.

LETTER XL.

Prague.

THIS is a very large town, it is above three miles long, and above two broad, but the population by no means anſwers to the ſize of the place. In ſeveral parts you ſeem as if you were in a village. Near the bridge, which ſtands at the upper part of the

city, the number of people is very great, but the further you go on from hence the more deſolate you find every place. The number of inhabitants is about ſeventy thouſand, and there is about five thouſand houſes.—The bridge over the Moldau is ſeven hundred feet long; it is built of large free-ſtone, and ornamented on both ſides with ſtone ſtatues as large as life, but not more than three of theſe are worth ſeeing. There are very few good buildings in this place, and almoſt every thing looks very dirty. The royal caſtle is a very large irregular building, but it is built on a hill which commands a very fine proſpect over the whole city and country round. Not far from hence ſtands the archbiſhop's houſe, (a pretty modern building,) and the old cathedral, in which there are ſome pieces of architecture which deſerve to be ſeen; they are the work of a celebrated German or Bohemian artiſt, whoſe name I have forgotten.

Though the city is in general ill built, the ſituation of it is extremely fine. There is a better proſpect from the bridge than I have ſeen in larger cities. The maſs of houſes riſe like an amphitheatre to a conſiderable height. To the right the hill riſes above them as far as the Imperial palace, majeſtically ſituated on the top. To the left it is covered as far as the middle with beautiful gardens and pleaſure houſes, which have a fine effect, and form a moſt extenſive and moſt magnificent amphitheatre.

From theſe gardens you command a very fine proſpect over the oppoſite part of the city. In the midſt of the broad, but dry Moldau, there are two ſmall iſlands, called Great and Little Venice, in which the inhabitants make parties of pleaſure.

The people of this place enjoy ſenſual pleaſures more than thoſe of Vienna, becauſe they know better how to connect mental enjoyments with them. The ſociety I have lived in here, has proved ſo good as to detain me a full fortnight longer than I intended. Free-maſonry flouriſhes extremely here, and ſome perſons, amongſt whom Count R—— is one, doat on it to enthuſiaſm. The free-maſons in general do ſo much good, particularly by their eſtabliſhments for education, that it is impoſſible the Emperor ſhould be diſpleaſed with them. It is time to have done with illiberal prejudices againſt an inſtitution which has done no harm to mankind, and has done it a great deal of good.

The Bohemians, who addict themſelves to the purſuit of the arts and ſciences, generally ſpeaking, are very ſucceſsful in them. They do not want genius, and have uncommon induſtry. Their fondneſs for muſic is aſtoniſhing. I have heard ſeveral orcheſtras here which equalled thoſe of Paris in brilliancy of execution, and ſurpaſſed them in accuracy and exactneſs of harmony. Bohemian players on the horn and harp are to be met with throughout all Germany. As they always bring home great ſums of money, you ſeldom ſee a muſician of this kind who has not travelled. This paſſion for muſic is generally attributed to the number of monaſteries and cathedrals; but the cathedrals of Auſtria and Bavaria, which are no leſs numerous, have no ſuch effect upon the public taſte of thoſe countries. I ſhould therefore ſuppoſe, that the true reaſon is to be ſought for in the cuſtoms and natural genius of the people. Moſt of the ſtudents of the place are muſicians, and begin very early in life to give ſerenades and concerts in the ſquares and public places of the city.

The numerous garriſon which is conſtantly kept here, contributes not a little to the livelineſs of this place; there are about nine thouſand men conſtantly quartered here. The ſix regiments of grenadiers are the fineſt body of infantry I have ever ſeen. The officers are excellent companions, and quite free from thoſe prejudices from which other bodies of men are not yet totally exempt.

The Jews make a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of this place; there are at leaſt nine or ten thouſand of them; they have artiſts and mechanics of their own religion, who live in the part of the town appropriated to them, which is called the Jews city.

It is pleaſant enough to walk through this part of the town, and ſee their taylors and ſhoemakers at work in the middle of the ſtreet. Their workmen are diſtinguiſhed from the Chriſtian ones by their clowniſhneſs and dirt. I am aſtoniſhed as often as I think, how little of what was peculiar to themſelves in their cuſtoms, theſe people have loſt by their mixture with other nations: wherever I have ſeen them, excepting only in Holland, they are infinitely behind the Chriſtians in every elegant refinement of life; and that they are otherwiſe in Holland, may be owing to moſt of thoſe who are ſettled there having come chiefly from Portugal, where the perſecutions they are expoſed to compel them to aſſimilate as much to Chriſtians as poſſible. At Prague they are diſtinguiſhed from the Chriſtians by a yellow handkerchief, which they are obliged to wear round their arms. Their induſtry is wonderful; in almoſt every inn there is a Jew, who does the buſineſs of a houſe ſervant; he fills my ſnuff-box, garters my ſtockings, does all the little matters I have occaſion for; bruſhes my ſhoes, duſts my clothes, and is in every reſpect a *valet de place*, excepting that he will take no money. He looks upon himſelf as extremely well paid for his trouble, by the gift of ſome old clothes, which he diſpoſes of again. Theſe fellows ſerve many ſtrangers on the ſame terms, and content themſelves with what they can make by trucking and bartering among their own people, without aſking any thing farther. If you give them ſomething to drink beſides they are very thankful, but I have never ſeen them troubleſome with their demands.

What political inconſiſtency!—The government of this place allows the Jews, the profeſſed enemies of Chriſtianity, freedom of thought, and liberty to ſerve God in their own way, and refuſes it to the Proteſtants, who think as we do in all the fundamental points of religion; whilſt a hoſtile, deceitful, treacherous people, are maintained in the full poſſeſſion of their rights and privileges; contracts have been repeatedly (I do not ſpeak only of what happened in former times, but under the laſt government) violated with the Huſſites. It is a remarkable phœnomenon, dear brother, in the hiſtory of the human underſtanding, that while philoſophers all contend, that the more alike men are, the more they love each other, in religion it ſhould be quite different. Here the more likeneſs the more hatred. A member of one of the great houſes of this place, would ten times rather treat with a Jew than with a Lutheran, though the Lutheran's religion and his own are ſo nearly alike. In Holland the reformed are much more favourable to the Catholics than to the Lutherans, and the States General had much rather allow the former freedom of religion than the latter. The Anabaptiſts and Calviniſts hate each other much more than either of them do the Catholics, and ſo, in ſhort, you will find it univerſally, the nearer the religious ſects approach, the more they hate one another.

This city has neither an extenſive commerce nor any manufactory of conſequence. There has long been a project of rendering the Moldau navigable, but hitherto this court has not been diſpoſed to be at any expence for the public, and the thing cannot be done without a great expence. With us it would have been done long ago, as you know we have improvements, in compariſon of which, this is only child's play. Were it once done, Prague would certainly gain a good deal by it; but ſtill a great deal more would be required, before commerce could flouriſh here; there are, indeed, many impediments to get over; amongſt the principal one may be reckoned the pride of the nobility, who with the greateſt part of the national means in their hands are aſhamed of trade;—the bad education of the children, which, within theſe ten or fifteen years, has been entirely monkiſh, and by that means fitted them more for ſtrenuous idleneſs than induſtry;—the intolerance of the regency. Such obſtacles as theſe all Joſeph's efforts will

will hardly be ſufficient entirely to remove. There is a foundation of Engliſh, or rather, for ſo they are called, of Iriſh nuns here. Throughout all Germany you meet with Engliſh, Scotch, and German nuns. It is generally imagined, that moſt of theſe ſeminaries have been founded ſince the reformation took place in England. But this is a miſtake, and moſt of them have probably ſubſiſted ever ſince the time of Charlemagne, when Britain abounded in monks, and furniſhed Germany with them. An Engliſh and Scotch nunnery ſounds as well in Germany as an Engliſh and Scotch freemaſon's lodge.

This place abounds, like Vienna, in literati, who are content to ornament their rooms with the buſts, medals, prints, and profiles of learned men, but neither think nor write themſelves; and only have their titles from their belonging to no other aſſociation of men whatever: for it is here as at Vienna, whoever has neither military nor civil employment, nor is profeſſor, nor prieſt, nor merchant, nor handycraftſman, nor manufacturer, nor ſervant, nor day-labourer, nor (what in the catalogue paſſes for a man) executioner, is a man of letters, whether he ſtudies or not. In the general acceptation, a man of letters is only a *negative* quality. I am indeed acquainted with a few *poſitive* literati here, but their number, in compariſon of the *negatives* is very inconſiderable. The women of this place are handſome, and you may make love with more eaſe than at Vienna.

By way of poſtſcript to this letter, which muſt ſtill wait ten days before it is finiſhed, I will give you a ſhort account of an expedition we took: We went poſt as far as *Koniginograſs*; there we took horſe, and made a ſix days tour round by *Jaromers*, *Neuſtadt*, *Nachod*, *Braunau*, &c. to the boders of Sileſia, with the double purpoſe of ſeeing the encampments and fields of battle of the war that took place two years ago, and of viſiting ſome rich abbots houſes, in which my companions had friends. We had an officer with us who commanded in both expeditions, and ſucceeded very well. The marches and encampments did not intereſt me much, becauſe little was done in the war; but I was extremely pleaſed with our excurſions into the cloyſters.

My principal object was to ſee the manners and way of life of Bohemian eccleſiaſtics upon the ſpot, and I was richly rewarded. They are the moſt determined epicureans, particularly the regular bodies of them, which I have yet met with any where. They want nothing in the convents, for the accompliſhment of all earthly gratifications, but a cloyſter of nuns, made up of the maidens who do buſineſs at Prague by night; *ſub Jove pluvis, in triviis et quadriviis.* Whatever bad effect it might have in ſome reſpect, the farmers and manufacturers who live in the neighbourhood of the cloyſters, and conſider their wives as their property, would undoubtedly be pleaſed with the arrangement. As things now are, the monks and half monks, to whom the villages round belong, appear like ſo many hunters of women; nor do I believe them very different from thoſe old lords of manors, who uſed to claim the firſt night's poſſeſſion of every woman married to one of their vaſſals; it is at leaſt certain, that in every village we went through, we found one or two them, who took no pains to conceal their belonging to the fraternity of jolly boys; to know them thoroughly one ought to be acquainted with their ſuperiors, who would, no doubt, furniſh good anecdotes for the ſcandalous chronicle:—in ſome convents we met with ſinging women.

The lives of the regular bodies, and even of the Benedictines, whoſe abbot, or prelates has not yet given up the pleaſures of the world, is a perpetual carouſal, which is only interrupted by country walks, and certain ſtated belchings in church. They look upon chaunting the ſervice as a kind of expectoration good for the lungs. One of them, for whom I expreſſed ſome concern, on ſeeing him eat immenſe quantities of eggs, butter, &c.

on

on a faſting day, ſaid in a jeſting way, "pſhaw, pſhaw, it will all come up again at afternoon ſervice."

My companions being deſirous to ſhew me a very wonderful natural curioſity, we took our way by *Trautenau* for this purpoſe. About three miles from this city the fineſt proſpect offered itſelf to our eyes that can be conceived.

Near a village, whoſe name I have forgotten, we beheld on a ſudden a great number of high towers, ſeveral of which in many places were in regular rows, but moſt of them lay diſperſed in an extraordinary manner. We walked near a mile as if in a kind of labyrinth, encompaſſed with theſe towers on each ſide, and there was no end of my aſtoniſhment. Moſt of theſe are from ſixty to ſeventy feet high, and ſome from one hundred to one hundred and fifty. When you view them obliquely their ſummits form a kind of waving line, like the back of a hill, which riſes and ſinks again. They are all formed of a hard quarry ſtone, and would give Mr. Buffon much food for thought. Nature has for the moſt part ſhaped them into more or leſs regular ſquares; they are commonly taken for the ſkeletons of a hill, through which the water has made its way. This opinion ſeems to merit attention; but if it be a true one, and other hills have alſo their ſkeletons, it will ſhake hard upon Buffon's ſyſtem; for he probably conſiders the maſſes, of which theſe towers conſiſt, as large maſſes of ſtone body, chalk and earth, which are jumbled together and have different degrees of hardneſs.

From hence we took our way back to Freiheit, and began to aſcend the *Reiſengeberge;* this hill, though very famous in Bohemia, is really no more than a mole hill, in compariſon of the Savoyard and Swiſs Alps, or even of the Tyrol, Saltzburg, and Stirian hills. We paſſed over the famous *Snowhead*, which is the higheſt part of theſe mountains. Some perſons ſay, that it is twenty thouſand feet high; but I think I may venture to aſſert, that it is not above eight thouſand, for Mount St. Gothard in Switzerland, is by no means one of the higheſt of the Alps, and its elevation above the Mediterranean is not above thirteen thouſand feet, and yet there is eternal ice and ſnow on its ſummit; whereas here we ſaw no veſtige of ice or ſnow, though the ſummer is not yet much advanced. We were not above three hours in getting to the top on foot. The proſpect of the great mountains at our feet, and into Bohemia and Sileſia, was ſtriking and magnificent. On the top of the hill there is a plain with a chapel on it, which is viſited by pious people once a year.

The perſons who live at any diſtance from theſe hills, look upon it as a kind of wonder when any perſon goes to the top of them, and yet I aſcended ſeveral in other parts of Germany, whoſe diſtance from the bottom is much greater, and whoſe elevation above the Mediterranean is as great again.

Though I was diſappointed in my expectations of a great mountain, by finding only a hill of a moderate ſize, I was extremely pleaſed with my journey upon the whole. We ſaw the moſt romantic landſcapes it is poſſible to imagine, particularly ſeveral vallies below the *Schmeekapp*, which were wonderfully pictureſque. Moſt of the hills are covered with wood, and now and then a ragged peak ſtarts up above them. The well watered plains are extremely well cultivated; and, upon the whole, the inhabitants ſeem to be in better circumſtances than thoſe of the level plains of Bohemia.

LETTER XLI.

DEAR BROTHER, *Dreſden.*

I HAVE at once got into an entirely new world. As ſoon as you have paſſed the confines of Bohemia, which are diſtingniſhed by a painted brick poſt ten feet high, with the

the arms of the country on it; you meet with an entirely different agriculture, a different people, and a different language. I now, for the first time, heard the common people speak intelligible German, for throughout Bavaria, Suabia, and Austria, they speak a jargon, which a man, who has learned the language of a language-master, has the utmost difficulty to understand. I am now, for the first time, really in Germany; only a very small part of the country I have hitherto travelled through, to wit, the small strip of land which is betwixt the Danube and the Rhine in Suabia, made part of that old Germany, the inhabitants of which were so formidable to the Romans; the remainder is all conquered country, which at that time was called Vindelicia, Rhaetia, and Pannonia. In the times of Pepin and Charlemagne the limits of Germany were confined even on this side; for as the Sclavonians had before driven the Burgundians, Suabians, and other German nations over the Elbe, these now possessed themselves of their habitations, and drove the inhabitants of Germany, who lived in the districts of Mentz and Rheims, into Gaul. The nations were like a row of balls, the most eastern of which was struck and drove the others forward in succession. In modern times, that is, ever since Luther, Saxony has been looked on as one of the first provinces of Germany, in every sense of the word. In regard to literature particularly, the Saxons were to the rest of the Germans, what the Florentines were some centuries ago to the other people of ———. But I am going too fast, you shall know all this in due time; I must first tell you how I got here, and what was the face of the country through which I came.

The part of Bohemia, through which our way from Prague hither lay, seems infinitely richer and more beautiful than that betwixt Prague and Austria. The agriculture, like the country itself, is more varied, the people live closer together and seem to be happier. Hills, woods, plains, and vales, form an agreeable contrast with each other, and the vine, which is not to be seen elsewhere on this side Prague, here covers the sides of the hills.

We saw the well wooded peak of the *Ertzgiberge*, the highest summit of which parts Saxony and Bohemia. These hills are but of a very moderate height, and if they make a respectable appearance here, it is only because, from hence to the mouth of the Elbe and the eastern sea, there is no other remarkable hill to be seen. The people who come up here from the low lands, and for the first time of their lives see a hill which deserves the name, make a great shout, and think that they have seen the pedestal of heaven; just so in Bohemia, the *Riesengeberge* is indebted for its reputation to the small notion which those who have brought it into repute have of hills; and thus it may formerly have been with Atlas, Olympus, Othos, Parnassus, and the other hills so noted in history.

Moore, who travelled this road before me, asserts that there is a great difference in point of natural fertility, betwixt the borders of Saxony and the borders of Bohemia, to the advantage of the former; I have found the direct contrary. It is certain, that the soil of Bohemia is by nature much richer than any part of Saxony, which it supplies with great part of its provisions. The circle of Leutmeritzer in particular, through which the common road passes, is uncommonly productive, nor is there any part of Saxony that can bear a comparison with it; but then, on the other hand, the improved state of agriculture is visible, as soon as you set your feet on Saxon ground. One need only look round to be convinced that the constitution of Saxony is infinitely more favourable to industry and agriculture than that of Bohemia. The Saxon farmer shews more understanding and reflection in the management of his land than the Bohemian one does, and every thing about him attests that he is no slave.

Dresden

Dreſden has a proud appearance, and offers on all ſides a magnificent object; it is beyond all compariſon the fineſt city which I have yet ſeen in Germany. The houſes are built in a much better taſte than thoſe of Vienna, and the eye is quite dazzled with the long and magnificent appearance of the bridge over the Elbe. This river, which at ſome diſtance from the city is confined within very narrow bounds, widens by degrees as you approach, and is here a powerful ſtream, which beſpeaks all the magnificence of the town and ſtate. The hills oppoſite to the *Lawſniſs* have a moſt magnificent appearance and the mountains on both ſides the river, partly naked and partly planted with vineyards, form an uncommonly beautiful perſpective.

The manners and way of living of theſe people is as oppoſite to what I have hitherto ſeen in Germany, as the beauty of theſe ſtreets, and the taſte diſplayed in the buildings, is different from Suabia, Bavaria, Auſtria, and Bohemia. Finer ſhapes, more animated countenances, eaſier and leſs conſtrained motions, general courteſy, univerſal cleanlineſs, are the features which immediately offer themſelves to obſervation, and muſt ſtrike every one who comes into this country by the ſame route which I purſued.

It was in an unfortunate moment that the fortifications about this town were firſt built, but it is more unfortunate ſtill, that inſtead of pulling them entirely down, thoſe who are concerned are at this inſtant employed in repairing them. Commanded as this city is, from every ſide, and with no reaſonable expectations, in its preſent ſituation, of ever being able to preſerve a neutrality on the breaking out of any war betwixt the King of Pruſſia and the Auſtrians, it is more than any other in danger of being plundered and laid waſte. Indeed one would have imagined that the devaſtations of the years 1758 and 1760, were ſtill freſh enough in every man's memory to have been a warning to the regency.

The town does not ſeem to be peopled in proportion to the quantity of ground it ſtands on. The number of inhabitants is generally eſtimated at fifty thouſand, which many think too high. The fact is, that it has loſt a third of its inhabitants ſince the breaking out of the laſt Sileſian war, and the death of King Auguſtus.

The ſtrangers who knew this city before this æra, cannot ſay enough of the difference there now is, a difference not ſo much ariſing from the misfortunes of war, as from the œconomy of the court, which has followed cloſe on the diſſipation of other times. In the late Elector's time, this court was perhaps the moſt brilliant in Europe. The court band of muſic, the opera, and the dancers alone, were ſuppoſed to coſt the Elector annually 300,000 Saxon guilders, or upwards of 780,000 French livres. His table, his ſtables, and his hunters, were all in the ſame ſtyle of expence. Strangers uſed to flow hither from all countries, to be partakers in this magnificence, and Dreſden was the rendezvous of the north for taſte and refined living. The numerous followers of the court, and the great number of ſtrangers, occaſioned a very extenſive circulation of money, and made all the arts alive. In the midſt of this profuſion debts were contracted, but they gave the Elector little concern, as is evident from the following anecdote. One night at the opera, having a fire-work, which was part of the decoration of a temple, and uſed to coſt ſeveral hundred thalers, he called for his chamberlain, and deſired to know the reaſon of the omiſſion; the chamberlain told him, that the heathen gods and goddeſſes muſt for this night be contented with a fire of twenty or thirty guilders, as there was no money left in the treaſury to pay for any thing more ſplendid. The Elector was compelled to acquieſce for the moment, as it was too late for him to do otherwiſe, but he gave ſtrict orders, that in the next repreſentation, and in every ſucceeding one, the whole ſum of thalers ſhould be burnt out. A court which is mounted on this *ton* is ſeldom poſſeſſed of a firm and ſound government.

The miniſters were dazzled, like the Elector, with outſide ſhew and ſplendour; they wanted to give themſelves airs of conſequence, and embarked in enterprizes to which the impoveriſhed ſtate of the country was not equal; the reſult was, that they got into a confuſion which prevented them from knowing either their own ſtrength, or that of the other powers they had to contend with. Univerſal diſſipation produced falſehood, treachery, and every other vice; the moſt important poſts were ſold or given to flattery and intrigue; one was made a privy-counſellor, becauſe he danced well, and another a general, becauſe he could blow the flute. I need not add, that women are ultimately the grand movers of the politics of ſuch a court.

It is generally agreed on, that the Elector himſelf loved ſhew, and expence more than he did women; but the ſcandalous chronicle of his court goes beyond all that has ever been heard of the kind, and his love of ſhew encouraged, at leaſt, if it did not produce, the diſſoluteneſs of his ſubjects. Amidſt the intoxication of proſperity, the miniſter adopted a plan of operations it was impoſſible he ſhould ſee the end of, and which left him at the diſcretion of the more powerful monarch, with whom he entered into a league againſt a dangerous neighbour. This was probably one of the moſt impolitic treaties which hiſtory has to recount. The Saxons entered into an alliance with Ruſſia, which was ſo formidable to Poland; they attached themſelves to Auſtria, which without them was ſtronger than the King of Pruſſia; and they endeavoured to weaken the power of this laſt named monarch, who was able to maintain the balance of power in Germany. In all theſe three things they broke through the firſt maxim of a nation, which is in the midſt of others, never to take the part of the ſtrongeſt, but always that of the weakeſt. A miniſter whoſe preparatives were ſo weak, could not be expected to do much when he came to action. The King of Pruſſia fell upon the country as Charles XII. had fallen upon Poland, under Auguſtus the Second. The army, which was ſeventeen thouſand men ſtrong, and which was expected to do ſuch mighty things, ſurrendered without ſtriking a ſtroke, and no wonder, for ſome of the colonels were eunuchs.

This total rout by degrees waked the genius of Saxony from his ſlumbers; all the gentry of the country, excepting only the creatures of the miniſter, were in a flame; and now there was a chorus of creditors and complainants of all orders, who made a horrid diſſonance with the Bacchanalian revels of former days.

All the world gave the country over for loſt, nor could it have been ſaved but for the free courſe given to the extraordinary ſpirit of frugality and induſtry, which marks the people; and for a miniſter, who was as active and patriotic as the other had been diſſolute and cowardly. In one of my future letters I will give you an exact account of the preſent ſtate of the country.

One of the wonders which makes the moſt noiſe here, is the celebrated *green vault*, or private treaſury in the electoral palace. You would naturally imagine they would be ſhy of ſhewing it to ſtrangers, till what was carried to Holland and ſold there during the laſt Sileſian war was replaced; no ſuch thing, they made no difficulties whatever, but the man who ſhewed it me, and two Ruſſian noblemen in my company, aſſured me, that things were exactly in *ſtatu quo*. The collection, after all, is ſtill admirable; I am however of opinion, that the treaſures of Vienna and Munich are but little inferior; and I am much deceived, if thoſe of ſome cathedrals I have ſeen are not fully equal. The picture gallery, the collection of antiques, the prints, and the collection of natural hiſtory, are much greater objects of curioſity, in my eyes, than the *green vault*. The picture gallery is the moſt remarkable in Europe; beſides the pictures in water-colours, it contains twelve hundred pieces of the beſt maſters. Amongſt them is the famous

birth of Chriſt, commonly called *The Nativity*, by Corregio, which paſſes for the beſt work of that maſter; it coſt above half a million of livres. Some perſons, however, prefer *The St. George*, likewiſe by Corregio; this ought properly to be called *The Virgin*, for ſhe is the principal figure in the piece, and the St. George, with other ſaints, is ſtanding about her. The gallery contains ſeveral pieces by Carrachi, amongſt which is his beſt work; it is a St. Roch giving alms; this picture is known in Italy by the name of *Opera dell' Elemoſina*.

LETTER XLII.

Dreſden.

THE longer I ſtay here, my deareſt brother, the more I think myſelf at home; the manners, way of living, amuſements, converſation, and in ſhort, all that belongs to the inhabitants of this place, make me think myſelf at Paris. I only wiſh that our ladies, both married and unmarried, were as freſh and as handſome as the ladies of this place are. I recollect that an Auſtrian lady made the following anſwer to a gentleman who was extolling the Saxon women in her company. "Give us only," ſaid ſhe, "as handſome and ſtrong-built men, as the Saxons are, and we will take care of the reſt."

Eating and drinking do not go forwards here quite ſo briſkly as in the ſouthern parts of Germany; in this reſpect, indeed, the difference betwixt the Saxons and Germans I have hitherto lived with is total. The broth here is ſo thin, the cookery ſometimes ſo cold, and always ſo ſlender, that I do not believe an inhabitant of Vienna could make ſhift to live a month with a family in the middling ranks of life here. Indeed I have had occaſion to obſerve, even in the very beſt houſes, an attention to the cellar and kitchen, which in Auſtria and Bavaria would paſs for poverty.

This rigid œconomy extends to every article of houſekeeping. The only appearance of expence is in the article of dreſs; this, indeed, is carried farther here than it is in the ſouth of Germany. Every perſon in the middling rank of life, I might add in the lower ones too, men as well as women, dreſs according to the faſhion; whereas at Vienna, Munich, and other places I have viſited, there is a kind of national dreſs, which perſons even of a better kind conform to.

I lodge at a watchmaker's, whoſe two daughters have their regular *toilettes*, and have their hair dreſſed every day; on the other hand, they content themſelves with a ſlice of bread and butter, or bread and cheeſe for ſupper, which I often partake of with them. There are hardly three noblemen's houſes here which have ſtables with twenty horſes in them; and porters, *valets de chambre*, &c. which make ſo great an object at Vienna, are very ſcarce. It is true, they call a footman here *valet de chembre*, as they do at Paris, but the wages of a Vienna *valet de chambre* are twice as high as thoſe of a Dreſden one, though living at Vienna is as cheap again. Here the women are not aſhamed to go into their kitchens, tell out their candles and bits of candles, and calculate how long they will burn. In a word, excepting only the article of dreſs, every thing is in a ſtyle of the ſtricteſt œconomy.

There are very few rich people here; hardly any of the nobility have more than 30,000 florins a year, and moſt of the beſt houſes have only from 15 to 20,000. As to the common people, they are always crying out on the want of money, the dearneſs of proviſions, and the little that is to be got here by induſtry; and, if they compare things as they are now, with what they were under the late Elector, they have certainly ſome reaſon for their complaints, but I know no city in Germany, where there is ſuch a general appearance of eaſe and plenty as there is here; extreme poverty is as rare as

overgrown fortunes. The money in circulation is for the moſt part thrown into motion by the induſtry of the people, a thing which, more than any thing elſe, diſtinguiſhes this place from Vienna and Munich, which ſubſiſt only by the expences of the court, and the vices of the nobility.

This ſingle town contains more manufacturers and uſeful artiſts than all Bavaria. They make a large quantity of ſerges, woollen, and ſilk cloths, &c. with which they carry on a great trade all through Germany. As the money is got by ſuch hard labour it is not matter of wonder that they ſhould be ſparing of it.

The circumſtances which the country was in during the reign of the late Elector, are by no means the moſt favourable to political proſperity. They remind one of a body which takes too much food and too little exerciſe, for the fluids to be equally diſtributed through the ſeveral canals. Some of the inhabitants of the place with whom I have talked on the ſubject, have been forced to allow, that even during the time in which the court was in its greateſt ſplendour, there was much more poverty amongſt the lower claſſes than there is at preſent. The prodigality of the higher orders had tainted their inferiors, and the eaſe with which it was to be got leſſened the value of money in the eyes of the poſſeſſors. The greateſt part of it went to foreigners, without firſt circulating, as it ſhould have done, amongſt the natives. Flatterers, pimps, whores, projectors, dancers, ſingers, and the like, divided the booty of the court amongſt them, and carried the greateſt part of it out of the country; only thoſe who were near the court partook in any conſiderable degree of the ſpoils; the remainder was loſt in ſo many narrow channels, that the greateſt part of the people never got a ſhare of it. Indeed Munich is a viſible inſtance in our own day how little even the moſt unlimited paſſion of a court for pleaſure and expence can contribute to the well-being and true happineſs of the inhabitants of a great city. I am ready, however, to allow that there is leſs mirth here than there was formerly; at leaſt it is certain that the natural good humour and jovialty, which nature has given to theſe people, is often clouded over with a certain melancholy; this may be occaſioned, as at Paris, by the recollection of their great debts, but I rather think it is owing to their uncommon and extraordinary œconomy, and the reſtraint this throws on the freedom of their minds. It is, however, certainly in conſequence of this provident caſt, that there is more true pleaſure to be met with here than in any town of Germany I have hitherto viſited. The people of Vienna and Munich know no other delight than to fill their paunches, divert themſelves with the nonſenſe of a harlequin, and play at nine pins. All the gardens of the inns of Vienna are laid out in bowling-greens; I reckoned twenty of them in one garden. Here they know how to mix intellectual pleaſures with ſenſual ones. They, like us, are in the habit of making ſmall country parties, and have a taſte for the various beauties of nature; even amongſt the middling ranks there is a taſte for the fine arts, and reading is almoſt univerſal; nor is the latter, as in the ſouthern parts of Germany, confined within the narrow bounds of plays and romances, but it extends to good books of hiſtory, morality, and other important ſubjects. The ſociety of nobles have a reader with a title and appointments. I think Mr. Pilati's obſervation of the difference there is betwixt the Proteſtant and Catholic parts of Germany in this reſpect a very juſt one: he ſays, that the young men of twenty in the former know more than many old literati by profeſſion do in the latter. The difference ſtruck me ſo much that I felt as if I had juſt come out of Spain into France. All that they are endeavouring with ſo much clatter to introduce into the ſchools of Vienna, ſeems to have been done here ſome generations ago. A few days ſince, I viſited a ſchool in a village at a little diſtance from the town, and found more order and real inſtruction in it than in the beſt ſchools at Vienna. The moſt ordinary

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people here diſplay in every thing a nice acquaintance with whatever regards good manners, and the conduct of ſocial life. In the ſouthern parts of the country, excepting only a ſmall ſtrip of Suabia, a common citizen is a ſtranger in his own circle, and thinks of nothing in the courſe of the week but how to guttle on the Sunday.

The contraſt betwixt the women of the two countries is equally ſtriking. Thoſe of the ſouthern parts of Germany have nothing but their beauty, but theſe have beauty and animation too. They appear, however, ſoon to fade, and I ſaw few women paſt thirty, in whom the marks of old age were not apparent. Poſſibly this may be owing in ſome degree to their extreme vivacity; but I ſhould rather think it owing to the ſlender nouriſhment, joined to their great labour and the weight of their domeſtic cares. The Bavarian women perhaps excel thoſe of Dreſden in complexion, but the latter are much better made, and their countenances are much more intereſting.

The theatres here are in the ſame ſtate as all other public amuſements which require expence. The inhabitants are too œconomical to pay for an entertainment, which the court formerly gave them for nothing, and the loſs of which is eaſily made up for by the charms of their private ſocieties. A few years ago, there was one of the beſt company of comedians in all Germany here; the manager, Mr. Seiler, had no ſettled abode, but uſed to viſit the fair of Leipſick, and the other neighbouring cities, where he got together all the actors he could pick up from different parts of the world, ſo that his company was at one time ſeventy-ſeven perſons ſtrong. He gave uncommon ſalaries for the maſter of a ſtrolling company to give. Madam Helmett, one of the beſt ſingers in Germany, and now firſt ſinger to the court of Mentz, had 2000 thalers, near 200l. a year from him; at that time, however, he could eaſily afford to do theſe things, as no people in Germany were more attached to theatrical amuſements than the people of Leipſick and thoſe of Dreſden. But theſe times are gone by, and their being ſo convinces me that the people of this place have ſounder heads than thoſe of Vienna, Munich, and other places. Mr. Seiler has latterly met with ſo little encouragement here, that after having contracted debt upon debt, and tried his fortune on the Rhine, in the end he is become a bankrupt. At preſent the court has a national theatre on the ſame plan with that of Vienna; that is, it pays the expences and takes the receipts; theſe laſt, however, are not very conſiderable, owing to the frugality of the people, ſo that it is probable this theatre will ceaſe as the court theatre did at the beginning of the Bavarian war. Private theatres, eſpecially thoſe where children are the actors, flouriſh much more here than the national one does.

One of the moſt honourable and beautiful characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhes the Saxons from the inhabitants of the ſouth of Germany, is their warm attachment for their native country, and the intereſt they take in every thing that relates to it; even far down in the middling ranks, every body here ſeems acquainted with the circumſtances of both court and country: it was here that I heard, for the firſt time, the words *my country* pronounced with energy, and a kind of intelligent and honourable pride. The ladies of the place uſe their gallantry as ours do, as a ſpur to make the men do their duty; they bear a ſhare in converſation on war, treaties, and every buſineſs of ſtate; they love their officers and ſoldiers, and ſpeak with pleaſure of the actions in which they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves. The younger officers recommend themſelves to them by aſſuming a military air, which in my opinion is unbecoming. Whenever they happen to mention the miniſters who betrayed their country, it is always with contempt and abhorrence.—Though the King of Pruſſia has not done much to gain their affections, they ſpeak with wonder of his great actions, and think with all mankind, that it would have been better for all parties if they had attached themſelves to him, inſtead of uniting with the Auſtrians,

ans, towards whom, the perſon of the Emperor alone excepted, every body ſhews great animoſity, notwithſtanding all that the country has ſuffered from the King of Pruſſia. In a word, brother, it is as if I was at home, where a participation in the common intereſts of the country animates every ſociety, and is the life and ſoul of all company.

The Saxon troops have a very martial appearance; they are not, however, ſo well diſciplined as the Auſtrian or Pruſſian ones, nor yet ſo ſtiff; they are like the Engliſh, who are only ſoldiers when they are in action, and do not trouble themſelves much about the buſineſs at other times. They are as brave as any thing you can call brave, but at this time of day bravery alone is not ſufficient. They tell you a ſtory of them which would appear ridiculous, perhaps, in the eyes of a Pruſſian or Auſtrian commander, but which muſt recommend them to a friend of human nature, and a citizen of the world. The officers of a Saxon regiment of dragoons, which made part of the army that fought againſt Prince Henry of Pruſſia in Bohemia, took an oath, *ſub dio*, that they would put to death any of their number who ſhould run away in action.

Of late there is a project ſet on foot to put the army, which conſiſts of twenty-five thouſand men, upon the ſame footing as the Pruſſian one, but hitherto the reform has not gone very deep; and, for my own part I believe it to be as mad a ſcheme as it would be to attempt making an Engliſh army adopt Pruſſian tactics.

LETTER XLIII.

Dreſden.

IT is owing to the conſtitution of the country, that the Saxons are poſſeſſed of a quite different ſpirit from that of the Bavarians or Auſtrians. The power of the Elector is more limited than that of any other ſovereign in Germany. The Saxon ſtates have had ſpirit enough to maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their rights, which moſt of the ſtates belonging to the other countries have loſt more through their own negligence and cowardice than by the deſpotiſm of the princes.

The court cannot make the ſmalleſt law without the conſent of the ſtates; theſe are made up of three orders, the abbots of *Merſeburg*, *Meiſen*, and *Naunburg*, as repreſentatives of the clergy; the count *Schwartzburg*, *Solms*, *Stollburg*, and *Schomburg*, as the repreſentatives of the higher nobility, and the univerſities of Leipſick, and Wirtemberg, compoſe the firſt; the ſecond conſiſts of the gentry belonging to the ſeven circles of the empire; the number of theſe is uncertain. A member of this body, beſides eight quarters of nobility on the ſide of both father and mother, muſt poſſeſs a freehold eſtate; but if, which is often the caſe, he has even three or four of them, he has only a ſingle vote; ſo that the exerciſe of the office is more attached to the perſon than the property. The repreſentatives of the towns, in number one hundred and two, from the third order. The general aſſemblies meet only every ſix years, but there is a deputation, which commonly aſſembles every two years, to conſider of all the extraordinary caſes that come before it. Theſe ſtates do not only direct the levy of taxes, and attend to the payment of debts, but they watch over *fidei commiſſa*, the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed religion, the non-alienation of the electoral lands, and various other matters. The conſtitution of the *Lawſuits* is the ſame in every reſpect.

The payment of the debts is what gives them the moſt employment; the whole of theſe amount to 26,000,000 of thalers, of Saxon money, or ſomething more than 2,600,000 pounds. They pay every year about 1,200,000 guilders, or 154,100 pounds.

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If you add to this, three and a half per cent. of intereſt, it will be a long time before the debt is paid.

But notwithſtanding this, the ſtate treaſury is in very good credit, as it is ſecure from all *manœuvres* of the court, and diſtinguiſhed by the moſt exact rectitude: when the country was almoſt exhauſted by the diſtreſſes of the laſt war, and its credit much impaired, the bills fell conſiderably; this gave riſe to the ſpeculations of ſome foreign and domeſtic merchants, who bought up the bills at a low price. Three years, however, were not elapſed before it became viſible that the country had ſufficient reſources, and the paper roſe to its original value. Moſt of the ſpeculators gained from 50 to 60 per cent. The wonderful alteration ſtruck the merchants of Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, and Holland, and the ſtates proceeded to pay the remainder of the debts, which by this manœuvre have been already in a great degree diſcharged by their ſubjects.

The revenue of the country amounts to about 6,200,000 thalers, or about 620,000 pounds. The taxes are all appropriated by the ſtates to ſpecific purpoſes; nor can the Elector make any alteration in the deſtination of them without their conſent. He has his own privy purſe, to the ſupply of which particular revenues are alſo appropriated. The ſtates have agreed, that the army ſhall be increaſed in the ſame proportion as the debts leſſen. Each prince of the blood has a revenue of 50,000 thalers, or about 5000l. which, as the preſent family is exceeding numerous, is a conſiderable article. The Imperial court conſidered it as a great act of condeſcenſion, to ſuffer a Saxon prince of this court to marry the Archduchеſs Chriſtina; but the Saxons tell you, that, great as the honour was, it would have been ſtill greater if the magnificence of the Imperial court had enabled the Duke of Saxe Teſchen to do without this allowance.

There are few countries in Germany, which, in proportion to the ſize of it, produce as good a revenue as Saxony. It is true that the taxes are very high, but there are few other countries who have ſtrength enough to bear ſuch; and as the exchequer is in the hands of true patriots, and effectually ſecured againſt any attempts of the court, what is paid is ſure to be employed to the beſt advantage of the country.

There is nothing more ſtriking in the political world, than the difference betwixt Bavaria and Saxony. Both countries are of an equal ſize, and enjoy an equal number of natural advantages. Both have alſo a conſtitution, only the Bavarians have of late years ſold, and even paid away their privileges; both are parts of a circle, and yet the firſt contains eighteen large, and two hundred and ſix ſmall towns; whereas the latter has only forty in all, amongſt which there is not one, Munich only excepted, that is to be compared, I do not ſay in riches, but in population, with the ſmalleſt of the eighteen Saxon towns; and there are at leaſt fifty out of the two hundred and ſix ſmall Saxon towns, which are richer than the richeſt of the Bavarian ones. Saxony has one million nine hundred thouſand; Bavaria, one million one hundred and eighty thouſand inhabitants. The firſt raiſes above eleven million of guilders; the latter not more than ſix millions. Saxony has a much greater debt, but the debt is in the way to be paid, and the country was able to raiſe twenty thouſand men to join the Pruſſian army in reſcuing Bavaria from the Houſe of Auſtria; whilſt Bavaria could only raiſe ſix thouſand men, in order to have the appearance of entering a proteſtation againſt the Auſtrian pretenſions, and its debts remain unpaid.

It is not uncommon in Germany to aſcribe theſe political differences to the difference of religion; but why then does not the ſame religion produce the ſame effects in France, Tuſcany, Genoa, Venice, the Imperial Netherlands, and Auſtria, all which are flouriſhing countries, notwithſtanding that the inhabitants are not Proteſtants? Shall we ſay, that the catholiciſm of Bavaria is of a better kind for the purpoſes of theology, and of a worſe for thoſe of politics; or that the fault lies chiefly in the government, which has

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the ſame influence on religion as the air has on the barometer? Religious enthuſiaſm is not of itſelf hurtful to induſtry and ſocial virtues, as is evident by the example of the Engliſh independants and Quakers, who are active and alert enough, notwithſtanding their religious creed. No religion neceſſarily requires a corruption of manners, wantonneſs, or lazineſs. When, therefore, a religion proves hurtful to the ſtate, it ariſes from the mode of education, the manners, the government, and other local circumſtances. Under a weak adminiſtration religion breaks out into abuſe, from the intereſted views of its miniſters, and the folly and ſtupidity of the people; but every other human inſtitution does the ſame; ſo that I believe every religion, like every government, to be good, when it is well adminiſtered. A wiſe and efficient regency is omnipotent; and the example of Peter the Great has ſhewn clearly enough, that a wiſe man may make every religion contribute to render a ſtate flouriſhing. With reſpect to opinions, the religion of the multitude is nearly alike in all places. It almoſt univerſally conſiſts in a blind ſubmiſſion to the authority of the prieſt. I have ſeen enough to convince me of this, in ſome Proteſtant countries, which paſs for the moſt enlightened in religious matters. The great difference betwixt mankind, that by which ſome are made good and others bad citizens, depends upon the morals, which are a conſequence of the education, and with which religious *opinions* have little to do. I ſhall make you underſtand my ſentiments on this ſubject better in my next letter, in which I mean to ſay ſomething of the reformation, but, in the mean time, I cannot help communicating ſome remarks I have made upon the ſubject in my journey through Germany, as they ſerve to illuſtrate my poſition.

In almoſt all the Catholic ſtates I have travelled through, I have met with Italians who were moſt of them in affluence. All theſe came beggars into Germany, and have made their fortunes in a foreign country, without any domeſtic aſſiſtance whatſoever. It is not more than thirty or forty years ago, that almoſt all the rich merchants in the middling and leſſer ſtates of Germany were Italians. I think this ſufficient to prove, that the induſtry and frugality by which theſe people have made their fortunes, are no attributes of a particular mode of religion, but ariſe from circumſtances in the local character, which moſtly takes its colour from education. The frugal, deep-thinking and induſtrious *Walſhes* have *capital* ſufficient in their character, eaſily to gain an advantage in the management of worldly matters, over the lazy, diſſipated, and ſtupid German Roman Catholics, though the religion of both be the ſame. I have ſpoken with ſome of theſe Italian *parvenus*, who complained bitterly, that it was much more difficult to make a fortune in Germany now than it had formerly been. No doubt but that this is owing to a much better mode of education having been introduced by the government amongſt the people with whom they have to do. Is there any man who is not aſtoniſhed at the different degrees of induſtry which prevail among the Italians themſelves? and yet they have all the ſame religion. There is, perhaps, leſs ſuperſtition at Rome, than in any part of the Roman Catholic world; but are the Romans therefore more induſtrious than the Genoeſe, who are the groſſeſt bigots known? Mind, I am not ſpeaking of the diſcipline of the church, nor of the riches of the cloyſters, nor yet of *Annates*, *Palliums*, diſpenſations, and other popiſh tributes, nor even of the uſurpation of the ſpiritual power and the like, all of which may be very hurtful to a ſtate, but do not belong to the eſſence of religion. The diſpute is only on the influence which ſpeculative opinions have on the induſtry of men. In my opinion they have none. It is an obſervation every day made, that a man may be the moſt ſuperſtitious of mortals in ſome things, and yet the ſharpeſt and moſt clear-ſighted of all mankind in others; nor are the Saxons, according to my way of thinking, indebted to their more philoſophical religion, for the greater degree of happineſs they enjoy as citizens.

The religion of the court of this place is not well calculated to leſſen the prejudices of the Saxon public againſt Catholiciſm. It is formed upon the Jeſuit plan, and I have already told you, that the German Jeſuits are of all monks the greateſt. I was told an anecdote, which is certainly true, and does the court eccleſiaſtics no great honour. At the beginning of the preſent reign, the Jeſuits were afraid that the ſovereign might change the national religion; for, beſides that he was at that time very young, he loved his people, and had overtures made him on the ſubject. The Electreſs too, a very penetrating, and in every reſpect, amiable woman, was much diſſatisfied with the Jeſuits. To prevent innovations, a ſpectre appeared to the Duke, and after having threatened him with all the torments of hell-fire, if he ventured to make the purpoſed change, forbad him to ſay any thing of what had happened, and promiſed to return again at a certain period. The Duke was very penſive for ſome time, at length his wife, who loved him as he deſerved, wrung the ſecret from him, and told it to the prince of —— who waited for the ſpirit on the appointed night, and put him to death with his Spaniſh toledo. The following day he came into company and ſaid, "I have ſaved myſelf the payment of 500 thalers, by accidentally killing my confeſſor."

Notwithſtanding his little tinge of German jeſuitiſm, the Elector is a moſt amiable prince; he knows none of the vices, which princes who are obliged to truſt the greateſt part of their buſineſs to their miniſters, generally addict themſelves to. He has alſo underſtanding and activity ſufficient to form a right judgment of important affairs, which he often carries through entirely, either by his perſonal exertions, or the orders he gives for the purpoſe. All his miniſters likewiſe are men who deſerve his confidence. They are well informed and induſtrious patriots, who, both with regard to foreign affairs and internal adminiſtration, follow a uniform ſyſtem, a thing amongſt many others, by which they diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Bavarian miniſters. Their entering into the Bavarian war, as they did ſome years ago, was a certain proof of their not being wanting in ſpirit, though their hands were ſomewhat cramped by the internal circumſtances of the country. When once the money, which now goes towards diſcharging the intereſt and principal of the debts, can be applied to the augmentation of the army, and the court is enabled to make uſe of its whole ſtrength, no doubt the miniſter will take other ground than that he now ſtands upon. The country will then be in a ſtate to keep up an army of forty or fifty thouſand men, without any uncommon exertion, and of courſe will be always able to maintain a neutrality. As things are now circumſtanced, it muſt neceſſarily take a ſide, and attach itſelf either to Pruſſia or Auſtria. As long as the peace laſts, it gives equal hopes to both ſides; but in caſe of a breach, it will, in my opinion, incline rather to the Pruſſian than the Auſtrian party, not merely on account of the attempts which the Auſtrians are daily making to enſlave the empire, and the weight which their enormous power gives to thoſe attempts, but becauſe the Saxons, on their part, have many private reaſons for being diſſatisfied with the conduct of the Imperial court towards them.

The difference there is betwixt the religion of the Prince and that of the people, has no effect on the national buſineſs. It is not therefore probable that this court will ever ſacrifice its religion to its temporal intereſts, as Auguſtus did when he aſcended the throne of Poland, if they ſhould come into competition.

In Germany religion is naturally various. The Houſe of Wirtemberg has every ſect of Chriſtendom in it. The family of Prince Frederic Eugene is Lutheran; the Great Dutcheſs has embraced the Greek religion, and the bride of the Hereditary Prince of Tuſcany will, no doubt, turn Catholic. As there are likewiſe princeſſes of Brandenburg in this houſe, it has alſo a mixture of Calviniſm in it. Certainly this is the ſureſt way to

to ſpread toleration throughout Europe, and the friends of mankind are much indebted to the princes of Germany for it. With reſpect to the Saxons, if the reigning monarch were a prince of leſs ſenſe than he is, they are perfectly ſafe from the fear of all religious perſecutions. The ſtates have ſo limited his power in this reſpect, as to oblige him to have only two Catholic privy counſellors. This is the reaſon why, notwithſtanding the animoſity of the Saxons againſt the Catholics, which is much greater than moſt people imagine, they have a great affection for their prince.

LETTER XLIV.

Leipſick.

SAXONY is a princely country, brother. I have taken a conſiderable tour, and have come hither through the *Ertzgeberg*, over Freyberg, Marienberg, Annaberg, and then over Swickau, and Altenburg. One would imagine that the number of hills which border Bohemia muſt be entirely undermined. There are pits upon pits dug in them, and all the valleys reſound with hammers. A more induſtrious people than the Saxons I have not yet ſeen. The whole chain of mountains is filled with men, who force their nouriſhment from the naked woods. They not only work ſtones and minerals in every poſſible way you can conceive, but every town has beſides ſome manufacture of linen, lace, ribbands, cotton, handkerchiefs, flannel, or ſomething elſe, which takes up an innumerable quantity of hands. When faſhion, or the caprice of their neighbours, ruin one manufactory, they have always ten others to ſet up to make up for the loſs.

Freyberg contains upwards of twenty-five thouſand, and Swickau upwards of fifteen thouſand inhabitants. The other cities I ſaw are like the market towns, uncommonly populous and animated. The ſame induſtry and eaſy circumſtances are met with on the other ſide of the Elbe, throughout the Lauſits, whither I made an excurſion from Dreſden. Bauſſen, Gorliſs, and Zittaw, are ſtately cities, full of trade and buſineſs. What a contraſt with the ſouthern parts of Germany! an immenſe tract, throughout the whole of which I did not ſee a ſingle place, excepting the reſidence of the court, and ſome Imperial cities, which could bear a compariſon with any of theſe Saxon towns. You would imagine that the Ertzgeberg and foreſt of Thuringia, had been ſet by Providence as the limits betwixt light and darkneſs, induſtry and lazineſs, freedom and ſlavery, riches and poverty. Poſſibly you cannot find in the whole world ſo ſtrong a contraſt betwixt two people, who are ſo near each other, as there is between the Saxons and Bohemians; and yet nature has done infinitely more for the laſt than ſhe has for the firſt.

The mines are an inexhauſtible ſource of riches to this country; they almoſt all belong to companies of private men. The works are divided into certain portions, part of which the company works free of coſts for the court, which receives what is got from them. The revenue of the court, from all the mines of the country, is eſtimated at 400,000 guilders, which is hardly a fifth part of what they produce. A ſtill much more conſiderable ſum is gained by manufacturing the produce, as very little of it is exported raw. The Saxons prepare ſteel and copper, and have a great number of gold and ſilver manufactories. The Saxon arms are known all over the world.

The Saxons have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſkill in mining all over Europe. It is ſpoken of even by Spaniſh and Neapolitan writers. Their ſtrong bodies, their indefatigable induſtry, and their good underſtanding, particularly qualify them for this kind of employment, which is undoubtedly the moſt complicated and laborious of all human occupations, and which requires the greateſt variety of knowledge to bring to

perfection. In my opinion, mining is one of the ſtrongeſt characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhes the Germans, particularly the Saxons, from our countrymen. The Frenchman, though much quicker, is eaſily conquered by difficulties, is diſpirited when the firſt heat does not get the better of the oppoſition, is fond of changing the object of his purſuit, is deſirous of getting a great deal at once, in a word, is only adapted to enterprizes, which require a quick comprehenſive genius and readineſs; he is conſequently much leſs fit for this work, than the cold, penſive, inquiſitive, penetrating, preſerving, and indefatigable German, who can employ himſelf in the moſt unthankful offices without being weary. No doubt, there are many valuable mines in the French dominions. Every body knows the projects of Colbert and his ſucceſſors. They have been taken up again in our own time by M. Turgot; but the genius of the nation has hitherto counteracted every effort of the kind that has been made.

The inhabitants of the ſmalleſt villages in the Saxon mountains, though often ſhut out from the world by hills on each ſide, are more poliſhed, better bred, and more alive, than thoſe of the largeſt towns in the ſouth of Germany.

Reading is almoſt univerſal in this country; ſociability and hoſpitality accompany and encourage the hardeſt labour; even the ſocieties of the inferior ranks are diſtinguiſhed by the liberality, knowledge of the world, wit, and jollity to be met with in them. The women are throughout remarkable for the beauty of their ſhapes, the animation of their looks, and their infinite ſpirit, eaſe, and vivacity, and yet they are quite good natured, and admirable houſewives. The men have of late, indeed, begun to complain a little, that for ſome time paſt, their beautiful partners have been too much addicted to vanity; but their clamours would ſoon ceaſe, if the women were to unite and make a law, that every eighth or tenth man ſhould take an Auſtrian or Bavarian wife for the edification of the whole community. For my own part, the article of dreſs alone excepted, I have not been able to diſcover a ſingle excreſcence which wants pruning; whereas the Bavarian and Auſtrian women, beſides being full as fond of dreſs, break out a little both at bed and board, and do not concern themſelves at all with domeſtic matters.

The uncommonly large population of this country expoſes the inhabitants to no ſmall diſtreſs in times of ſcarcity. The land does not produce a tenth part of the grain neceſſary for the conſumption of the people, who are obliged to ſupply their wants from Bohemia. The univerſal ſcarcity which prevailed in Europe nine or ten years ago, was no where more ſeverely felt than here, many thouſands died, a part through abſolute want, and a part from being obliged to eat bad proviſions. Great numbers were indebted for their lives to the free-maſon's lodges at Dreſden, Leipſick, Fridburg, and other places, the members of which did an incredible deal for the relief of the neceſſities of their brethren. If any country ſtands in need of granaries, it is this. As ſoon as the ſmalleſt ſcarcity is perceived, the exportation from the neighbouring countries is ſtopped up, and the Saxon plains are too much peopled eaſily to bear the loſs of their harveſt. Government has made ſome regulations; but in the preſent ſtate of the finances of the country, it is impoſſible that it ſhould do as much as would be requiſite to ſecure the inhabitants of the mountains againſt every event.

Conſpicuous as the induſtry and commerce of this people is, the ſituation of the farmer amongſt them is in all reſpects pitiable. The fault, however, is in the conſtitution of the country, not in the inhabitants, who are a frank, diligent, and intelligent people. No doubt, but the diſtreſs is owing to the quantity of land in the hands of great farmers. Along the foot of the Ertzgeberg mountain, and in the plain, you can hardly count the ſteeples, which you ſee on all ſides of you. The number of villages in the Electoral territory, taking in the *Lauſitz*, is near ſix thouſand. I ſaw ſeveral farmers

who plough with one ox and one cow. Many of them have only one cow, which furniſhes them with milk, and likewiſe ſerves them to plough with. It is true, indeed, that the fine and light ſoil of this part of the world requires, in general, no uncommon exertion; but it is impoſſible that a farmer ſhould do well with ſo little cattle. You eaſily diſcover in their houſekeeping, that they are obliged to cut very cloſe. Great part of them live upon potatoes, cabbages, and turnips, and you very ſeldom ſee meat at their tables. Their attachment to coffee is extremely great; it is the only nouriſhment of ſome of them; and the profuſe uſe they make of it, is a ſtrong contraſt with their penurioufneſs in other reſpects. It is made in large pots, but is ſo weak as to have hardly the colour of the berry. Moſt likely they conſider it as the cheapeſt and moſt ſtrengthening of liquors. Their cleanlineſs in the midſt of their poverty is remarkable. The Suabian farmers are lords, in compariſon with thoſe of Saxony, and on the whole, the happieſt I have yet ſeen.

Throughout the whole level country, even the common people ſpeak good German, and ſo, excepting in the mountains, do all the farmers. There is no province in France of a like extent, in which the people throughout ſpeak French as well as the Saxons do German. Some miles from Leipſick I viſited a gentleman, for whom I had letters from Dreſden, on his eſtate. I thought myſelf come to a ſchool of paſtoral felicity, and I ſhall ever look upon the few days I ſpent with him as ſome of the happieſt of my life. The eſtates of theſe gentlemen are ſmall, as the Saxon nobility in general are as poor as they are numerous; but it is to this very poverty that they owe their happineſs. They underſtand how to unite the beautiful with the uſeful, taſte with ſimplicity, œconomy with various amuſements, and nature with art, in ſuch a manner, as to make that buſineſs which other men look upon as a puniſhment, a ſource of endleſs uninterrupted felicity. They reliſh pleaſure as epicureans do rich wines, which they keep a long while on the palate, in order to reliſh the flavour. They underſtand how to mix the amuſements and the occupations of the country ſo as to make them follow each other in agreeable ſucceſſion ſo well, that it is worth while to come amongſt them to read Virgil's Georgics, which I am perſuaded cannot be read any where elſe with ſo much pleaſure. Fiſhing is a very weighty and moſt important buſineſs with them, and the art has been no where brought to ſo great a perfection as it is here. They have ſeparate ponds in which the fiſh are kept, according to their ages and with different intentions. Theſe ponds are in fallow lands, which are at certain times broke up and ploughed again; ſo that the eſtate reaps a double advantage by this method. The management of woods and of ſheep is alſo brought to a great degree of perfection here. They not only cut down their trees with great judgment, but ſtudy the art of planting, and what trees are fit for each ſoil with ſingular felicity. I am perſuaded that we Frenchmen might learn much of the Saxons on this head, as well as on every other part of rural œconomy.

The Saxon wool is famous for being the beſt in Europe, after the Spaniſh and Engliſh: ſometimes it is uſed raw, ſometimes it is manufactured into clothes, ſtockings, and gloves, but moſt generally it is coloured and exported as a manufacture. The inimitable blue wools, which have their name from the country, are brought into France.

To theſe various practical and theoretical improvements of their land, the nobility add ſmall walks, viſits to their friends in town and country, collections of nature and art, attention to improve the ſchools of their diſtricts, poetry, and muſick. The rich, amongſt whom I reckon thoſe who have from 8 to 10,000 guilders a year, (moſt of them have only from 3 to 6, and ſeveral from 800 to 2000 guilders,) come to town for only

only one or two months in the year. Their daughters are the loveliest and cleverest creatures in the world. Their natural sensibility generally contracts a romantic turn in the stillness of the country, which appears in their conversation and actions, and leads them to take unguarded steps in the first years of life. Unequal marriages and elopements are extremely frequent here. In Suabia, Bavaria, and Austria, I met with Saxon girls of good family, who in the last Silesian war had enlisted with officers of the imperial and circular armies, and who all made excellent wives and mothers. At Prague I met with a Saxon girl of a good family, who partly from a considerable share of sensibility, as she confessed herself with tears in her eyes, and partly from want of knowledge of the world, was a common woman. Lessing's comedy, *Minna von Barnheim*, which doubtless you have read, exhibits some of the romantic part of this character, but in general it is more a picture of the town ladies. The country girls have not in general the coquetry and liveliness of Minna: they are more pensive and more tender, but all of them are as handsome as angels. The kind of reading in fashion in Germany, which is mostly novels and romances, is no proper nourishment for the ladies of Saxony, who are by nature of such inflammable constitutions.

Leipsick is a very small, but very handsome, and in some places, splendid city. The number of its inhabitants, reckoning the suburbs, amounts to near thirty thousand; it was greater formerly. The way of living is totally different from any I have hitherto seen in the other Saxon towns. Much more luxury and profusion reigns here than at Dresden. They play in all companies, and often extremely high. The ladies of this place are far behind hand with their countrywomen of the other towns in domestic œconomy, but agree with them in the articles of dress and coquetry. Amongst the literati who swarm here, there are too many boasters, *petit maitres*, ignoramusses, and fools of all sorts; so that I sometimes thought myself got to Vienna again, where the *friseurs* and literati meet in the same companies, and are almost equally numerous. But the infinite number of men of merit, whose conduct and manners do honour to their native country, soon made me find out the difference. You meet here with men in all sciences, who, from the extent as well as the depth of their learning, but particularly from their knowledge of the world, are entirely different from the Vienna literati, for whom all is dead that is out of their own line.

I paid a visit to Mr. Weisse, whose excellent work called the *Children's Friend*, Mr. Berquin proposes partly to imitate, and partly to translate. The author is not only one of the best German poets, but an extraordinary learned man, in the most extensive signification of the word. He is elegance itself; and the income of a good place, which he possesses, enables him to give up his latter days to philosophical repose, benevolence, and the muses. He is one of the determined enemies of those literary Calmucks, I mentioned to you in my letter on the theatre of Munich, who like the troops of Gengiskan, some years since made an inroad upon Parnassus, drove out the muses, destroyed the flower-beds of the old German poets, mangled the language, hacked the words with Tartar fury, and would probably in their rage have begotten children like the fathers, if their discipline had answered the violence of their attack, and such enlightened men as Mr. Weisse had not discomfited them after the ardour of their first onset. They have been compelled to retreat behind hedges, whence they sometimes fire upon passengers, but they will not be able to keep even this post long.

LETTER XLV.

Leipſick.

THE commerce and manufactures of this place are very conſiderable. It is the center of the book trade of all Germany, and of the wool trade of all Saxony, and there are few cities in Germany which ſurpaſs it in commerce and exchange. Here they make velvets, woven ſilks, ſhags, linens, cloths, rattines, carpets, and a great variety of other things. This city ſupplies the greateſt part of Saxony with drugs and apothecaries wares, and has a conſiderable ſhare of the trade which is carried on betwixt the ſouth of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and the North. There are ſeveral wealthy houſes here.

The fair, which ended a week before my arrival, according to the report of both natives and foreign merchants, is no more than a ſhadow of what it was thirty years ago. The moſt remarkable part of the preſent trade, is the exchange of books, carried on by the German bookſellers. This they ſometimes execute by commiſſion, but for the moſt part they appear in their own *high perſons*. Their number is about three hundred, and the value of the books they exchange amounts to 500,000 rix-dollars, or about 1,751,000 livres.

Leipſick maintains itſelf in the poſſeſſion of this trade, not ſo much from its having once taken that channel, as from the great quantity of books publiſhed in the city itſelf, and its centrical ſituation in the midſt of a country where all the arts flouriſh, and reading and writing are moſt univerſal. Theſe are the cauſes, which in my opinion, have rendered all the attempts to deprive the city of this trade abortive.

The Auſtrian bookſellers have hitherto been the only ones who have not appeared regularly and in great numbers at this mart of literature. The reſtraint they lay under from the licence office, and the reſtraints they are lain under by the heavy wit of their writers, have diſabled them from bringing any *paper* to market, good enough to procure an exchange from the other dealers.

Leipſick is indebted for this trade, which in my opinion, is the only one of the kind in all Europe, entirely to the merit of the inhabitants of this place, and other parts of Saxony. Saxony was the cradle of literature and taſte in Germany. The Swiſs had indeed contributed ſomething by theories towards raiſing the edifice of the arts, but theories form neither arts nor taſte, nor has the German part of Switzerland produced a ſingle literary production of merit, Geſner's works excepted. Thoſe of Haller are written in a barbarous dialect, and few of them are uniformly good. His beauties are ſingle ones; they are ſeparate pictures, woven into philoſophical declamations. Nature gives the firſt direction to art, which afterwards is not to be improved by any theories, but by the ſight of, and ſenſibility for, the moſt ſtriking and moſt beautiful objects of nature. Theſe it is, which form the original artiſt. And it is the reading, feeling, and comparing the works of theſe original artiſts, that form the imitator. Nor is taſte itſelf a conſequence of any theoretical knowledge; for it is well known, that thoſe who have formed the ſoundeſt theories, have been very unſucceſsful, both in the works produced by themſelves, and the judgment they have paſſed upon thoſe of other people. Theories depend upon concluſions of the underſtanding, which will always be falſe when the premiſes are ſo; but the quickneſs occaſioned by the perception and compariſon of various beautiful objects, which conſtitutes what we call taſte, will never go aſtray. It is true, indeed, that this perception and quickneſs cannot exiſt without ſome natural diſpoſitions towards them.

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The firſt ſeeds of literature and taſte were ſown in Germany, by perſons who were no literati by profeſſion. Since the firſt æra of French taſte, one or the other of the princes of Germany have always been in alliance with France. The negociations this has given riſe to, and the abode of the French armies in Germany in conſequence, have rendered the knowledge of French abſolutely neceſſary to the German nobility. Hence all perſons of conſequence, miniſters, counſellors, officers, and ſecretaries, poliſhed themſelves by their intercourſe with our countrymen; ſo that the taſte of ſeveral German courts was formed before there was a man of letters of conſequence in the country. Prince Eugene, who had been brought up at the court of France, laboured with all his might to introduce the arts into Germany, but he found the Jeſuits in his way at the court of Vienna, for a long time the only one in which the French language could not gain admittance. In all the others there were perſons of as much taſte and good ſenſe as Prince Eugene, true children of the muſes, who were more or leſs ſucceſsful in their attempts to extend good taſte. Much in the ſame manner the arts came to us from Italy, and much in the ſame manner they came to Italy from Greece.

After this intercourſe with France, the only thing wanting to awaken the Germans to emulation, was a language, and in this reſpect Saxony had a great advantage over the other German provinces. Ever ſince the time of Luther this country has had a manner of writing, which diſtinguiſhed it from the barbarous manner of the ſchools that obtained over the reſt of Germany. The ſervice of the church contributed much in theſe parts to the improvement of the language. The ſchools for young people were very good here long before the brilliant æra of German literature. The language of ſome of the Saxon writers who lived betwixt the years 1715, and 1725, a time in which the reſt of Germany was ſtill plunged in the barbarous ſtyle of the *Cancelleria*, is remarkable for its grammatical clearneſs and accuracy. The natural wit of the Saxons, together with their peculiar and, as it were, innate love for all that is beautiful, ſoon made it their peculiar pride and pleaſure, as it had been that of the Athenians, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſpeaking their language correctly. The loweſt handy-craftſman here is more ſolicitous to ſpeak purely and well, and is much more fortunate in his attempts for the purpoſe, than ſeveral learned men by profeſſion, with whom I have had the honour to converſe in the ſouthern parts of the country. The very women are ſenſible of grammatical errors, and take notice of them. Beſides the language, the Saxons had other advantages, which contributed to ſpread literature ſooner and wider amongſt them than amongſt the other Germans. Philoſophy and the higher parts of the *belles lettres*, had had the duſt rubbed from them in this country long before the bright æra of German literature. Leibnitz, Puffendorf, Thomaſius, Wolf, and others, had broken up the extenſive field of literature, had ploughed it with taſte and ſimplicity, and had brought about a happy revolution in the minds of the people in all the north of Germany, particularly in Saxony. The celebrated journal, known by the name of *Acta Eruditorum*, was begun in 1682, and was ſoon equal to the journals of the moſt enlightened nations, ſuch as the *Journal des Scavans*, the Engliſh Tranſactions, and the *Giornale di Literati*, whilſt in the other ſtates of Germany, Berlin not excepted, knowledge was confined to a few perſons about the court. The beginning of the preſent century alſo produced ſeveral editions of the ancient claſſics, which contributed more to the nurture of genius and true taſte, than the beſt rules and theories.

No doubt the magnificence and peculiar taſte of the Saxon Auguſtus, for the fine arts, contributed much to the early poliſhing of taſte, and the awakening of genius in this country. All the arts have a ſiſterly affection for each other; they do not like to be long out of the ſame company. Painting, ſculpture, architecture, muſic, and all the

arts

arts connected with them, flouriſhed more at the court of Auguſtus the third, than they did in any court of Europe. From this ſchool came Mengs, the greateſt painter of our days; Haſſe, who was able to do juſtice to the poetry of a Metaſtaſio; Gluck, Hiller, and many others. The art of ſpeech would naturally join itſelf to ſo brilliant a ſociety. The opera made the Saxons acquainted with the Italian poets, juſt as the language of the court had brought them acquainted with the French ones. At length they made ſome trials in their own language, and their trials were ſucceſsful. Gellert, Rabbener, and many others evidently formed themſelves upon Engliſh models. Ever ſince this period, Saxony has furniſhed a much larger proportion of ingenious men than the other parts of Germany. In polite literature their numbers ſurpaſs thoſe of all the reſt of Germany put together. Their tranſlators, reviewers, magazine-writers, almanack and catalogue-makers are innumerable. There are many perſons in this country as well acquainted with the antient and modern literature of England, France, and Italy, as the natives of theſe countries themſelves. There is always a warehouſe of Spaniſh and Portugueſe literature here, and (which is almoſt peculiar to Germany) they forage to the uttermoſt bounds of the north, and explore the Daniſh, Swediſh, Ruſſian, and Poliſh Parnaſſus. As far as regards the mechanical part of the buſineſs, i. e. the working up of materials and making them fit for ſale, Saxony will for a long time continue ſuperior to the other Germans; but their genius ſeems worn out. Nothing can be more frivolous than the preſent purſuits of the men of genius here; but other parts of Germany are in the prime of youth, and others again ſeem to be juſt awake.

LETTER XLV.

Leipſick.

I MADE an excurſion from hence to Weimar and Gotha. This part of the country is the beſt cultivated, and, in a political view, the moſt beautiful I have hitherto ſeen in Germany. Every two or three miles you come to a town, which contains a flouriſhing manufacture. The villages are innumerable, and the agriculture much more varied than on the other ſide of Dreſden. Nature appears to have been more favourable to theſe parts.

Weimar is a ſmall but handſome town. The court is remarkably affable, and the reigning Duke carries popularity as well as philoſophy almoſt too far. He puts himſelf on a level with all kinds of perſons, and takes parts in private plays acted by his ſervants and the literati of his court.

To a natural fondneſs for the ſentimental and adventurous, he unites an excellent improved taſte for every thing that belongs to the arts. This court is made up entirely of wits, and even his *general ſuperintendant*, (a title you are not acquainted with, but which anſwers to a little Pope,) is a *bel eſprit*, who has publiſhed a rhapſodical extract from the firſt book of Moſes, under the title of the *Origin of Mankind*.

The wonderful character of this duke, the romantic part of it only excepted, for which he has to thank Mr. Gothe, is the work of the celebrated Wieland. Wieland is, without a doubt, the firſt of all the German writers. No writer, Leſſing alone excepted, unites ſo much ſtudy with ſo much genius as he does. He has not only formed and fixed his taſte on a thorough acquaintance with the beauties of the ancient writers, but poſſeſſes alſo all the literature of France, Italy, and England. His works are not like the rhapſodies of the modern German poetaſters, but have the true ſmack of the art. Even the moſt fugitive trifles that fall from his playful and humourous pen, beſpeak a workman who is thorough maſter of his buſineſs, and has a manner of his own. It

has been ſaid of the great painters, that you may know them by the daſh of their pencils. Wieland is one of the few German writers who will go down to poſterity as a claſſical writer, when the works of ſeveral of his cotemporaries ſhall ſerve for dung of the fields. It is generally objected to him, that he repeats the ſame things too often, and copies himſelf; but, for my part, I have not obſerved much repetition. It is true, that like other great writers, he has favourite ideas, which he is ever turning and poliſhing, in order to ſet them before the reader in every point of view. I have no fault to find with him, but that he hides his ſtudy too little, expoſes his immenſe reading too much, and often forgets that his reader may not be ſo enamoured with his erudition as he is himſelf. I likewiſe think, that before he was privy-counſellor and tutor to the prince he wrote much more naturally than he does now. In order that no part of literature ſhould be unexplored by him, but more with a view of filling his purſe, whilſt his reputation was at the height, he undertook a literary journal, which he carried on with uncommon ſpirit and activity. None of the German writers know ſo well how to pleaſe the public as Wieland does. He is moſt fruitful in the invention of trifles, in order to make his journal, which is as good as any other we have, ſell. Sometimes, like a Dutch tobacco-merchant, he will tye a picture to his wares; ſometimes he promiſes in one number a ſolution of a riddle in a paſt one, and in the next, inſtead of a ſolution of the riddle, gives you a rattle or a trumpet for children to play with. At times he publiſhes one number in a year, at others he will write the whole volume in a month. Riddles, newſpapers, anecdotes, literary quarrels, every thing, in a word, is crammed in that may give his wares the appearance of novelty, or amuſe the people. You will ſay theſe are little book-ſelling tricks; and ſo they are, but they are more venial in German than in other authors, as without them it would be difficult for the greateſt induſtry and the greateſt talents to live by the profeſſion.

Wieland is, what few poets are, a good domeſtic man. He lives, in fact, more for his family than for the public. He would furniſh a new proof, if there wanted any, of the juſtice of a favourite aphoriſm with me, to wit, that the generative powers of man are in the ſame proportion as his underſtanding, and that it is good for him when he uſes the one with as much order and œconomy as the other. Wieland has ſeven or eight fine children. No poet, he obſerves himſelf, ever had ſo many; and he has written the lives of the poets ſolely to aſſure himſelf of the truth of it. A good penſion from the court, added to what he gets by his journal, enables him to ſee the approach of old age with tranquillity, and gives him the proſpect of enjoying the comforts of life to the end.

There are ſome extraordinary traits in Wieland's character, which ſeem a contraſt to his writings: I will give you ſome of them. In all he has written, he diſcovers great knowledge of the world, and you would take him for a courtier out of place, yet no man knows leſs of mankind. In polite circles, and in the conduct of a common affair of life, he is entirely at a loſs. Even ſince the publication of the Agathon, which you know contains every evolution and revolution of the female mind, and, like his other works, beſpeaks one of the politeſt writers that ever exiſted; there have been ſeveral inſtances of his not knowing how to converſe with a woman. His knowledge of the gay world conſiſts entirely in theory, and he muſt be ſome time in company before he can make uſe of it. This is not altogether owing to continual ſtudy and want of intercourſe with the polite world, but is in ſome degree conſtitutional in him. He is by nature very lively, but not very reſolute, diffident of himſelf, and eaſy of belief towards others; in fine, he is one of thoſe men to whom nature has refuſed every grain of that ſelf-ſufficiency, a ſmall doſe of which is of ſo much uſe in the affairs of this life. His knowledge of the

world is of the kind which *Montaigne* obſerved in a man who reſembled him; *it is in a place which he knows where to find it in, and not in himſelf.* The conſciouſneſs of this has ſometimes made him a coward. To this cauſe are to be attributed the frequent variations in his way of thinking; his flattery towards thoſe who can ſerve him; his ſubmiſſion towards thoſe who reſiſt him; his toleration of thoſe whoſe opinions are oppoſite to his own; his love of party, and all the manœuvres to which he has had recourſe, whenever he has thought his reputation in danger, for which reputation he would have had nothing to fear if he had but known his own ſtrength. Before Gothe was known, Wieland ſtood as he ought always to have done, at the top of the German Parnaſſus. It ſo happened, that, contrary to his intention, he inſerted a very ſevere critique of *Gothe's Play of Goſs of Berlichingen*, in his review. Gothe revenged himſelf by a farce, written in his ſtrongeſt manner. Wieland, ever ready to ſound a retreat when danger is nigh, endeavoured to make his peace in a ſecond number, in which he was more civil. This, however, would hardly have ſaved him, but fortunately for him, his pupil, the reigning Duke, ſoon after went to Francfort, where he met with Gothe, whom he brought with him to Weimar, and of courſe introduced him to his old tutor. Would you believe it? the cajoled Wieland not only took ſomething of Gothe's manner himſelf, but wrote apologies for ſome followers of his ſchool, whom in his former writings he had ſatyrized. Upon the whole, he is one of the greateſt ſophiſts of our days, who has always a ſatire, or an apology ready, and produces that which brings him the moſt pence.

Gothe is the Duke's favourite; they are always together; he poſſeſſes a full portion of that which nature has refuſed to Wieland. Formerly his ſelf-ſufficiency led him into abſurdities, but ſince that time things have much changed. He is not only a genius, but poſſeſſes a great deal of learning. Many circumſtances, for which he is not entirely anſwerable, were the occaſion of his giving the ſignal to a horde of Calmucks, who ſome years ſince made an inroad on the German Parnaſſus, and laid it waſte. In all things he is upon principle, for the natural, the extraordinary, the adventurous, the ſtriking, and the bold, and has as great an averſion to the common forms of government, as to the common rules of writing. His philoſophy borders nearly upon that of Rouſſeau. I ſhall not ſtop here to compare them, but only obſerve, that they have both come two hundred years too late, and that the man who gives a flat contradiction to the opinions of all his cotemporaries, abounds either in ſelf-opinion or ſelf-love.—When Gothe firſt began to feel his genius, he uſed to go about with a ſhort hat, his hair about his ears, an out of the way dreſs; and, in ſhort, affected a ſingularity in every thing. His looks, his gait, his ſpeech, the whole of him beſpoke an extraordinary man. Even in his writings, he rather affected graceful negligence than any laboured delicacy. He ſhortened all his periods in the moſt extraordinary manner, uſed common and vulgar words, and, what was of no great ſervice to the poor German language, already ſo bare of them, cut off half of the vowels, and introduced pauſes and ſtrokes of admiration at every three words. His writings contain a great deal of that happy ſeizure of circumſtance which beſpeaks a knowledge of mankind, united to a ſtrong and fertile imagination, and a great vein of humour. You ſee in every thing he writes, that he is able to lay a plan and connect the parts; this diſtinguiſhes him from the whole herd of his imitators. Whenever it happens, as it ſometimes does, that one part of his work does not hang well with the other, you eaſily diſcover that the defect has not ariſen from ignorance, but becauſe the author did not chooſe to give himſelf the trouble to weave them together. Gothe has read a great deal, is well acquainted with the beſt ancient and modern writers, paints, underſtands muſic, is a good companion and wit, and — Counſellor of Legation to the Duke.

Doubtleſs,

Doubtleſs, he is by this time convinced of the injury he has done German literature. Several young perſons, encouraged to it by his example, imagined that nothing more was requiſite to become a genius, than to be bold, impudent, and careleſs about language and ſtyle, and to entertain contempt for every thing that is called order or regularity. They conceived that all ſtudy and attention to rule was needleſs, that every thing that was natural muſt of courſe be good, that a true genius required no education, but had all powers of creation in himſelf, and that when he became a genius, he was entitled to produce himſelf in his ſhirt, or in *puris naturalibus*, on the market-place, or in the courts of princes; that real judgment only made aſſes of men, and that unreſtrained imagination raiſed them to the rank of divinities; that dreams and enthuſiaſtic raptures in his own greatneſs, and the littleneſs of the world about him, was the proper ſtate of man; that all the occupations by which his daily bread was to be earned, degraded him, and that in the beſt of all poſſible worlds he muſt go on all-fours and eat acorns. You muſt not think that I am exaggerating when I ſay this, for I can give you proofs of every thing I have aſſerted. Gothe has this in common with Rouſſeau; that his philoſopy (whether true or falſe) overturns *foundations*, and gratifies diſſoluteneſs and idleneſs; for which reaſon it has been adopted by thoſe who have no foundation, but ſeek only to be happy through an implicit belief in their maſter. As Gothe was his own maſter, his excreſcences were the more eaſily forgiven, becauſe of their conſiſtency with his principles and with each other, of a certain moderation he obſerved in them, and of his affability towards all he converſed with; but his ſchool is the moſt ridiculous that can be conceived. I queſtion whether many of theſe gentlemen are themſelves able to give explanations of the obſcure parts of their writings. The flattered nonſenſe was cried up by the critics of the ſect, as the quinteſſence of human wit and human imagination. As to the underſtanding, as I told you above, they declared open war againſt that. To have a true idea of the taſte of the public, one ſhould read the productions of theſe gentlemen, which ſtill paſs for wonders with many. This herd of Calmucks gained recruits from every order of men, even out of the phyſical tribe, who formed ſyſtems of the ſame kind in their profeſſion. They taught, that to roll in ſnow, to bathe in cold water, to leap like bucks about the ſteepeſt precipices, to eat nothing warm, but to live entirely on the fruits of the earth, not to give the leaſt interruption to the operations of nature, but even to drop the excrement ſtanding, at any time and in any place, was all that could be done by man, either for the preſervation or recovery of his health.

A well-known phyſician, who has laid many a patient in the duſt, by the purſuit of this new mode of cure, grounded all the reaſonings made uſe of in his publications, on the example of the firſt wit in Germany. If he ordered a man a cold bath, and the patient expreſſed a fear, leſt it might poſſibly occaſion a fever, or a flux, the doctor would aſſure him, that he need not be afraid of any thing of the ſort, for that the great Gothe went into the cold bath in froſt and ſnow. The young painters, too, would for ſome time paint nothing but ſtorms, lightning, tops of Appennines, or Alps; elephants, lions, and tygers; Didos on the funeral pile; Lucretias and Medeas murdering their children. All the ſofter landſcapes, all the common animals, and all the ordinary ſituations of common life, they entirely excluded from their canvaſs. Truth and keeping are nothing with them; ſuch littleneſſes, they ſay, a genius leaves to your day-labourers for bread, and men of ordinary underſtandings. Art, according to their definition, conſiſts in what is out of the common courſe. The more unnaturally a Dido flings her arms about, the more portentouſly ſhe rolls her ſavage eyes, and the greater diſorder there appears in her hair and drapery, the more beautiful ſhe is. In this manner artiſts of all denomina-

tions miſconceive Gothe's theory. His flatterers imitate him in the moſt ridiculous manner, in his dreſs, in his walk, and even in his ſpeech.

Gothe is in ſome meaſure reſponſible for theſe excreſcences. Having diſcovered ſparks of genius in ſome of his friends, ſuch as Lentz, Clinger, and others, by proper encouragements he ſoon blew the ſparks into a real flame. Thus far was fit and right; but as ſoon as he had commenced protector, there came people to him by no means worthy of his protection. Inſtead of ſending theſe back to their brethren of the foreſt, the bubble of reputation led him on, and he was not aſhamed, at leaſt for a time, to ſet himſelf at the head of a little academy — very different in this reſpect from Rouſſeau, who neither commended nor protected any one. At preſent Gothe does not ſeem to diſturb himſelf much about literary purſuits. He is at work on the life of the celebrated Bernard of Weimar, and enjoys life as much as it is to be enjoyed amidſt a number of little troubles. Formerly he uſed to be regularly beſieged with recommendations, and his diſciples came from all parts to viſit him, in hopes to be brought forward by his patronage. He is now grown wiſer, and has made it a rule to himſelf, to be very nice in his recommendations. In this he is extremely in the right, as he would be accountable for the follies of all theſe people. Neither indeed does it follow as a natural conſequence, that becauſe the miniſter, counſellor, and private ſecretary of a prince is a wit, his cooks, and butlers, *valets de chambre*, huntſmen, and ſtable-boys, ſhould alſo be wits.

Gotha is a large town, richer and handſomer than Weimar; the number of its inhabttants are eſtimated at nine or ten thouſand. There are ſome valuable manufactures in this place. The court is as popular as that of Weimar, and equally fond of ſtrangers. Some years ago the Duke had one of the beſt German theatres in Germany; but he ſent away the whole company on finding that the expence was too large, that he had ſufficiently amuſed himſelf, and that the players began to aſſume airs of importance.

The ſubjects of both theſe dukes are very happy. Their finances too are well regulated, and their adminiſtration of juſtice and police is perfect. Neither of them have the weakneſs of other German princes, who ſpend a great part of their incomes in the maintenance of a regiment or two of ſoldiers, and make the younger part of their ſubjects do the military exerciſe, inſtead of keeping them at the plough. The income of each of them is about 600,000 Rheniſh guilders, or 54,000 French louis-d'ors. Their country is extremely productive, and extraordinarily well inhabited.

Erfurt is a very large, old, black, and ill-inhabited town; it is near a mile in circumference, and contains nearly eighteen thouſand men. The moſt remarkable thing here is the act of gardening, which is carried to a greater perfection than in any other part of Germany I have yet had occaſion to ſee. The people of the country carry on a conſiderable trade in fruits and plants. The inhabitants, like thoſe of the reſt of Saxony, are a handſome, ſenſible, and friendly people. The preſent vice-governor for the Elector of Mentz, to whom the city, with ſeventy villages which lie round it, belongs, is a baron of D'Alberg, canon of Mentz, whom you may probably have ſeen at Paris. He was in the houſe of the Marquis of ———, and, if I miſtake not, well known to the Duke of Choiſeul. He is a man of uncommon knowledge of the world, a man of letters in the full extent of the word, and a patriot. He underſtands all the buſineſs of the higher world, and all that concerns government; poſſeſſes the Belles Lettres and the arts, and is on terms of friendſhip with the moſt ſenſible men of Germany. He expects in time to be the firſt eccleſiaſtical prince of the German empire, and, after the Pope, the richeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed prelate in the catholic world. Erfurt and its territory yields annually about 180,000 Rheniſh guilders. It contains about thirty-ſix thouſand men.

LETTER

LETTER XLVI.

Leipſick.

I CANNOT quit Saxony without ſaying ſomething to you of the reformation which began here.

The origin of the reformation, as a queſtion of learning, is difficult to determine. Between the times of John Huſs and Luther, Paul of Tubingen, Brulfer, Baſil of Groningen, and ſeveral Engliſh, openly profeſſed the doctrines of the reformed. The Valdenſes had ſpread their opinions very conſiderably long before the time of Huſs; and between their time and the æra of Huſs, Wickliff, John of Paris, Arnaud de Villeneuve, William of St. Amour, Evrard, biſhop of Saltzburg, and many others taught the tenets of Luther and Calvin. It is certain, that from the time of the Albigeois to the breaking out of the reformation, there was no period in which ſome remarkable man did not openly maintain the principles of the Proteſtant religion. Between the time of Peter de Waldo, (who did moſt towards the ſpreading of the ſect of the Albigeois, though they do not take their name from him, as ſome have thought,) and Berenger, who came not a hundred years after him, we meet with Pierre de Bruis, Henry de Thouloufe, and Arnaud Hot, who, with many others, made the doctrines held by the Proteſtants of the preſent day, known all over France. The celebrated biſhop Honoré of Autun, who wrote upon free will, and in the ſpirit of the Proteſtants of this day, called the Pope the great beaſt, and the Whore of Babylon, lived in 1115, and Berenger died in 1091; ſo that there is hardly a generation between them.

In the ſame century with Berenger, Arnolph, biſhop of Orleans, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the council of Rheims, by a ſpeech much more violent than any thing which Luther has written againſt the power of the Pope. In a word, the opinions of Proteſtants are to be met with in the earlieſt ages of the church; and an attentive reader of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory will ſoon ſee, that they are connected with the opinions of the firſt ſectaries, and that it was not the bare novelty of his opinions which made Luther remarkable.

Whoever is a little acquainted with the hiſtory of the century before Luther, and can form to himſelf a preciſe idea of the ſtate of Saxony, previous to the breaking out of the reformation, will eaſily ſee, that other things beſides theology, contributed to this event, and that Luther only gave the long waited for ſignal of revolt.

Since the time of the Emperor Sigiſmund, (who would have brought about the revolution himſelf, if his knowledge had correſponded with his thirſt for reformation, and who for want of that knowledge ſuffered himſelf to be led by the noſe by ſome cardinals) Germany had been at work on a reformation. If a Catholic at this time was to ſay what was ſaid, not only in the ſchools and in publications, but at the council of Conſtance before the whole nation, at the diet of the empire, and by particular princes in their tranſactions with each other, he would be put into a priſon as a violent heretic. It is indeed wonderful, how the minds of the Catholic princes were changed by the heat of diſpute after that ſtep was once taken, which they themſelves had before endeavoured to produce. The well known *hundred grievances* (which in the end grew to much more than a hundred) of the German nation plainly ſhewed, that moſt of the courts of Germany were ready to protect the firſt bold man who would revolt againſt the court of Rome, and ſupport the political grievances with theological arguments. The cunning, active, and very eloquent Æneas Sylvius, who effected the *concordate* betwixt the Pope and the empire by his crafty manœuvres, awakened ſtill more the jealouſy of all the thinking patriots of Germany. Though he was a ſub-

a ſubtile genius, who for the moment could gain the aſcendancy over the cold Germans, and make them acquieſce in ſilence, yet after all the declamations and fine intrigues of this Cicero of his time, the obſtinacy natural to the cold character returned, and again brought forth the old complaints. Æneas Sylvius thought his enemies weaker than they really were. In all his writings you ſee that he imagined that he ſhould be able to cheat the Germans; but their genius was awake, and they ſaw through him, though they had neither experience enough, nor union enough amongſt themſelves, to reſiſt the artifices he played off againſt them. Mayer, chancellor of Mentz, at that time the moſt enlightened, moſt refined, and moſt brilliant court in Germany, and which contributed exceedingly to the ſucceſs of the reformation, in his letters (to be found in ſeveral compilations of the times,) ſpeaks to the Italians in a tone that would have put to ſilence any advocate of the court of Rome, but the very witty ſophiſt Æneas Sylvius. Whoever conſiders the intrigues and webs which the court of Rome muſt have wove to keep the Duke of Bavaria and the Palſgrave of the Rhine in good humour, (ſome proofs of which are to be met with in Febronius,) will only wonder how the reformation came to be put off ſo late as to the time of Luther.

Whilſt the politics of ſeveral courts of Germany were thus directed againſt the court of Rome, the reputation of the latter was daily ſinking in conſequence of the philoſophy that gained ground in the ſchools, and the intercourſe of learned men with each other. The progreſs made in printing, which became general in Germany in the laſt part of the fifteenth century, contributed to the general ſpread of knowledge. As early as in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the Germans began to write their own language with correctneſs. The way was prepared for the people to be ſoon taught. This, no doubt, was the golden age of Germany. It had warm patriots, induſtrious philoſophers, and thinking princes. The awakened ſpirit of improvement had manifeſted itſelf in legiſlation and the improvement of the police; peace was eſtabliſhed at home, arts and taſte had begun to ſpread over Germany from Italy. Bologna was the reſort of all the German nobility. It is true, indeed, that they brought home with them the barbarous mixture of the Roman, Papal, and Lombard law, but they alſo brought home good manners, a knowledge of the Italian and Latin languages, and a taſte for the fine arts and ſciences. Eraſmus of Rotterdam, Reachlin, Hutten, and many others, are ſignal proofs how ſoon taſte was purified in Germany. Saxony in particular had ſeveral good ſchools. The univerſity of Leipſick had ſucceeded to the fame of that of Prague; and that of Wirtemberg, out of which Luther was ſoon to give the ſignal for battle, was frequented not only by Germans, but by Hungarians, Poles, Danes, and Swedes. Luther's other writings are evident proofs how much the German language itſelf was cultivated in Germany, and his tranſlation of the bible teſtifies how well the ancient languages were underſtood in the ſchools. Indeed it is probable, that Germany would have been the firſt country enlightened by Italy, and ſo have arrived at the preſent brilliant æra of literature immediately, had not religious diſputes diſturbed the minds of the people, and the war of thirty years, which followed, laid waſte the country.

Italy, at that time the moſt flouriſhing country in Europe, thought of no reformation, though it probably ſaw the religious abuſes ſtill more clearly than the Germans themſelves. The wits of Italy amuſed themſelves with ſatires on the Pope, Cardinals, and their adherents the monks and nuns. They conſidered the abuſes of religion with as little ſerioufneſs as men in the polite world look upon adultery and gallantry, which are now grown too univerſal for the police to have any hope of being able to reſtrain them. Indeed the exceſſes in which Italian prieſts and prelates indulged themſelves, were not of that low ſavage kind which diſgraced thoſe of Germany, but accorded better with the

poliſhed

poliſhed manners, the character of the people, and ſocial life; and the arts, which contributed all they could to the outward ſplendour of religion in this country, covered many defects in the eyes of thinking men, juſt as a coquet procures admirers by a charming patch, with which ſhe contrives to cover a wart or ugly ſpot of another kind. When we add to theſe conſiderations, that the commerce with the *ſpiritual* colonies brought home great riches, without the leaſt hazard or expence to the nation; that ſince the time of Charlemagne theſe colonies had ſpread almoſt to the borders of the frozen ſea, and that many Italian nobles made their fortune in the church; it will be no wonder that this country took no ſhare in the reformation, albeit it was ſuperior to the reſt of Europe in philoſophy and politics, and probably ſaw the corruption with a quicker eye than Luther and his aſſociates.

As to France, ſince the days of *Philip le Bel*, it had learned to ſport with the holy ſpirit of Rome. The court of Rome was no longer formidable to it. Our kings had a ſecret underſtanding with the popes, and knew how to make the vicar of Chriſt ſubſervient to their purpoſes. Our manners too were more correct than thoſe of the Germans, and our eccleſiaſtics confined themſelves more within the bounds of their order and of honour. As a proof of this, the council of Trent found nothing to alter in the French diſcipline, though it made a ſignal revolution in the manners of the German eccleſiaſtics. Though we had not indeed ſo many brilliant writers as the Germans had, knowledge in general was much more univerſally ſpread; and there are proofs ſufficient that men ſaw the abuſes of religion as clearly in France, as they did any where elſe. The behaviour of our envoys at the council of Conſtance one hundred years before, and the manner in which our court united with the German Proteſtants, as well as many other inſtances of the kind that might be brought, are a plain proof that religion was conſidered in France as a ſubordinate thing to politics.

Many other cauſes beſides the knowledge of the abuſes in religion, muſt alſo have contributed to the breaking out of the reformation in Germany. Theſe are very various; doubtleſs, one of the principal was the pride with which the court of Rome affected to treat the Germans: it had ſo often cheated and bullied this compliant and, till the fifteenth century, ſtupid people, that it began to imagine it might increaſe the burthen, *ad infinitum*, without any danger of meeting with reſiſtance; but, according to the old proverb, oppreſſion is the parent of liberty. Rome imagined that the concordate of *Aſchaffenburg* had ſecured it againſt any farther attempts from the nation; but this agreement had had quite a different effect, and had made the people ſee that they were betrayed by the craft of the Popiſh mediators.

Another cauſe of the reform is to be ſought for in the character of the nation. A phlegmatic man, when he once ſees that he is betrayed and brought under the harneſs, is the moſt untractable and ſtubborn of men. The numberleſs ſectaries in France, previous to the reformation, paſſed by like the faſhions of the country, and were forgotten.

The manners of the clergy of Germany likewiſe contributed to produce a change. The nunneries were open brothels; and whenever the prelates or abbots happened to be the lords of manors, they exerciſed their right of *prælibation* over the daughters of their tenants, in the ſame manner as the temporal lords. Debauchery was not covered over in this country, as in Italy and Germany, by good company and good manners, but it broke out in the moſt brutal and diſguſting exceſſes: for inſtance, a little before the breaking out of the reformation, a prieſt of Augſburg carried his effrontery ſo far, as to have knowledge of a woman in the open ſtreets. Child murder, ſodomy, and all the unnatural vices, had their full play amongſt the German eccleſiaſtics. Theſe hor-

rid acts muſt have ſtruck that part of the German public, who had been poliſhed by an acquaintance with the arts and ſciences of other countries, more than they would do the ſtupid inhabitants of a land whoſe prieſts went no farther than other people.

To all theſe cauſes there ſtill remains to be added, the heat with which Luther carried on his attack. The Proteſtants themſelves do not deny, that the paſſions of the man, his pride and vindictive ſpirit, contributed much to his ſucceſs.

We Frenchmen know nothing at all of Luther; both our eccleſiaſtics and hiſtorians have equally miſtaken his character. Even Voltaire, who was commonly ſo fortunate in delineating features which had eſcaped others, knew no more of Luther than, that he had called the Pope an aſs. Luther's writings diſplay not only a large quantity of knowledge, but an uncommon ſhare of wit, and at the ſame time ſtrong ſigns of a lively imagination. As to his wonderful humour, it is a kind of mean betwixt the manner of a well-fed monk, a true brother, and that of a ſenſible, learned, and patriotic profeſſor of the preſent day. If we judge him by our preſent rules of taſte, we ſhall find that he often falls into coarſeneſs and vulgarity; but we muſt recollect, that he had to do with the populace, and that his ſcholars, animated by the zeal which the luſt of reformation brought upon them, publiſhed many things which he did not intend ſhould ſee the light. They began all their works with their prophet, and would not ſuffer a word of his to be loſt, though ſpoken when he was drunk: it is thus his table converſations have come to be printed. You read in ſome editions of them, that when the great man perceived that ſome of the perſons preſent were writing down his jokes, he ſaid, "Ye aſſes, how comes it that you pick up the excrement that I let fall?" But it was as much owing to this rough kind of wit as to his learning, that his writings ſpread ſo far as they did. Like a truly phlegmatic man, he was irreconcileable and untractable when once he had been provoked. He moved heaven and earth againſt the popes. From the cloyſters and jovial ſocieties, in which he had made every body merry at their expence, he hurried to the courts of princes to urge the battle, or wrote himſelf the moſt bitter invectives againſt them. Though he would often put himſelf into no very decent paſſions with other reformers, on account of difference of opinion, he took care always to keep the ſovereigns he had to do with united; a ſure ſign that he was a man of the world, who knew how to treat with the great, as well as with the ſmall ones of the earth. Beſides all this, and above all, Luther was a *good* man; he kept an expenſive houſe, left debts behind him, and, what does the Proteſtant princes in Germany of that time no great honour, his wife and children fell into almoſt extreme poverty.

Eraſmus of Rotterdam, and others, who in the beginning adhered to Luther's party, were undoubtedly more learned and experienced men than he was; but a far different being from a mere learned man was required to ſtrike the ſtroke. It was neceſſary that the man who was to take the firſt ſtep, ſhould unite pre-eminence of learning with boldneſs and intrepidity, qualities which ſeldom fall to the ſhare of a man of letters. He was alſo to be a man for the people, which is ſeldom the caſe with a man of Eraſmus's character; in a word, he was to be a Luther.

Some people have been willing to deprive him of the honour of having ſtruck the firſt blow, but this is very immaterial: they ſay that Zwingle had preached againſt the abuſes of the church in Switzerland before the year 1507, in which Luther publiſhed his theſis; it is true that Zwingle had done ſo, and ſo had many others in Germany, before either Zwingle or Luther. From the time of the council of Conſtance, there never had been wanting men to preach and write againſt the injuſtice of the court of Rome, and the freedom of their pens was a ſingular contraſt enough with the tyranny of the church government. But ſermons alone could do nothing; all the political ne-

gociations of the moſt reſpectable courts could do nothing before Luther. To effect any thing conſiderable, there wanted a man to ſet himſelf at the head of a large party, under whom all the learned men of the times would enliſt, whom one of the moſt powerful princes of the times would ſupport, and who ſhould charge from ſo reſpectable a place as the univerſity of Wirtemberg at that time was:—this man was Luther. Circumſtances too, muſt have concurred, the influence of which we cannot at this time calculate. Preaching alone would have done as little in Switzerland as it did in Germany. It was neceſſary to proceed to *action*, and to ſet *hands* to work. All the other reformations followed the example which had been ſet them in that of Saxony; and though other reformers afterwards broke with Luther, and ſome of them went farther than he had done, they all looked up to him as their chief, and as having broke the ice for them. Without him, or rather without the circumſtances which impelled him, in all probability matters would never have come to action. Senſible men would have written ſatires, they would have made patriotic repreſentations, and have preached; and in the end, the Pope would have been compelled to do in Germany what he had done in France, from which laſt kingdom the ſale of indulgencies (which was the firſt ſignal of rebellion in Germany), and the great abuſes, have been baniſhed without reformation.

It is uſual for later writers to dwell much on the degree of light which the reformation has ſpread over the world. In my opinion, this is treating the matter in a very partial way, the fact is, that as to Germany, the illumination or the cultivation of it was put off for two hundred years by the reformation; during that period, France and Italy became very flouriſhing and enlightened countries, and Germany would undoubtedly have vied with them in cultivation, had not the theological diſputes baniſhed philoſophy, and the country been torn up by civil war. Even Italy flouriſhed in a degree which Germany will not yet arrive at for ſome time. Venice, Genoa, and Tuſcany were ſo enlightened, ſo poliſhed and, for their ſize, ſo powerful, that, making allowances for the different magnitudes of the countries, Europe has nothing at this time to produce that can compare with them. Venice alone was able to find employment for the empire and the whole power of Germany, and raiſed the jealouſy of all the princes of thoſe times. Naples alſo was a moſt flouriſhing ſtate. As for myſelf, I confeſs, that I cannot ſee what pre-eminence the Proteſtants have a right to claim even at this day, with regard to general illumination, over the Catholics; for inſtance, the French, and part of the Italians. The general enlightening of the underſtanding does not depend upon two or three myſteries of religion more or leſs in one country than in another. I too, ſet out on my journey with the prejudice that the great body of Proteſtants muſt be more enlightened than the Catholics; but I was ſoon obliged to give it up, and found that many of our countrymen have much more knowing heads than can be found in the people of ſeveral Proteſtant countries I paſſed through. Even amongſt the Proteſtants themſelves, the knowledge of the people is in no proportion to the ſimplicity of their different religions. The Saxons, whoſe religion is by no means ſo ſimple, or, as ſome people would call it, ſo philoſophical as that of ſome of the reformed, are, upon the whole, a more enlightened people than the reformed Swiſs and Dutchmen: the difference amongſt the peaſants is very ſtriking. In Germany, after the darkneſs in which war and theology had involved the country, the Catholics applied themſelves much ſooner than the Proteſtants to the ſciences. Sturm, the firſt improver of the Proteſtant ſchools, in his treatiſe *De Inſtitutione Scholarum*, allows, that the Jeſuits had an advantage over the Proteſtants in the ſchools, and that theſe muſt exert themſelves, if they would come up with them. It has been ſolely owing to the indolence and ſtupidity of the Catholic

princes, that the Proteſtants have not only overtaken them, but got a great way before them. Whilſt the latter made uſe of the liberty which had been procured to their ſchools by the change of their religion, the former ſuffered the papal huntſmen to entrap them under the authority of their unthinking princes; but this was not the caſe in France, Venice, and other Catholic countries.

It may, I think, admit of ſome doubt, whether the abolition of the ancient church government did much more for the happineſs of the people, than it did for their underſtandings; at leaſt in every Proteſtant country I paſſed through, I heard the eccleſiaſtics complain of the decay of their credit, the narrowneſs of their circumſtances, and the diſorders which were the conſequences of them; amongſt which, that they moſt enumerated and complained the moſt bitterly of, was the not having a bond of union amongſt themſelves, but every man's being allowed to be a pope in his own circle. No doubt but the reformers merited much by improvements they introduced into the eccleſiaſtical police as connected with the civil, I mean by their baniſhment of celibacy, faſts, popiſh diſpenſations and indulgencies; but theſe improvements are conſiſtent with the exiſtence of the Catholic religion, and have been introduced more or leſs into ſeveral countries. The trade of indulgencies is ruined almoſt over the whole Catholic world. Even the Spaniards and Portugueſe cruſades, formerly the moſt productive of all, now bring in very little to the holy father. For a long time purgatory has only produced the trifling ſums which monks, religious brotherhoods, and other communities, whoſe feſtivals are connected with indulgencies, pay for their bulls of foundation; and this ſource of revenue is now almoſt dried up; for in moſt Catholic countries there are no erections of new cloyſters, nor new fraternities, nor any introduction of new feſtivals; on the contrary, they are endeavouring as faſt as they can to aboliſh the old. Indeed it is only to the eccleſiaſtics of the Catholic countries that purgatory is at all productive; but I have ſeen the eccleſiaſtics of Proteſtant countries uſe artifices to extort money from their people particularly the peaſants, far more dangerous than purgatory, which, after all, produced only offerings freely given.

The great merit of the reformers conſiſts in the change which their reformation made in the morals of the people: indulgencies, proceſſions, feſtivals, faſts, and the like, might have been cut off by the civil power, without its having made any ſeparation in the church; but no civil power can at once render a debauched, diſſipated people induſtrious and frugal. Luther, who was not the beſt œconomiſt himſelf, preached nothing up ſo much as abſtinence, frugality, and induſtry. The Calviniſts went ſtill farther; they taught that the world was a place of torment, and that the true life of man conſiſted in the mortification of the fleſh. Their catechiſm forbad all enjoyments, and made a ſin of laughter. A man muſt read Swift's writings to ſee how much farther the Calviniſts went in this point than the Lutherans. It muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that this command of abſtinence is the cauſe why the Calviniſts are every where richer than the Lutherans; for they are neither more active nor more induſtrious than theſe, but, on the contrary, their melancholy humour, (a conſequence of their education and their manners,) which among the common people in many countries almoſt borders on ſtupidity, renders them heavy at every thing; indeed this is the reaſon that they have not done ſo much in the arts as either the Lutherans or the Catholics. I remember to have read in an Engliſh Review, an eſtimate of the proportion between the artiſts and ingenious men produced by the Puritans or Calviniſts, and thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church; according to this account, the former ſtood to the latter as one to ſix, and yet the diſſenters make two fifths of the inhabitants of England.—The Dutchman lives more carkingly in the midſt of his money, than the Catholics and Lu-

therans of middling incomes in other places; he knows no pleaſure in the whole world, except that of ſitting over his diſh of tea in winter to converſe about war or peace, and in ſummer viſiting his garden once a week; he is tedious, and in a certain degree torpid about his buſineſs, and it is to his indefatigable attention to the main chance, but ſtill more to his niggardlineſs, that he is indebted for his riches. This is the character of the Calviniſt every where; and the ſpirit, which is a conſequence of this melancholy humour, allows ſome of them frauds in the daily trade and intercourſe of life, which a Catholic or Lutheran would conſider as manifeſt cheating. They have a text of ſcripture ready for all occaſions, but give the preference to this, *be ye wiſe as ſerpents.*— The Memnonites and Quakers are ſtill more niggardly than the Calviniſts, and in conſequence much richer, but likewiſe ſtill duller; theſe, as far as I can perceive, have no genius whatever for the arts.

It was natural enough to expect, that the reformation ſhould here and there lead to abſurdities, and that men would go from one extreme to the other; but as only a part of the Proteſtants have carried theſe tenets to this exceſs, they are as profitable to the whole ſtate, as they are probably pernicious to the happineſs of the individual. Though the immenſe riches of the Dutch contribute little to render them happier than the poorer people, they enable them not only to ſupport the greateſt wars for themſelves, but to furniſh friends and foes with conſiderable ſums.

As for the Lutherans, they poſſeſs part of the humour of their founder, and to a high degree of induſtry and frugality unite a great love of pleaſure and jollity, which makes the enjoyment of ſociety. The unnatural hatred to pleaſure does not damp their wit and good humour, and they have nothing of the ſavage ſlovenlineſs, the dark hypocriſy, and the ill breeding, which diſtinguiſhes the majority of other ſects.

By theſe regulations in the manners, we ſee how powerful religion is on the hearts of men. Prior to this miracle, for it really was one, Germany was in a conſtant frenzy; drinking, dancing, and intriguing, kept prieſts and laity in a perpetual dream, and ſenſeleſs ſpectacles of every kind contributed their ſhare to the perverſion of the underſtanding; when lo! in an inſtant, the people ran from the ale-houſes and brothels to church, opened their eyes, believed, and became induſtrious, frugal, and active.

To bring about ſuch a change as this was, required a degree of reſolution, which is only to be met with among a barbarous people, ſuch as the Germans of that time were. When pleaſure has once enervated a nation, nothing of the kind is more to be expected. In the ſouthern parts of Germany, particularly in Bavaria, the object would be as difficult to compaſs as it is deſirable.

LETTER XLVII.

Berlin.

MY way hither lay through Wittemberg, a good looking town, but which ſtill preſerves the marks of the frequent change of maſters it underwent in the laſt Sileſian war, and which it has not yet entirely recovered. It ſhould be properly the capital of the electorate, but muſt yield the firſt place to Leipſick. Indeed, in point of riches and population, it is inferior to many other towns in Saxony.

As far as the Elbe, the country is as well cultivated as Upper Saxony, and ſeems to have the ſame ſoil; but you are hardly got a poſt beyond Wittemberg, before you diſcover a great alteration; inſtead of the rich black ſoil of Saxony, you meet with nothing but ſand; there is alſo a tedious uniformity in the proſpect: there are large moraſſes near the rivers, and the number of thick black woods give the whole an un-

pleaſing appearance. Of all the German provinces I have hitherto paſſed through, nature ſeems to have treated Brandenburg the moſt like a ſtep-mother.

The inhabitants endeavour to remedy the niggardlineſs of nature by their induſtry. Wherever the ſoil has allowed of any kind of agriculture, they have made the beſt of it. The appearance of the villages and farms, as well as of their inhabitants, beſpeaks proſperity.

My own experience confirms what ſeveral other travellers have obſerved before me. The cuſtom-houſe officers in Pruſſia are neither ſo tedious, nor ſo diſtreſſing and vexatious to a traveller, as thoſe of Auſtria; they are for the moſt part intelligible, ſenſible men, and by no means ſo deſpotic and booriſh as the Auſtrian gentlemen of the ſame profeſſion.

Berlin is a remarkably beautiful and magnificent city, and may certainly be looked upon as one of the fineſt in Europe. It has nothing of the uniformity, which in the long run makes the appearance of moſt of the new and regular built towns tireſome. The architecture, the diſtribution of the buildings, the appearance of the ſquares, the plantations of trees both in theſe and the ſtreets; every thing, in a word, beſpeaks taſte and variety.

I have been for ſome days reconnoitring the town according to my common cuſtom. Berlin is not ſo large as either Paris or Vienna; it is about four miles and a half long from the *Muhlenthor*, which is ſouth-eaſt, to the *Oranienburgerthor* north-weſt, and about three miles broad from the *Bernaverthor* to the north-eaſt, to the *Potſdamerthor* to the ſouth-weſt; but within this extenſive encloſure there are many gardens, and in ſome parts even fields taken in: there are not more than ſix thouſand houſes in this town, whereas in Paris there are near thirty thouſand. The emptineſs of many places is a ſingular contraſt to the magnificence of the buildings.

Nor is the contraſt of this magnificence with the circumſtances of the people leſs ſtriking. Sometimes while you are ſtanding gazing at the beauty of the building in the Ionic ſtyle, finely ſtuccoed, with a magnificent front, and all the outward appearance of the habitation of a farmer-general, or at leaſt a duke, on a ſudden a window opens in the lower ſtory, and a cobler brings out a pair of boots and hangs them under your noſe, in order to dry the leather. As you are loſt in wonder at this phænomenon, the ſecond ſtory opens, and a breeches-maker treats you with a pair of new waſhed breeches; a little while after another window opens in the ſame ſtory, and a taylor hangs out a waiſtcoat before you, or a woman empties a diſh of *potatoe* parings on your head: well, you go on a few ſteps farther, and come to a palace of the Corinthian order, which looks like a houſe belonging to a miſtreſs of the king, or of one of the princes of the blood. Scarce have your wandering eyes reached the top, but you are ſaluted by a Jew from the attic ſtory, who aſks you whether you have any thing to ſwop; you caſt your eyes a ſtory lower, and behold ſhirts hanging out to dry, which belong to an officer, who is ſhaving himſelf, and whom you would hardly conceive to have two ſhirts belonging to him. You march on through two or three ſtreets of the ſame kind, and in all of them ſee inhabitants of the ſame ſort; at laſt you arrive at the houſe of a general officer, as you eaſily diſcover by the guard before the door; but you ſee neither porter nor running footmen, nor any thing of the train of attendants of the nobility at Vienna.

I have now been three days in the houſe of a privy-counſellor, and am fortunate enough to have a lord of the war-office for my fellow tenant. It was impoſſible for me to remain at the inn. The hoſt made bows upon bows, and was ſo very civil, that I had my ſuſpicions of him the very firſt moment; nor was I miſtaken, for upon my

my ſtaying dinner the next day at a gentleman's houſe, for whom I had letters of recommendation from Dreſden, at my return he made his remarks upon it; and the day after took it in ſerious dudgeon, that I would not leave a fine garden and good company, I had ſtrolled to, and walk three miles home to add another item to his reckoning. We were however reconciled; but as he perceived I was one of thoſe who did not hold long converſation with inn keepers, he came into my room, and would read me the Berlin newſpapers, which for lies and nonſenſe are not behind hand with the French ones. As he was going on with the weighty and important intelligence, that a Pruſſian general had died of the gout; that his Royal Highneſs Prince Henry was gone a journey to Rhinſberg; that a perſon in the *Newmark*, who was a man of letters, was afflicted with the cholic; and that the wife of a general officer in Sileſia was ſafely delivered of a daughter, I ſnatched the paper out of his hands. He took this affront ſo civilly, that I was on the point of forgiving the inſolence of the night before, when he gave me to underſtand, that he would provide me with a companion to ſleep with, as well as with my board, if I choſe it; upon this I immediately went out to look for a private houſe, it being a maxim with me, that every inn keeper who is a bawd, is of courſe a cheat. In general the inn-keepers of this place ſeem to be a peculiar kind of people; they are all outrageouſly civil at firſt, but extremely ſurly when they meet with any one who does not chooſe to be impoſed on by them; there is likewiſe no end of their impertinent queſtions, and when they have no girls in the houſe, they make it no ſecret, that this is an article which they undertake to provide ſtrangers with. They have liſts in which the ladies of the neighbourhood are ſorted according to their prices, and a ſervant is always ready to fetch the wares which the ſtranger bargains for. My landlord, the privy-counſellor, aſſured me, that there was hardly one landlord in twenty who did not deal in this trade.

A traveller who comes out of Bohemia into Saxony, is apt to be ſtruck with the dearneſs of proviſions in the latter; but it is nothing to what he meets with when he comes from Saxony hither. Several cauſes contribute to this; among which may be enumerated the natural poverty of the country in ſeveral commodities, the high cuſtoms, and many monopolies. To give you a ſmall idea of the latter, the meaſure of wood, which you know coſts a trifle at Paris, here comes to a guinea and a half, notwithſtanding that Brandenburg is full of woods of all ſorts. Indeed the ſmall quantity of money in circulation, and the price of every neceſſary of life, forms a ſtrong contraſt betwixt this place and Vienna. At Vienna you are amazed that, with ſuch a circulation of money, every [redacted] be ſo cheap, and here can hardly conceive how, with ſo ſmall a proportion of caſh, every thing can be ſo dear. Conceive that you pay ſix or ſeven livres here for a bottle of Burgundy which has nothing but the name of Burgundy; our common wines of Orleanois, Iſle de France, Guyenne, &c. ſell for three or four livres a bottle. Indeed the King is a little too hard upon the drinkers of wine.

In all the private houſes I have hitherto ſeen, there prevails a rigid œconomy in the kitchen, cellar, and indeed in every part: the only article of expence is dreſs; but you ſee that the belly has been pinched for the ſake of powder and ruffles. The ladies dreſs in the faſhion, and I ſaw ſome ornaments in very great taſte, and very rich.

There is no town in Europe, except Conſtantinople, which has ſo numerous a garriſon as Berlin has: it conſiſts of twenty-ſix thouſand men. For a little money you may have every thing done for you by a ſoldier; they clean your ſhoes, waſh, mend, pimp,

pimp, and in ſhort do all that is done elſewhere by Savoyards and old women. They are alſo in the cuſtom of begging of ſtrangers, not abſolutely charity, but ſomething to drink; with which, however, they commonly purchaſe ſomething to eat, as the Sprey has water enough to quench their thirſt. They are not ſo ſurly as the Imperial troops, and you meet with ſeveral ſenſible men amongſt them.

As far as I can hitherto ſee of the people of this place, they are better provided, as to the upper region or head, than the inhabitants of Vienna, but cannot vie with them in the middle regions, the belly, and the pockets. The vacuum in thoſe, particularly the purſe, may eaſily be diſcovered by an attentive obſerver, and it ſtrikes a ſtranger forcibly. They have indeed ſo little reſpect for the eyes and ears of the public, that officers and counſellors will drive a bargin for guilders with Jews in a public coffee-houſe; a thing I ſaw with my own eyes the day after I arrived here. The merchants, manufacturers, and that part of the nobility which have places, deal ſo myſteriouſly in all matters of money, that you find it very difficult to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who have not any. On the other hand, you obſerve here ſuch an information with regard to the ſtate of the country, ſuch a freedom in diſcourſing on the meaſures of government, ſuch a national pride, ſuch a participation in every public occurrence; and in the military and civil officers, ſuch an activity for the ſtate, and (notwithſtanding their ſmall ſalaries) ſuch a jealouſy of doing their duty, that in all theſe reſpects you would think yourſelf in London. This is an evident ſign that the ſpirit of a people does not depend upon the form, but on the adminiſtration of a government; and that patriotiſm is not the excluſive privilege of republics. They talk here about the King's regulations, as well as about his *emiſſions* and *commiſſions*, with a degree of freedom, that you would only expect to find in an Engliſhman.

Though I have been here but a ſhort time, I think I can take upon me to contradict an opinion which has pretty generally gone abroad, upon the authority of ſome gentlemen who have travelled poſt through the country, about the *myſteriouſneſs* of this government. It is ſaid that there is a cloud round the King's operations, and that all is ſupported by his power; for my own part, I have not ſeen a more open or more popular government than this is, that of England itſelf not excepted. The whole plan of adminiſtration appears to me ſo plain, and at all times ſo open to every man's inſpection, that I cannot conceive how ſo falſe an eſtimate can have been made. Some Engliſhmen, who think that the eſſence of liberty conſiſts in babbling, and giving vent in parliament to every ſpecies of ill-humour, [illegible] who, from their imprudence and ſelf-ſufficiency, are the worſt obſervers that [illegible] have moſt probably ſpread this opinion. It is not, however, neceſſary to be [illegible] country to diſcover that the King is no fonder of clandeſtine meaſures than [illegible] his power. The department of foreign affairs, and poſſibly ſome things wh[illegible]te to the diſcipline of the army, are the only things which are kept in ſome ob[illegible] and ſurely no man will expect that the King will ſuffer his correſpondence with his miniſters, and the ſecret of his treaties, to be printed and ſold in the ſhops: but I will talk to you more at length about this another time.

LETTER XLVIII.

Berlin.

FORGIVE me, brother, for having made you wait ſome time for a letter, but I have made ſeveral excurſions through the country, and will now ſit down to give you an account of my peregrinations.

I was

I was three days at Potſdam. This city has ſtill finer houſes in it than thoſe at Berlin; but, like theſe, they are inhabited only by perſons of the lower and middling ranks. The ſituation of the town was much extolled to me, and for a country with ſo much fameneſs in it as Brandenburg has, it may paſs for a fine one. Neither, however, the buildings nor the ſituation were the chief objects of my viſit here; what I came for was to ſee the King, who has for ſo many years been the god of the Pariſian idolatry, the wonder of all Europe, the maſter and terror of his foes, and, in ſhort, who throughout all the neighbouring ſtates is called The King *par excellence*. I was told that I might very eaſily be preſented to him; but I have always thought it a great piece of impertinence to think ſo lightly of the leiſure of a mighty monarch, as to introduce yourſelf to him without the ſmalleſt pretenſion. I had the good fortune to ſee him twice on horſeback on the parade, where, however, he is not ſo regular an attendant as formerly.

All the prints I have hitherto ſeen of him are only half lengths; but there are many copies of a very good picture, in which he is drawn at full length. You may ſeen one of theſe at Madam S——'s, at Paris, and they are ſo common here, that you meet with them in ſeveral inns. The original was painted by an Italian, who having been extremely fortunate in hitting off the likeneſs, the King ſuffered copies of the picture to be taken by many good maſters here, and made preſents of them to ſeveral German princes, and thus the copies have become common. Heavily as the hand of age now ſeems to lie on this immortal man, the very ſtrong likeneſs of the face ſtill remains. The King of Pruſſia is hardly of the middling ſize, but ſtrong built and thick ſet. His body is now much bent, and his head ſhakes, but his eyes are ſtill piercing, and roll about when he is obſerving. Peace, order, reſolution, and earneſtneſs are marked upon his face. There is likewiſe that particular look about him which is common to all great perſonages, and which I ſhould call indifference to all that ſurrounds him, were it not that you ſee evidently, that he takes an uncommon intereſt in the things which he conceives ſpecially to belong to his province. The editor of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*, Mr. Pilati, ſays, that every thing at Berlin and Potſdam is carried on in ſilence, and that nothing can be known either of the King's private life, or of his public affairs. There is an univerſal opinion of the kind gone out about this court: If you will believe ſome Engliſhmen, eſpecially Mr. Wraxall, the genius which animates the Pruſſian monarchy, is a man-hating, light-ſhining genius, who in imperceptible darkneſs ſtrikes conſtantly at the eſtates of the ſubjects and lays ſnares for them. It is impoſſible to form a falſer judgment of the King. Mr. Pilati, who contradicts himſelf in more places than one, ſays in another part of his letters, that the King's hours are ſo regularly diſtributed, that at any time you may know what he is then doing. Indeed the true cauſe why ſo little is to be ſaid of the King's private life, is the great ſimplicity and regularity of it. Here is no miniſter to enter into intrigues with, to ruin a man of honour who ſtands in his way; no miſtreſs whoſe humour a man muſt ſtudy to get the favourable minute to obtain a right, or have juſtice done him for an injury, or of whoſe adventures he muſt keep a regiſter, to revenge himſelf on her by bon-mots, epigrams, and anecdotes;—no queen to puzzle and perplex the court every morning with the very great problem, whether ſhe has ſlept with her huſband or not, whether ſhe is breeding or not, and whether the faſhion will not undergo ſome revolution, commanded by Her Majeſty, in the courſe of the enſuing week. The princes and princeſſes of the blood have neither diſputes for precedency to ſettle, nor cabals to contrive, nor large play debts to diſcharge, nor any of the mighty buſineſſes which are the daily occupations of other courts to diſpatch; the King neither hunts nor goes to balls or theatres (a few

operas

operas only excepted); he has no occaſion to adviſe with a miniſter of finance, how, or from what funds the miſtreſs's new dreſs, or her new houſe, or her new garden, or her journey to —— ſhall be paid;—nothing is undertaken here for which the money is not ready. The King of Pruſſia has neither favourite, nor confeſſor, nor court fool (who, *mutatis mutandis*, is ſtill in good credit in the other courts of Germany, and whoſe part the confeſſor moſtly plays).

Under theſe circumſtances, the court anecdotes of the day muſt neceſſarily be very few; but yet the King gives himſelf ſo little trouble to be concealed, that as the Engliſhman, Moore obſerves, it is no difficult matter to arrive at his bed-chamber unperceived: he is ſurrounded neither by a guard or a ſwarm of footmen and *valets de chambre;* he often walks alone in the gardens of Sans-Soucy, and wherever he is, except at a review, no man is kept at a diſtance.

It is owing to the ſame ſimplicity and order which obtains in his private life, that the operations of the King of Pruſſia's government make ſo little noiſe. Whoever conſiders his adminiſtration as myſterious, or his dealings as eſtabliſhed in intrigue, falls into the error ſo common to all us mortals, of thinking there is intrigue wherever there is ſimplicity; hence it is, that we do not ſee the truth that is under our noſes. Sometimes, however, a man's over zeal works out ſomewhat bitter from his own gall, and this I conceive to have been Mr. Wraxall's caſe.

It is true, that the King neither holds ſtated councils, nor yet a *Lit de Juſtice;* he has no parliament whoſe members are promoted for their flatteries, and baniſhed for their oppoſition. The princes of the blood have no opportunity of compelling him by *repreſentations* or *proteſtations* againſt his meaſures, either to forbid them appearing at court on certain days, or to pay their debts; men of honour are not baniſhed from him by *Lettres de Cachet*, nor can the miniſters cabal againſt them; neither is this King compelled to appeal to the love and patriotiſm of his ſubjects, as often as the invention of the miniſter of finance is exhauſted, and the poor man has no artifice, ſave flattery, left to wring the laſt penny from their purſes; he knows nothing of ſtate lotteries, nor of annuities, nor of loans, nor of new *vingtiemes*, nor of augmenting the capitation; he has no *dons gratuits* to expect from his clergy, nor is he obliged to threaten them with reformation in religion, if they will not make him the preſents required; he has no biſhops nor *Sorbonne*, who impriſon ſenſible men, and take away their character in the public eſtimation, in order to preſerve their own places; his miniſters can neither make parties amongſt themſelves, nor play at *the blind cow* with him.—All this muſt in truth render the government very uniform, and affords very little ſubject for news.

I ſpent many days in conſidering in what part of this adminiſtration it would be poſſible to introduce myſtery, without being able to make a probable conjecture. There is, indeed, a myſtery incidental to foreign affairs, from the very nature of them, which even the Engliſh miniſtry contrive religiouſly to conceal from the eyes of parliament; but as to home occaſions, neither the religion, the nobility, nor any part of the ſtate is ever at variance with the whole. Far from endeavouring to undermine the rights of the nobility, the King takes all poſſible pains to maintain them in the full poſſeſſion of them. He has aſſiſted the Sileſian nobility, who are the moſt powerful in his country, by lending them large ſums of money, at one and a half per cent. The ſame thing has been done for the nobility of other countries who have wanted his aſſiſtance. No community, city, or religious order, is in the leaſt danger of having their privileges intruded upon, as long as they are not detrimental to the advantage of the whole. The rich cloyſters in Sileſia and the Weſtern Pruſſia, have not the leaſt thing to apprehend.

The Pruſſian government is generally conſidered in other countries as the moſt deſpotic that exiſts, though, in fact, nothing can be leſs ſo. The maxim which is the foundation of the Britiſh conſtitution, *Lex in regno ſuo ſuperiores habet Deum et Regem*, is no where ſo well obſerved as it is here. People will not ſurely call a rigid obſervation of the laws which promote the good of the ſtate deſpotiſm; and what inſtances are there of the King's ever having allowed himſelf any thing that beſpoke arbitrary ſentiments? In no country are the rights of reaſon, the rights of nature, the cuſtoms, and particular ſtatutes which do not militate againſt the happineſs of the whole, better obſerved and guarded than they are in the Pruſſian dominions. No where does government direct all its ſteps ſo exactly according to the rule of right as it does here. The ſtrongeſt proof that can be given of this aſſertion, is the conſideration of the adminiſtration of finances. Taxes are the only mark of univerſal deſpotiſm, all other acts of power affecting only particular perſons, and chiefly thoſe who for their own intereſt ſubject themſelves to them; but taxes are levied equally upon all the people. Let us therefore ſee how it is with taxes in the Pruſſian dominions.

Excluſive of the crown lands, mines, manufactures, and other revenues of royalty, the finance ſyſtem of the King of Pruſſia reſts upon the two plaineſt grounds that can be, the taxes and cuſtoms. The taxes fall upon the moſt numerous and moſt uſeful claſs of the people, to wit, the farmers and holders of land; and they are as moderate when compared with the value of things, as thoſe of any other country in Europe. The farmers in the Pruſſian dominions, as the Engliſhman Moore, himſelf acknowledges, are as well off as thoſe of any other country whatever: they compoſe at leaſt three-fourths of the King's ſubjects; and the good circumſtances of ſo large a part of the nation, is a good compenſation in the eyes of humanity for the nobility not being ſo rich as in England and France. In both theſe countries the farmers, though they conſtitute what is properly called the nation, or people, are the laſt thought of by government.

It is worth while to compare the ſtate of the Engliſh farmers with that of the Pruſſian ones; as it is by ſuch compariſons alone that we can form to ourſelves diſtinct notions of liberty and deſpotiſm, as well as of the little dependance that is to be placed on the accounts of things given by Engliſh travellers, who are wont to treat as ſlaves all nations who have no nabobs, nor lords, nor corrupt brawlers in parliament, nor yet a king whom every raſcal is at liberty to throw dirt at under the maſk of patriotiſm.

The ſubſtantial Engliſh farmers cannot be taken into our compariſon, on account of the ſmallneſs of their numbers; for, according to the accounts the Engliſh writers themſelves give, they hardly make the ſixtieth part of the whole, and are exactly what the poſſeſſors of ſmall eſtates and the farmers of the crown lands are here; or rather the number of theſe is much greater in Pruſſia than that of the ſubſtantial farmers in England.

The number of yeomen, freeholders, and copy-holders, who have the right of chuſing members of parliament, is alſo very ſmall, and it is well known that their right of election is a vain title. The nobility, whoſe tenants they are in great meaſure, or who can bring them under their dominion various ways, rob them of their votes either by open power or ſecret bribery.

In the preſent ſtate of things in England, the farmer has evidently no ſhare in the legiſlation; he is in the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the word, a ſlave of a ſuperior order. He is compelled to go as a ſoldier or ſailor to America, or the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, and the higheſt and leſs numerous claſs of the people enjoy the fruits of his labours. The quantity of gold which he brings back to England, at the expence of his blood, raiſes the

price of things, ſo that he is not able to export the produce of his lands; and a part of the beſt land in Europe muſt have remained uncultivated, had not parliament granted ſuch large bounties on exportation, as enabled the holders of it to ſupport the competition of other nations: nor can even this precarious ſtate of the corn trade laſt longer than till ſuch times as the navy of Ruſſia and other ſtates, which border on Poland, ſhall improve. As ſoon as Ruſſia and Pruſſia ſhall have a ſufficient navy, and the agriculture of Poland is become what it is capable of being brought to, the Engliſh corn trade will of courſe be deſtroyed. That ſyſtem of convenience, which Great Britain has taken up for ſo many years paſt in defiance of juſtice and the law of nations, is as oppreſſive to the farmer, as it is advantageous to the nobility and trading part of the country. It is the former who muſt fight out the wars which this ſyſtem introduces; they are principally affected by the ſtagnation and fall of national credit, the immenſe debt of the country, and the exchange of coin for paper-money. The increaſe of taxes, in the caſe of a war, all fall ultimately upon them, as this event at once takes a great number of hands from the plough, and the internal conſumption is leſſened by the abſence of ſo many thouſand men from their native country. The dangers of the ſea, and the political ſtate in which Great Britain has been for theſe fourſcore years paſt, almoſt confine their corn trade to the countries from which the largeſt quantities are exported in time of peace. A long war neceſſarily occaſions a great increaſe of ſtreet robbers and thieves, who are all of the claſs of farmers, and are a new plague to the country people. The wars England has been engaged in during the laſt century, which taken altogether occupy half that period, have diminiſhed the population, to the great detriment of agriculture. Whatever is ſaid of the population of England, it does not bear any proportion to thoſe of France, Italy, and Germany, the ſize of the reſpective countries being taken into the account. In theſe countries there are two thouſand five hundred men to every ſquare mile, and in England hardly one thouſand nine hundred; and yet it has a greater proportion of the neceſſaries of life than any country.

Blinded by a falſe appearance of freedom, the Engliſh farmer thinks that he is fighting for the good of his country, whilſt in fact he is fighting to ſupport the vices of the great. This the true cauſe why ſome Engliſh writers have thought, that inſtructing farmers prejudiced the ſtate, and have contended for keeping them in a ſtate of ſavage barbarity, as a thing eſſential to the happineſs of the whole. The true meaning of this is, that the nation would have ſoldiers and ſailors to fight through ſtorms and batteries for a freedom which hardly a twentieth part of the nation poſſeſſes.

Dr. Moore thinks that the King of Pruſſia's reaſon for contributing ſo much to the proſperity of his farmers is, that they may ſupply him with ſoldiers. None but an Engliſhman, who is uſed to diſtort every thing to the opinion which beſt ſuits his prejudices, could have had ſuch an idea. Hardly two-fifth of the Pruſſian army conſiſt of farmers ſons; above half are foreigners, and the other half is made up equally from town and country. Pilati flatly contradicts Moore in this particular. He informs us, that the Pruſſian armies are made up of men which ancient Rome would not have accepted of for her defenders, to wit, manufacturers. I ſhall not take up your time nor my own in writing down any more of theſe conceits, which only make a ſenſible man laugh. The King of Pruſſia, as the reaſon of things directs, and far differently from the Engliſh legiſlature, conſiders the peaſants as the moſt uſeful members of the community. He does not trouble himſelf with foreign colonies, which deprive the land of the hands neceſſary to till it, and which the peaſant is obliged to defend for the advantage of the diſſipated part of the nation. His ſyſtem of politics reſts neither on being maſter of the ſea, nor on the vanity of interfering in all the concerns of the European powers, for the

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ſake of having the doubtful name of the maintainer of the balance and freedom of Europe, which has embroiled the Engliſh in ſo many wars, whatever may have been falſely ſaid to the contrary. His peaſants, as I will ſhew you in a future letter, are in no danger of being the victims of ambition, as thoſe of England conſtantly are. It is impoſſible for the Pruſſians ever to be put to the difficulty of not being able to part with what their land produces. In England, according to the account of the beſt politicians, large tracts of the beſt land is uncultivated. In Pruſſia, even the dry ſands are ploughed. In England a man of fortune has it in his power to put a forced price upon the corn in the market to his own profit, and to the great detriment of the neighbouring farmers. Here the country is not only free from all ſuch acts of power of the nobility, but the king, by wiſe regulations and by magazines, contrives to keep the corn at a conſtant high price: this he effects by wiſe regulations, and laying out large ſums to keep his granaries always full. The bounty granted by the Engliſh parliament for the exportation of corn, bears no proportion to the ſums ſpent by the King of Pruſſia on the improvement of agriculture. He not only gives thoſe who are inclined to improve the waſte lands, wood for building, cattle, and ſtock of all kinds, but lays out large ſums of money amongſt the poor farmers. For ſeveral years paſt he has given the inhabitants of the *Middlemark* alone 10,000 thalers a year, and, according to a computation made, he gives every year about 700,000 guilders i. e. 2,500,000 French livres amongſt the poor farmers. The yearly out-goings for colonies, cauſeways, canals, &c. all which have the advancement of agriculture in view, coſt him no leſs. The great advantage which the Pruſſian farmer has over the Engliſh, that which renders him, without a doubt, the freeſt and happieſt farmer upon earth, is, that his land-tax is never increaſed; this circumſtance alone would be ſufficient to ſilence all the clamours raiſed about Pruſſian deſpotiſm, were the perſons who raiſe them capable of any ſhame, or did they take any trouble to ſee more of the country than it is poſſible they ſhould ſee by riding poſt through it.

The taxes in the King of Pruſſia's dominions are ſubject to no alteration. In the very preſſure of the Sileſian war, when all Europe thought that the Pruſſian country muſt be drained to the uttermoſt farthing, they were not raiſed a ſix-pence; and had the war been longer and ſtill more violent, they would not have been raiſed. This is due to the perfect knowledge which the king has of the ſtate of the country, and his averſion to deſpotiſm and arbitrary power. He knew that taxes are doubly diſtreſſing to the farmers amidſt the deſolations and diſtreſſes of war, and that any increaſe of them muſt be extremely pernicious, at a time when from the abſence of the troops the conſumption of the produce is leſſened, the country plundered by incurſions of the enemy, and many uſeful hands taken from the plough.

Mr. Pilati, who does juſtice to the King's attention to the improvement of agriculture, concludes what he ſays on this ſubject with this remark: "Notwithſtanding all that the King has done to promote it, agriculture will not flouriſh in the Pruſſian dominions, on account of the ſmallneſs of the circulation." I could obſerve no diſtreſs ariſing from any circumſtance of this kind; on the contrary, what I ſaw of the dreſs, the furniture of their houſes, and the way of life, beſpoke a degree of eaſe, which approached very nearly to luxury; indeed, it appears *a priori*, that the inhabitants of the country cannot be expoſed to that want of money which is felt in the great towns; they are the great canals, or, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the great *reſervoirs* of the gold, which comes to them through the ſmall canals of the ſtate, and returns from them through ſmall canals to the body. The whole machine of government is calculated for their benefit: they feel the exciſe and monopolies leſs than any perſons, and may free themſelves entirely

from their burthens, if, according to the King's paternal requiſition, they will abſtain from luxury. It is the manufacturers, artiſts, petty tradeſmen, and above all, the lower and middling inhabitants of the great cities, who are compelled to conſume the productions of the country, and the farmer has all the benefit of it; indeed, the whole Pruſſian ſyſtem of cuſtoms is adapted for the peculiar advantage of the latter; for inſtance, the object in the extravagant duties on foreign wines, is to compel the people to drink the beer of the country, in the making of which the farmer employs his barley and his hops. The ſoldier gives every thing to the farmer; his clothing, his eating, his drinking, all contribute to the proſperity of the inhabitants of the country. An evident reaſon why the Pruſſian farmers muſt be the very people who can know no want of money, is, that the productions of the country are much dearer than they are in any of the neighbouring countries, though the ſale is much greater.

I have read in a German review the account of a work, the author of which attempts to prove, that the advantages enjoyed by the Pruſſian farmers over the other orders of the ſtate, will ſome time or other prove dangerous to the conſtitution; but is it not natural, is it not republican, is it not conſonant to the dignity of man to conceive, that the moſt uſeful, and moſt numerous part of a community ſhould have the greateſt authority in it? Shall a parcel of lords poſſeſs all the advantages of that freedom which the farmer is obliged to give his blood to defend?

Mr. Pilati, who often contradicts what he has proved, and often proves what he has contradicted, makes a remark in his account of Sicily, which, though it does not agree with what he himſelf had ſaid before of the ſtate of agriculture in Pruſſia, does great honour to the Pruſſian adminiſtration. After having contraſted the profuſe bleſſings of nature in this iſland, with her ſtep-mother treatment of the countries under the Pruſſian dominions, he tells us, that notwithſtanding this, the Pruſſian farmers are happier than thoſe of Sicily. What a god-like adminiſtration muſt that be, which makes the inhabitants of a ſandy waſte happier than the poſſeſſors of a country, which both ancient and modern writers extol as a miracle of fruitfulneſs and wealth! The land in Sicily produces a hundred fold, and in Pruſſia it is a miracle when the mays yields ſeven or eight times, and the corn twelve or fifteen times, what has been ſown. The Sicilians, beſides the corn trade, have oil, ſilk, wine, citrons, oranges, ſugar, and ſeveral other moſt valuable articles. The Pruſſians have only a few turnips, crab-apples, and nuts; and yet the latter are richer than the former: and is it not far more honourable to the adminiſtration of Pruſſia, that notwithſtanding the niggardlineſs of nature, the greateſt part of the inhabitants are happier than if it poſſeſſed a dozen Lords Clive, Cavendiſh, and Baltimore, and three ſcore Dukes Pignatelli, Monteleone, and Matalone? If one conſiders, as it is juſt to do, the very unfavourable ſoil that was to be worked upon, it will appear that the King has done wonders in agriculture. I ſaw ſeveral tracts of cultivated land, which fourteen or fifteen years ago were barren ſands. The number of villages and houſes in his ſeveral dominions, which he has either made, or ſo improved, that they are not to be known again, amounts to ſeveral hundreds. As the moraſſes contain ſome of the beſt land here, he ſpends immenſe ſums in drying them; upon the whole, you ſee that agriculture here, is what nature preſcribes it ſhall be, the ground-work of every political operation of the country. The miniſters and privy-counſellors dedicate to the improvement of it thoſe private hours, which in other countries they give to pleaſure, play, or caballing for each others places. The prime miniſter *Hertſberg*, who, in every ſenſe of the word, is one of the greateſt men of the preſent century, has an eſtate ſome miles from hence, in the improvement of which he ſpends his hours of relaxation from the cares of ſtate. In almoſt every village you meet with a nobleman, whoſe principal occupation

occupation is agriculture, and who poſſeſſes the art of making his amuſement and buſineſs coincide. In order to find out to what produce the ſoil of Pruſſia is beſt adapted, they not only import ſeeds from Poland, Ruſſia, England, Sicily, and the other countries of Europe, but have made ſeveral fine experiments with corn from Barbary and Egypt. The moſt brilliant æra of the King's government, in his own eyes, is that which is diſtinguiſhed by ſome uſeful improvement in agriculture. I was told an anecdote which does him more honour than the Emperor of China derives from opening the ground with a golden plough. There is a privy-counſellor here of the name of Brenkenhoff, a man who, born without a penny, had made himſelf worth millions by his induſtry. This gentleman, ſome years ſince, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his improvements in agriculture. Amongſt other things, he ſent for rye from Archangel, which ſucceeded ſo well, that by degrees they begged his ſeeds all through Pomerania, Sileſia, Brandenburgh, and Pruſſia; and the country gained conſiderable ſums, which before uſed to be paid to the Poles and Ruſſians for this commodity. In conſequence of this, whenever Mr. Brenkenhoff has any thing to aſk of the King for himſelf or the province, he always couches his requeſt in the following manner: "Had not I brought rye from Archangel, Your Majeſty and your ſubjects would have been without ſo many thouſands you now poſſeſs; it is therefore fit and proper that you likewiſe grant me my requeſt." The King not only makes it a rule never to deny him any thing he aſks, but has often ſaid, "Brenkenhoff is the moſt extraordinary man born in this country under my adminiſtration, and I am proud of him." Mr. Brenkenhoff has imported large quantities of camels and buffaloes from Aſia, for the improvement of agriculture. The race of the latter thrive very well under the Pruſſian ſky. I have likewiſe ſeen ſome of them at Saltzburg, where, notwithſtanding the ſouthern ſituation, the climate is not warmer than it is in Pruſſia; but the lazineſs of this animal renders all his other advantages of no account. The experiment with camels was attended with no ſucceſs. The rearing of ſheep, and cultivation of tobacco are, after the corn trade, the great reſources of this country. They alſo make a large quantity of coarſe ſilk, but this is rather the entertainment of ſpeculative farmers, than a regular produce of the country. The nobility, clergy, and poſſeſſors of great eſtates, are the only ones who attend to it. It is, however, very remarkable, that there are twelve thouſand pounds of ſilk wove every year in Pruſſia; whilſt Hungary, whoſe climate is undoubtedly as favourable to this produce as any country in Europe, cannot raiſe above ſeven or eight thouſand pounds worth, notwithſtanding all the pains taken by government for the improvement of this branch of commerce. Once again, brother, I muſt repeat it, the Pruſſian land-holders, who are ſecured againſt every arbitrary impoſition, and in every poſſible way ſupported and protected, are a greater ſymptom of national liberty, than a dozen fat lords, or a corrupt parliament. In my next letter I will ſpeak to you of the people who really feel the preſſure of exciſe and monopolies, and amongſt whom there is of courſe extreme poverty.

I cannot ſend away this letter without obſerving, that the very way in which the King exerciſes the functions of government, is a plain proof of his not having any ſecret or myſterious views with reſpect to any of his ſubjects. A deſpot, who is not to be confined by any regard to rectitude and juſtice, who is always diſtinguiſhing betwixt his own advantage and the utility of the whole, and who wants to cheat his people without their obſerving it, muſt have either fools for his miniſters, whom he may cheat as he does the people, or he muſt have a favourite, whom he can make uſe of for his myſterious purpoſes. Neither of theſe is the caſe with the King of Pruſſia. His miniſters and counſellors are all of them the moſt enlightened patriots; and many of them would make a figure as men of letters, if they had time, or would give themſelves the trouble of writing.

writing. With regard to a favourite, the very name is unknown in this country. Voltaire, the Marquis D'Argens, Algarotti, Quintus Icilius, and Baſtiani, were only the companions of idle hours, and knew leſs of the government than any body, as Voltaire has often proved by his *bon mots*. Theſe *beaux eſprits* were obliged to keep within their proper ſphere, and never could bring the King to be familiar with them, how little ſoever he made them feel the difference of rank in the ordinary affairs of life.

The King poſſeſſes the rare and great talent of letting himſelf down to every man, without forgetting himſelf in the leaſt. His reader and ſecretary dare not bring him either complaint or petition. The King appears to be exceedingly miſtruſtful of himſelf, and to fear leaſt his daily converſation and familiarity with all ſorts of people ſhould lead him into error. His ſecretary, who paſſes ſo many hours of every day with him in private, muſt lay all the buſineſs to be done before him in form. His miniſters are the only perſons he refers to; they are the executors of his will.

It has been frequently obſerved, that no King upon the face of the earth is ſo well ſerved as the King of Pruſſia, though there is none who pays his ſervants ſo ill. But theſe good ſervants are not to be procured by mere ſeverity; they muſt have obſerved, that the King far excels them in underſtanding, and that he himſelf ſtrictly adheres to the rules of juſtice and equity, which he lays down for the conduct of others. Had they diſcovered a weak ſide, either in the head or heart of the monarch, there would have been an end of their good ſervices. It is only to his extreme impartiality, his juſtice, and his ſuperior underſtanding, that we muſt aſcribe the activity and order in the Pruſſian courts of juſtice. No prince of the blood has the ſlighteſt advantage over a farmer in a law-ſuit. When a diſpute happens with a ſubject upon any part of the domain or crown lands, there is no judge who dares have a leaning towards the King's ſide; on the contrary, in this caſe they are ordered to have a leaning againſt him. The ſame averſion to deſpotiſm leads him to make it no ſecret, that he does not think the kings of the earth are placed here as gods of it, and vicegerents of the Almighty. He looks upon the royal dignity as a ſtation, which, like that of a general, and many others, has been eſtabliſhed through human diſpoſitions, and to which, in conſequence of theſe diſpoſitions, birth alone gives a title. He makes as little uſe of religion as he does of politics, to blind his people, or keep up his authority by faith and opinion. The conſciouſneſs that he is capable of no injuſtice or act of power, can alone ſet him above this Machiavelian policy. To conclude my theſis, that the King is nothing leſs than a deſpot, I muſt obſerve, that he has no over-bearing paſſion; fame is by no means his purſuit; he deſpiſes all the applauſe of men from his heart. The great phyſiognomiſt, Lavater, muſt have obſerved in his countenance, that he deſpiſes man himſelf; at leaſt I think I can affirm, with a degree of ſufficient confidence, that the King appears leſs in no man's eyes than he does in his own. Flatterers have very little to expect from him; and thoſe who have written againſt him with the greateſt bitterneſs, may be aſſured that he has no gall againſt them. The Abbé Raynal, who is at preſent here, is a ſure proof of this. There is no place in the world in which there is leſs noiſe made about the King's actions than there is at Berlin. None of the newſpapers of the country ſay a word about them; and there would not have been a word ſaid about them at all, if ſome patriots of other countries had not taken it into their heads, of late, to blow the trumpet of fame, whenever their governors did any thing that was not palpably abſurd or impertinent. Theſe fulſome panegyriſts ſtirred up ſome Pruſſian patriots, who love their King, to ſhew the world, that Frederic, who is ſo unknown to moſt ſtrangers, does more in ſilence than half a dozen other demi-gods of the earth put together. The world was aſtoniſhed when it learned, that for years paſt the King had diſtributed ſeveral millions amongſt his ſubjects,

and the writers of newſpapers took it very ill that he had done this without their knowledge. It was not till within theſe few years, that we knew that the land-tax in the Pruſſian dominions is never altered, though this ſyſtem is as old as the time of the King's coming to the crown. Long before the philoſophers of the laſt twenty-five years (for, till within theſe laſt five and twenty years, there has been no philoſophy) began to declaim againſt capital puniſhments, the torture, and the duration of law-ſuits, all theſe things had been baniſhed out of the Pruſſian dominions, without any ſcribbler taking the trouble to ſing a *Te Deum* about it, (Beccaria himſelf makes this obſervation.) Avarice is as little the King's weak ſide as the love of fame. Nobody gives more willingly than he does, when he ſees that the money is likely to be made good uſe of. He has money in his head, and not in his heart; and œconomy is one of the firſt virtues of a governor.—But I ſhall ſay more of this in my next.

LETTER XLVII.

Berlin.

THROUGH all Germany, and particularly through all Saxony, it paſſes for an eſtabliſhed truth, that the King of Pruſſia knows nothing of the true principles of trade. In the Dutch coffee-houſes, thoſe eternal fountains of political nonſenſe, he is treated as an ignorant dabbler. That foreign merchants ſhould think this, or ſay ſo, does not at all ſurpriſe me: When they blame the King, they only ſpeak like the great Roman orator, *pro domoſua;* it is impoſſible that they ſhould be pleaſed with thoſe principles which preclude them from the power of robbing the King's ſubjects of their money;—but we hear the ſame complaints *here*, and in the other countries ſubject to the King. There are men *here*, who are always crying out on exciſe, cuſtoms, and monopolies, and extolling univerſal liberty as the firſt principle of trade. It is very true, that the exciſe makes the manufactures ſo expenſive, that ſeveral of the Pruſſian, whoſe productions are extremely good, cannot ſupport a competition with thoſe of other countries. It is very true, that the many monopolies to be met with here, are a great reſtraint upon national induſtry; ſtill however in my opinion, the King of Pruſſia may be defended. The fact is this; every thing here is *connected*, but the true principles on which the exciſe and monopoly ſyſtems in Pruſſia are grounded are not ſeen, becauſe, like many other things in the Pruſſian dominions, they are too near the eyes—let us ſee if we can explain theſe matters a little.

Neither commerce, nor manufactures, nor the encouragement of private induſtry, which tend to produce a great inequality in national riches, and render part of the people affluent at the expence of the reſt; neither all theſe, nor any part of theſe, are the corner-ſtone of the Pruſſian edifice of ſtate; it reſts on agriculture only; and if we conſider the King of Pruſſia's politics in this point of view, we ſhall find an exact ſymmetry of parts in them.

It is on this principle, that that part of the ſubjects which is the moſt numerous, has the leaſt buſineſs, and is moſt inclined to live at the expence of the working inhabitant of the country, is obliged to contribute moſt to the expences of the ſtate. Whoever will take the trouble of comparing the ſeveral articles of the Pruſſian exciſe with each other, will ſoon find that they bear the exacteſt proportion poſſible to luxury, and are, as they ought to be, always the higher, the more the article of conſumption on which they are laid is remote from the firſt neceſſaries of life, which the farmer ſupplies. For this reaſon the exciſe always varies, and muſt do ſo. The King has an exact account laid before him of all the articles of luxury imported from abroad. When he ſees that the

the conſumption of any article riſes immoderately, he immediately leſſens it, by raiſing the exciſe on that article; he has done ſo lately by coffee, which, according to his account, had taken many millions out of his country for ſome years paſt. The meaning of this manœuvre was to recommend to his ſubjects warm beer, which is the produce of the country, is a more wholeſome, and more palatable food than coffee, and from the uſe of which he himſelf had found great benefit when he was young. Another time he obſerved, that 12,000 florins worth of eggs were every year brought to Berlin out of Saxony. In order to ſave his ſubjects this expence, he immediately laid a conſiderable tax on the Saxon eggs, and thus encouraged his own farmers to breed chickens. This principle is one of the plaineſt in legiſlation; it is that which prevails in all enlightened countries, only not with the ſame good ſenſe and equity as in Pruſſia. Indeed the Engliſh cuſtoms and exciſe are much more hoſtile to eating and drinking than the Pruſſian; and it is a proverb in Holland, that of every diſh of fiſh he eats, a man pays five parts to the ſtate, and one to the fiſhmonger.

The complaints which have the moſt foundation of truth in them, are thoſe which are made with reſpect to the price of the abſolute neceſſaries of life. Theſe, it is ſaid, are ſo high, that it raiſes the price of work too much, and by ſo doing, tends to ruin, not only the Pruſſian manufactures, but the monopoly itſelf. But theſe taxes only affect the inhabitants of the towns, the artiſts, manufacturers, labourers, merchants, and all who live by the ſervice of the ſtate.

In order to form a juſt notion of the influence which high taxes have upon the neceſſaries of life, one ſhould conſider the connection which the induſtry of the citizen has with the productions of the country, before one allows one ſelf to think of its effects on foreign trade. The King of Pruſſia, who in every thing follows the order of nature, has not been ſo ſolicitous to procure money from foreigners, as to ſtop the channels through which his own money went out of the country. Conſider things in this light, and you will find, that the impoſts on the neceſſaries of life have not been any reſtraint on private induſtry; for the price of work has kept on a level with the price of the neceſſaries of life, and the exciſe has only been a new and larger canal to aſſiſt the circulation of money. The King, who regularly purſued his plan of making the country independant of foreign induſtry, took care the money paid by the ſubject ſhould flow back from the exchequer by the ſureſt channels. Thus all that was ſpent by the ſoldier, and all that the inhabitants of great towns ſpent for the comforts of life, flowed back again to the farmer, and encouraged internal agriculture and induſtry. In order that this might be ſo, the duties on foreign goods, ſuch as cloths, linens, and the like, were always ſo high, that only the higheſt degree of luxury could prefer them to the ſame commodities made at home; and it was proper that thoſe who had this degree of luxury ſhould be puniſhed for it.

As to the exportation of Pruſſian manufactures, which of courſe would be affected by the exciſe; all that is to be ſaid is, that the leſſer evil is to be preferred to a greater. Luxury is the ruin of a ſtate. Immoderate enjoyment is the greateſt political ſin. An unequal participation of national riches is the cauſe why half a people are tyrants, and the other half ſlaves. Thus cry out our philoſophers here, and they are in the right. Still more, you find it obſerved in almoſt every parliamentary debate in England, that Britiſh freedom will be ruined by the diſproportionate riches of part of its members, and the facility there is of acquiring them. They ſay that pleaſure, corruption, ambition, and extreme poverty, have enervated the nation; but how is it poſſible to ſet bounds to luxury and immenſe riches, except by the Pruſſian exciſe? The more a man ſpends, and the richer he is, the more he pays to the ſtate, which divides this overflow of the

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richer claſs amongſt the poorer, and by this means reſtores the balance as much as it is poſſible to do it. Once grant that the real ſtrength of a people conſiſts in frugality, induſtry, and an equal diviſion of property, and you muſt be content to put yourſelf above the trifling inconveniences, which a ſmall part of the whole muſt unavoidably be expoſed to, from an attention to theſe maxims.

Is there any country that has waſted its ſtrength on merchandize, that has been able to ſupport itſelf long? The immenſe quantity of riches, the inevitable conſequences of the freedom of trade, have always drawn along with them luxury, extravagance, effeminacy, tyranny, and the conſequent ruin of the country. Mr. Wraxall himſelf, who has echoed the outcry of the merchant on the Pruſſian ſyſtem of finance, but who might have convinced himſelf, in the houſes of the Pruſſian farmers, that the King's ſubjects are not at all in arms againſt him, as he ſays they are; Mr. Wraxall himſelf is the warmeſt declaimer againſt the pride and tyranny which great riches have introduced in England; but let him ſhew me another dam to theſe ravages, beſides that which has been oppoſed to them by the King of Pruſſia.

It is a ſtrange perverting of political reaſoning, when one hears the ſame man cry in England, that the great wealth of the nobility hath undermined the wealth of the ſtate, and finds him in Pruſſia joining the Pruſſian nobility in ſaying, that the proſperity of the farmers is hurtful to the intereſts of Pruſſia. Hiſtory can ſhew no example of the proſperity of the farmers having excited convulſions in a ſtate; whereas it abounds in inſtances of ſtates overturned by the power of the nobles and the freedom of trade. The farmer ſeldom has too much; but if he does happen to be rich, his income is more equally divided than that of the inhabitants of the city; he has beſides more children to provide for out of it; beſides this, as the farmer's ſubſtance is procured by hard labour, he is more frugal in the management of it, and on that account likewiſe leſs hurtful to the ſtate.

The Pruſſian ſyſtem of exciſe does not in the leaſt affect the real proſperity of the ſubject; it affects only the conſumption and the diſorderly foreign trade. The only object of it is to make the ſubjects frugal; and frugality is the mother of induſtry. There is no ſcience in which ſo much ſophiſtry has been uſed as in that of ſtate œconomy. It is generally thought that trade alone will make a country rich, whereas nothing is ſo falſe. Cadiz, Naples, Liſbon, Smyrna, Aleppo, and many other flouriſhing trading towns I could mention, flouriſh at the expence of the countries to which they belong. When they cry out in Pruſſia, that trade has fallen off, it only means that the conſumption has decreaſed; no doubt it is a falling off to the dealers in coffee, that they cannot ſell as much coffee as they were uſed to do; but theſe people, who are the perſons that have raiſed the outcry againſt the King, ought to conſider, that a country of Jews (I ſpeak of modern Jews) is the moſt wretched of all countries, and that a governor is in the right to concern himſelf very little about what may be for their advantage.

If foreign trade has decreaſed in the Pruſſian dominions, on the other hand induſtry has increaſed. There is a viſible proof of this in the aſtoniſhing increaſe of towns and of population. No country in Europe of the ſame ſize has doubled its population, as the Pruſſian dominions have done (in theſe I do not compriſe the conquered countries) within the ſpace of fifty years. This ſingle fact contradicts all the outcry about Pruſſian deſpotiſm. Effects muſt always correſpond with their cauſes, and no adminiſtration hoſtile to humanity, could produce ſuch an aſtoniſhing increaſe of men.

Even the monopolies make part of the King's ſyſtem of univerſal benevolence. I ſhall not enter into an exact diſquiſition of every ſingle article, but only conſider that which

raiſes the greateſt outcry, namely, the monopoly of wood. The company who is in poſſeſſion of this large ſum of money, pays the King, or what is the ſame thing, the ſtate, for the King has neither ſtables of ſix thouſand horſes, nor coach-houſes with coaches in them worth 50,000 livres, nor a table of fifty covers, nor miſtreſſes, nor hunts, nor journies which coſt ſeveral millions. This company is not allowed to ſet an arbitrary price on its commodity, but the wood is taxed, and it is obliged to furniſh the beſt ſort. Though the price of the wood be high, it keeps pace with the wages of the manufacturers; ſo no man feels it but thoſe who live upon their own eſtates without doing any thing, or thoſe who receive ſtipends from the court. If the former of theſe would work like the other parts of the induſtrious public, they would reckon the articles of fire-wood in their account; as they do not, they are very properly puniſhed for their lazineſs. As to the latter, to be ſure they do not get much, but what they get is ſufficient for the decent purpoſes of life, and the King's maxim is, that every man ſhall have enough, but no man ſhall have too much. To the farmer the monopoly is of ſervice, for the company is obliged to ſell him the wood as cheap as if there was no monopoly, and beſides, he is himſelf allowed to carry a certain portion of it to market, where the regulations enable him to ſell it to better advantage than he would do otherwiſe. The monopoly alſo ſerves to preſerve the foreſts, which all Europe has long lamented the diminution of. The ſcarcity of wood makes people more cautious how they grub up and burn. Nor does the monopoly affect any but the inhabitants of Berlin and Potſdam, who have great advantages over the reſt of the country, from the reſidence of many officers of ſtate in them, and the facility with which money circulates. Strangers indeed, who reaſon from the ſtate of their own purſes, and ſee that the materials for fire are as dear at Berlin and Potſdam as Braſil and Campeachy wood, form no prejudices in favour of the Pruſſian monopolies, and thus far they are in the right; but when they build upon ſuch grounds to call the King of Pruſſia a tyrant, as Mr. Wraxall does, it is going a little too far.

The other monopolies are like thoſe we meet with in other countries, to wit, on tobacco, ſalt, cards, and the like. The King encourages every kind of manufacture and trade which does not militate with the whole ſyſtem of his adminiſtration, but he endeavours chiefly to promote the exportation of ſuch articles as are of real advantage to the country, and leaſt likely to be affected by a competition with other powers, or the variations of faſhion. Of this kind are the woollen ſtuffs of this place, the Sileſian linens and cloths, tobacco, and various other articles; the prime materials of which grow in the country, and find an eaſy admittance every where. Beſides theſe primary articles, the manufactures of ſilk, wrought iron, and ſteel, looking-glaſſes, china, ſugar, and above all, the trade in wood bring great ſums of foreign gold into the country. The Poles pay a large tribute to Pruſſian induſtry; and, indeed, every where the balance is in favour of the Pruſſian merchant, in conſequence of that frugality and abſtinence, which follows from the King's ſyſtem of exciſe.

The King's treaſury, into which ſo much money flows every year, is commonly looked upon as one of the greateſt obſtacles to the trade of the country. This may be true with regard to the common Jewiſh ſort of trade, which, though favourable to lazineſs and avarice, is in fact, as hurtful to the ſtate as the ſale of mountebank and quack medicines; but in my opinion, the King's treaſury is one of his wiſeſt inſtitutions. He yearly lays by in it a ſum of money, which bears a fixed proportion to that which the balance of trade in his favour brings him in from the ſtranger. It is generally thought that the ſum thus ſet by amounts to 100,000*l.* or as much as the new buildings, the payment of the troops, and the improvements made in the country reſpectively coſt; but if we conſider

ſider that the whole income of the ſtate is appropriated to particular and ſpecific purpoſes, according to the ſettled and permanent order, never interrupted by any *menus plaiſirs*; and that, according to the higheſt calculation, the balance in favour of the Pruſſian trade produces only two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, it will appear that the King does not lay by half of what comes from foreign trade.

It is one of the nonſenſical maxims of the preſent age, which, like a great many others of the ſame kind, have crept into our modern political theories and romances, that all the money of a country muſt be employed in the circulation, and none of it be laid by for caſes of neceſſity; but it was owing to the royal treaſure that no taxes were raiſed in the laſt war, and it is for this very purpoſe that it was intended; for in the American war, the increaſe of taxes fell heavier on the French and Engliſh than all the other preſſures of the ſtate put together. Schroeder, who is one of the oldeſt and moſt acute of the German political writers, has long ſhewn the falſity of this maxim. Beſides, that, taxes fall more heavily on the ſubject, and are more difficult to raiſe in time of war than in time of peace, they cannot be ſo ſoon collected; and if in conſequence of this you are compelled to add new ones, the reſult will be what we have ſeen happen in France, many provinces will be ſo exhauſted in three or four years as not to recover for a whole century. In theſe emergencies miniſters have recourſe to ſtate lotteries, loans, &c. which finally produce the fine ſyſtem of debt, which annually conſumes half the revenue of Great Britain.

If the King of Pruſſia had had no treaſure, it would have been impoſſible, after the terrible war which laſted from 1756 to 1763, for his lands not only to recover, but to be in a more flouriſhing ſituation than they were before. There is alſo a local conſideration, which makes the King of Pruſſia's treaſure of peculiar conſequence to that country, which is, that as ſeveral parts of it lie open to the enemy, were it not for this reſource it would be poſſible, at the breaking out of a war, to cut off a great part of the revenue, by ſeizing upon a principal town. Indeed it is to the reſerved ſupplies, which have enabled him to parry every evil of this kind, that the King owes the ſucceſs of thoſe operations which have rendered his name immortal. Nor is the treaſury intirely inactive at any period. At different times the King has lent very conſiderable ſums at a very inconſiderable intereſt to the ſtates of ſeveral of his provinces; theſe ſums are in circulation, and all that the King requires, is the exact reimburſement at the time fixed.

The Pruſſian ſtate, conſidered as a ſtate, is the richeſt in Europe; and it is abſolutely impoſſible that it ever ſhould be expoſed to feel any inconvenience from the want of money; for its ſyſtem of finance is eſtabliſhed upon ſuch ſolid foundations, that if any of the King's ſucceſſors were to think of introducing a change, it would overturn the whole building. You would hardly think it, but I can aſſure you, that the bank bills of this place are bought up with avidity. Nobody has any opinion that they will ever loſe their credit. The Dutch are very happy when this bank will take their money, as notwithſtanding all the outcry about Pruſſian deſpotiſm, they are convinced it cannot be more ſecure any where than it is here. Upon the whole, it is eaſy to ſee, that moſt of our very wiſe declaimers againſt the government of Pruſſia, draw their topics from the difference they obſerve between it and the other European governments; whereas if they would give themſelves the trouble to lift up their eyes and give matters a little cloſer and nearer inſpection, they would ſoon give up their prejudices, unleſs, indeed, their ſelf love made them incapable of all judgment. I have known none of theſe gentlemen but what have praiſed, in ſome part or other of their works, the very principles on which the Pruſſian government is built, though they overlooked them and could not

ſee them when they were writing profeſſedly about it. This ariſes from the amazing difference that there is betwixt theory and practice, and that in all philoſophical declamations, people commonly only conſider the end, without thinking of the means by which it is to be brought about; nay, they often overlook the only means by which it can be brought about at all. Hence it has appeared, that thoſe who have written the moſt ſtrongly againſt luxury, have not been favourable to the Pruſſian ſyſtem of exciſe, though it is the only ſure dam whereby all exceſſes may be reſtrained. All the political principles with reſpect to the happineſs of nations, which l'Abbé Raynal gives us in that famous *Hiſtoire Politique et Philoſophique* of his, in which he is ſo violent againſt the King of Pruſſia, without knowing any thing about him, had been adopted in Pruſſia, and perhaps no where elſe in the wide world before the Abbé put pen to paper.

Another part of theſe declaimers find fault only for the ſake of appearing ſingular. Mr. Guibert and ſome others of our countrymen are among this claſs. Theſe gentlemen took it in their heads to exhibit the King to a people, the god of whoſe idolatry he has long been, through a kind of magic lanthorn, with his head where his heels ſhould be. Doubtleſs, the indifference with which the King is accuſtomed to behold all ſuch buffooneries, muſt have made them vaſtly pleaſed with their wiſe work.

The King of Pruſſia and his father have ſolved the three moſt difficult problems of ſtate that exiſt; and hiſtory affords no example of their having been ſolved ſo quickly, ſo happily, and ſo univerſally, as they have been by theſe princes. They have made a lazy, prodigal, and ſtupid people induſtrious, active, and alert; they have given to a country, which had been entirely neglected by nature, a value which many of the moſt highly favoured countries have not, and they have placed a ſmall nation in a ſituation not only to vanquiſh *in a favourable moment* all the combined forces of the mightieſt monarchies of Europe united, but to be able *at any time* to meaſure ſwords with either of them ſingly.

LETTER LI.

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WHEN you hear the King of Pruſſia mentioned in the ſouthern parts of Germany, you think they are ſpeaking of an angel of death, whoſe employment it is to kill the people by hundreds and thouſands, to burn cities and villages, and to be the firſt general of his day. This opinion commonly reſts upon the ſame ground as another, which was very generally received by the common people during the laſt Sileſian war, of the King of Pruſſia's having taken up arms againſt France and Auſtria for the extirpation of the Roman Catholic religion. Auſtria had often recourſe to ſuch little artifices; ſhe was wont to appeal to the religious and paſſionate feelings of the people, whenever her troops were beaten, and probably found ſome conſolation in it, not that only which ariſes from exciting compaſſion, but the more ſubſtantial one of the ſupport derived from the riches and forces of ſome of the Catholic princes of Germany. Such prejudices in the populace are eaſily produced; but when you read in the writings of ſome of the moſt famous Auſtrian ſtateſmen and literati that the King of Pruſſia's whole ſyſtem is contrived for the purpoſe of making himſelf terrible to his neighbours, of plundering them, and of living by robbery, you do not know whether to laugh moſt at their ignorance, or be moſt aſhamed at their impudence.

Out of Germany they look upon the King of Pruſſia as a great general, but are not therefore blind to his other virtues. Our countrymen, whoſe impartiality and juſtice in judging of the merits of great men nobody can controvert, read his civil ordinances;

his *bon mots*, and the anecdotes of what paſſes in his family, with as much pleaſure as they do the account of his expeditions. Even they, however, impartial as they are, form quite a falſe opinion of the King, when they conſider his military conduct as the greateſt of his exertions, and think his principal merit conſiſts in being the greateſt general of his day. It is natural enough for the love of ſplendid actions to make us more attentive to the buſtle which has attended his ſervices in the field, than to his ſtill and benevolent occupations. But we could not therefore aſcribe to him a love of this buſtle, and a delight in the occupations of war, which no king upon earth likes leſs than he does.

Nouriſhed in the arms of the muſes, and attentive only to the progreſs of philoſophy, ſcarce had he aſcended the throne, when one of the moſt extraordinary events of this century happened, an event which muſt naturally call his attention very ſtrongly to it. He was one of the many princes who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion of Charles VI. What he claimed was ſome Marquiſates in Sileſia. The point was how effectually to ſecure theſe rights. Moſt probably he would have taken the part of Maria Thereſa, attacked as ſhe was on all ſides, had a proper attention been paid to his requiſitions; but the Auſtrian miniſtry, ever blinded by its own conſequence, only anſwered his manifeſtoes with inſolence and contempt. The conſequence was, that after having defeated the Imperial troops in the field, he made free with all Sileſia, which gave great offence. Then however he diſcovered the moderation of his nature; for it would have been eaſy for him, by ſupporting Charles VII. to have ſunk a houſe, which was the moſt dangerous to him in all Europe. But his politics did not allow him to commit an injuſtice.

It was neither the King of Pruſſia's love of plunder, nor any thing indeed, except the pride of the Auſtrian miniſtry, and the little knowledge it had of the ſtrength of the Pruſſian dominions, that was the true cauſe of the loſs of Sileſia. The Auſtrians deſpiſed a court which had no princes and dukes in its pay, but only merchants and *Knights à quaranto Ecus* * for miniſters and generals. They ſaw no further than the outſide of the court of the preſent King's father, who, under the maſk of a ridiculous ſingularity, had laid the foundation of the Pruſſian greatneſs; they laughed at his unpowdered hair, his dirty boots, his turnip dinners, and his tall men. People knew not that theſe tall men, whom they looked upon only as his particular amuſement, were under the beſt of diſcipline; they knew not that his *unbetitled* and *unbeſtringed* miniſters were the moſt enlightened patriots; that the moſt exact œconomy had made the ſmall country of Pruſſia richer than the proud and mighty Auſtria. In fine, they knew not that Spartan œconomy, and Spartan ſubordination, which this *ridiculous* King was making the characteriſtic of the nation, muſt get the better of indolence, effeminacy, and profuſion; even though the *tribe of gentlemen* had not been ſo numerous in Auſtria, as it was.

This ignorance was the true thing which ſome perſons have affected to call the good fortune of the preſent King of Pruſſia.

The invaſion of Bohemia, which took place ſome time after the conqueſt of Sileſia, was undertaken in conſequence of the moſt preſſing and repeated inſtances of the Emperor, the head of the German Empire, of which the King was a member.

I have converſed with an old and reſpectable Dutch officer, who accompanied Count Seckendorff, as adjutant, to Berlin, when he went to deſire the King to help the Emperor out of the diſtreſs which he muſt otherwiſe have ſunk under. The King was

* Knights worth fifty crowns.

for

for a long time deaf to all repreſentations and entreaties. As Count Seckendorff was preſſing him one day upon the parade, he ſhewed him a regiment which had ſuffered conſiderably in the firſt Sileſian war. "Behold," ſays he; "what war coſts me; this regiment has loſt above half its men, and ſhall I expoſe my people to the danger of being ſo roughly handled again?"—This is the king whom people call upon as a robber and tyrant!—Seckendorff, who was a greater ſtateſman than he was a general, in vain tried all his rhetoric to carry his point; nor would any thing have induced the King again to become the enemy of Auſtria, but the being informed in what an unmanly manner the Auſtrians had behaved in Bavaria, how they had plundered the archives, robbed the nobility, laid waſte the country, and carried the peaſants into captivity; that in ſhort, their known pride, their ſpirit of revenge, and their cruelty, gave cauſe to apprehend every thing for the houſe of Bavaria.

The King undertook to free the Emperor from his diſtreſs, without hurting Auſtria much: and he compaſſed it with a moderation which the unprejudiced part of the world ſtill admires. He obliged Prince Charles to give the Emperor breathing room, by forcing him to haſten with his army from the Rhine to Bohemia. When he had done this he was quiet, and aſking nothing for himſelf, was contented with having done what equity and the ſhare he took in the Emperor's calamity required of him. It is well known what little ſhare his love of robbery and conqueſt had in the breaking out of that war in which he eclipſed all that had been done by ancient or modern heroes. In the very heat of this war, in which he himſelf gathered ſo many laurels, he wrote a letter to Voltaire, filled with wiſhes for philoſophical quiet, and full of lamentations on the cruelties of war. Very far from being intoxicated with his fame, and untainted with any degree of the pride which filled the breaſt of that Roman governor, who, returning from the government of a diſtant province, thought that all Italy muſt inceſſantly be filled with the praiſe of his adminiſtration; he aſked Gellert, who ſued to him for peace in the middle of the theatre of war, whether he had not heard or ſeen there were three powers in arms againſt him; and whether he thought it depended upon him to make Germany a preſent of peace! So free was he from being elated with the *eclat* of his wonderful arms, and ſo far from thinking of higher things than how to defend himſelf.

In this wonderful letter to Voltaire, he promiſes, when he ſhall once be quiet, to cut off the moſt diſtant pretences for war, nor to take any concern in the politics of Europe; but to give up all his time to the improvement of his own country, amidſt the bleſſings of peace. This promiſe he has hitherto moſt religiouſly adhered to. You think, perhaps, that he did not in the affair of the diviſion of Poland; but he took the leaſt part poſſible in that affair. The world will be aſtoniſhed when the particulars of this buſineſs come to be known, as none has ever been ſo miſrepreſented and diſtorted by political motives. I collected at Vienna ſome very extraordinary documents relative to this matter, which I will communicate to you when we meet. Thus far is notorious to all mankind; that in this famous partition, the King had not a third of what fell to Ruſſia, nor a quarter of what Auſtria had. A ſtronger proof of the King's moderation, and of his pacific diſpoſition, it is impoſſible to give. Poſſibly the diviſion would have been a little more equal if ever the parties had come to blows.

In the laſt Bavarian war, he again obſerved the ſame wonderful moderation. The cauſe of his taking up arms was to reſtore the Houſe of Wittelſbach to his inheritance, and to maintain the conſtitution of the empire; which, as a member of that body, he was bound to protect. He aſked nothing for himſelf, and did not go a ſtep farther than he was forced to by the ſtrongeſt neceſſity. No monarch ever went into the field

with greater magnanimity, and greater diſintereſtedneſs, than the King of Pruſſia did on this occaſion.—Since the twenty years he has given himſelf to philoſophy, he has let ſeveral other occaſions go by, which would not have been miſſed by another monarch who had had the ſame powers of war in hand as he had, and the warlike diſpoſition commonly attributed to him.

No prince can manifeſt more regard for mankind, than what is ſhewn by the King of Pruſſia every day. He intereſts himſelf as much in the welfare of a common farmer, as in the flouriſhing of the greateſt houſe of trade in his dominions. It is his greateſt pride, and his greateſt pleaſure, to read in the yearly liſts, that the population of his country has increaſed. He has not been ſeen ſo cheerful for many years, as he was upon finding, by the liſt given in laſt year, that the number of new-born children within the year, far ſurpaſſed the number of the dead. A king who has this way of thinking, is a warrior only when neceſſity compels him to it. His Lacedemonian armies only ſerve the purpoſe of enabling him to cultivate his country in peace, and to bring his law-ſuits with his neighbours to a ſpeedy concluſion. They are evidently not the end of his government, but the means; and it is only thoſe who are contented with viewing the outſide of things, and do not look into the ſprings of the Pruſſian government, who think them the great object.

Some of the Auſtrian writers think the King could not keep up his armies, if he did not, at certain periods, take a ſhare in the diſturbances of his neighbours, and raiſe out of them a ſufficient revenue for the ſervice of ſome years; but this is one of thoſe aſſertions which it is impoſſible to hear without laughing.

More than half the army, as I have already told you, are foreign troops. They ſubſiſt on the produce of the country, the conſumption of which is immediately connected with the progreſs of agriculture. Their clothes and linen are made of materials which grow in the country, ſo that they promote induſtry both by contributing to the raiſing the firſt materials, and by the working of them. Their pay likewiſe is iſſued from the treaſury, in ſuch a way as greatly to aſſiſt the general circulation. After their time of ſervice has expired, many hundreds of the foreign troops continue in the country, and ſo promote the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce; but the greateſt part of the natives are always upon furlow, and work at home. Upon the whole, both induſtry and agriculture rather gain than loſe by the army. Indeed you can call only the foreigners a ſtanding army; for the natives are, in time of peace, as Moore has obſerved, a regular, well-behaved, and eaſily raiſed militia.

All the military regulations have theſe two ends in view; that of preventing the improvement of agriculture from ſuffering by the number of troops; and that of making them ſubſervient to the circulation of money. For theſe purpoſes the annual reviews always take place at the time of the year when feweſt hands are wanted for the purpoſes of agriculture, &c. The troops are quartered in the ſeveral provinces in the exact proportion of the revenue of theſe provinces, ſo that no money can go this way from one province to another. Every thing is preciſely upon a par. Sileſia has juſt as many troops more as Brandenburgh, as it has more revenue; and the other provinces in the ſame proportion. As the army raiſes near two-thirds of the revenue of the ſtate, there remains by this means more gold in the provinces than there is in any other country in Europe, where commonly the gold flows to the middle, and the capital grows rich at the expence of the country. Each regiment has a peculiar part of the country aſſigned it for recruiting, and in this, or near it, are commonly its ſtanding quarters. By this means the troops are not only eaſily got together when they are wanted, but the father has always his ſon in the neighbourhood to help him to improve his land, and at the annual

nual review time, the latter has not far to go to join his regiment. It is inconceivable how, after this, ſuch clamours can be raiſed againſt the King of Pruſſia, on account of his army, and how it can be repreſented as hurtful to the country. Thoſe of the ſoldiers who are natives, do not ſpend a longer time with the army than their fellows in the Engliſh or Swiſs militia's. Indeed the maritime ſervice in one of theſe countries, and the cuſtom of letting out troops for hire, which prevails in the other, tend to deprive them of hands to till the ſoil, whereas the Pruſſian army increaſes the number of cultivators.

The Pruſſian army conſiſts of about one hundred and ninety thouſand men, and coſts the King yearly about 20,000,000 of florins, or 52,000,000 of our livres *. Theſe men are, indeed, diſciplined into a ſtate of mere mechanics, nor can it be denied, that the hardſhip of the fate of the common men will make one of our modern philoſophers ſhudder; and yet, without theſe hardſhips the army would not be what it is, ſo that the King muſt be content to bear with it as a neceſſary evil, in order to ſecure the tranquillity of the country. What would thoſe who feel ſo much for the Pruſſian ſoldiers have ſaid, if they had ſeen the troops of Alexander, or Cæſar, which, in all probability, and from all we can gather from hiſtory, had not a milder fate than the Pruſſians?—what do I ſay a milder fate? Some intelligent men are of opinion, that both the diſcipline of Cæſar's troops, and the labour required of them, was greater than thoſe the Pruſſian ſoldier is expoſed to. Be this as it may, there is a diſtinction to be made between the Pruſſian troops. The fate of the native ſoldiers is not ſo hard as is generally thought by a ſtranger travelling poſt; nor are they, as I have already obſerved, more than a well-regulated militia.

Another obſervation I have made on theſe men is, that they are not by any means ſo inſenſible and ſulky as they have been commonly thought to be. On the contrary, I have obſerved amongſt them, a great deal of good will, and a great deal of affection both for their king and their country. As during their furlows they have other occupations beſides arms, and keep company with other people beſides their corporals and companions, they are civiller and freer in their intercourſe than the foreigners. Theſe laſt are enliſted in conſequence of a voluntary contract, (for it will be unjuſt to lay to the King's charge the decoys of profeſſed enliſters,) the conditions of which are exactly adhered to.

No ſovereign pays more punctually or more ſparingly than the King of Pruſſia; nor is any man obliged to ſerve beyond the time for which he is enliſted, as has been falſely pretended. It is true, indeed, that the officers employ all their powers of perſuaſion to retain a good ſoldier; but a ſtiff and ſtubborn denial puts an end to their entreaties.

The neceſſaries of life are dealt out very ſparingly to theſe people, and you may read upon many of their meagre faces, the extremes of poverty, added to the extreme of labour. But the ſailors, who ſerve other ſtates in time of peace for the purpoſes of trade, have hardly a milder fate; nor is it leſs ridiculous to reproach the King of Pruſſia, on account of the hardſhips to which his ſoldiers are expoſed, than it would be to compel theſe nations to relinquiſh their navy on account of the loſs of men they are ſubject to by ſtorms, ſalt proviſions, change of climate, ſcurvy, and the other accidents of a ſeafaring life. Without frugality and labour, the King of Pruſſia's ſoldiers could not be ſuperior to thoſe of other powers; *but* as he is ſurrounded by enterprizing and jealous neighbours, he *muſt* endeavour to procure himſelf, by art, what others enjoy in conſequence of their natural ſtrength. The ſufferings of a ſmall number is no evil, but a

* About 216,666l.

good

good, when the ſtate cannot be benefited without it, and thoſe who blame this extraordinary diſcipline, muſt alſo, with Mr. Linguet, find fault with agriculture, as it falls nearly as hard on the greateſt part of the ſubjects of every European ſtate, as the military ſervice does on the Pruſſian ſoldier.

The hardſhips too of the ſituation, have been much exaggerated by travellers.—Even blows, about which ſo much has been ſaid, are only uſed when the man ſhews incorrigible ſtupidity, awkwardneſs, negligence, or wickedneſs. In no armies whatever are recruits treated with more gentleneſs than they are in the Pruſſian. Their corporals teach them the exerciſe, and how to march, with all poſſible care and attention; nor do they grudge to repeat the way of doing the thing a thouſand times, when the man's ſcull is hard of penetration. But when once he underſtands the thing, his teacher takes the ſtick, and tells him, that this for the future will be his teacher, if he does not do what he is now able to do.

In the courſe of my travels, I have often had occaſion to make a very intereſting obſervation. In all the countries belonging to biſhops, and in many of the free ſtates, I met with ſoldiers who had ſerved the King of Pruſſia, and who had moſt of them deſerted from him. As you know it is my way to be more obſervant of men of the lower orders of ſociety, than of thoſe who have ſtars and ſtrings; I talked with about twenty of theſe deſerters, and did not meet with one amongſt them who did not wiſh himſelf back again with the King of Pruſſia. I have ſometimes purpoſely contradicted them, and have endeavoured to ſhew them what far more pleaſant days they enjoyed under their biſhop or magiſtrate, and how impoſſible I thought it, from all the accounts I had of the Pruſſian army, that they ſhould be diſpleaſed with their change of ſituation. This did not ſatisfy them. They all ſpoke of the King's great achievements with a degree of enthuſiaſm, which often ſtruck me not a little, and the concluſion of what they ſaid was always this: "It is very true that ſoldiers are rather roughly treated by the King of Pruſſia, but the pay comes regularly the day it is due, and there is no inſtance of any man having ever been ſtarved to death by him." When a man does his duty, the officer's eye is upon him, and every one knows in what rank he may claſs himſelf; in other places men are only half ſoldiers, and derive no credit from it. Notwithſtanding they have the utmoſt liberty under theſe petty princes, and are oftener in the ale-houſe than under arms whilſt they continue with them, many of them, who are young enough, deſert back again to the King of Pruſſia. It is remarkable enough too, that in all theſe places they conſider themſelves as a kind of veterans. In one of the epiſcopal reſidencies, I heard an officer ſwear at a ſoldier. The fellow anſwered him with a degree of cold pride not to be deſcribed, "Sir officer, I have ſerved the King of Pruſſia." And the officer was ſilent.

The frequent deſertions, are the capital objections which men make to the Pruſſian military eſtabliſhment. It is very true, that upon marching into an enemy's country, a twelfth or fifteenth of the King's army leaves him; but they come back with intereſt after a fortunate action, and though, after unfortunate actions, ſo many of the foreign troops deſert, his own ſubjects deſert leſs than any ſoldiers upon earth.

A new inſtance of the King's wiſdom and goodneſs in not being willing to expoſe the country to any diſtreſs, is ſhewn in his willingneſs rather to bear with theſe inconveniences, than have more of his ſubjects under arms. After the battle of Collin, half the army deſerted; and at Roſbach his army was made up almoſt entirely of his own troops; but mark, he beat our armies, and the armies of the empire, and the laſt ſerved him to compleat his regiments which had ſuffered. Thus it always goes. The Germans who inhabit near the Rhine, Maine, and countries about the upper parts of the Danube, always join the victorious army. When the Emperor is fortunate, they leave the King for

him; and when the chances turn, they turn with them. In the mean time they muſt of courſe always ſtand one action in the place where they are.

With regard to the interior government and tactics of the Pruſſian army, all I can tell you about them is, that no foreigners know any thing of the matter. Mr. Guibert, the celebrated French writer on the ſubject, is looked upon here as the moſt miſerable driveller in the whole world; and they pointed out ſeveral things to me, which he had entirely miſtaken. I will give you only one ſpecimen, which I happen to recollect. He ſays that the cylindrical rammer of the Pruſſians depreſſes the gun too much when they preſent. This is not only falſe in fact, but Mr. Guibert overlooked ſomething here, which the Pruſſians conſider as a remarkable advantage. They always lower the gun a little when they preſent, becauſe they have obſerved that it is always raiſed a little by the natural ſhaking of the ſoldier, eſpecially when he ſees himſelf within the enemies' fire. They ſay we loſt I know not what battle in Flanders, by our men always firing too high, whereas the Engliſh took ſuch care to make their people fire lower, that ſome of the officers even lowered the guns of the ſoldiers with their arms and ſticks.

In my opinion, the ſame thing is to be obſerved in this, as in every other part of the Pruſſian government. It is not ſo much the myſtery which obtains, as the ſimplicity of things, which people overlook, and judge falſely about. They ſeek for artifice where there really is none, and ſet up myſtery becauſe things are too near their noſes to be ſeen. I was aſſured by ſeveral officers, that in marches (which they conſider as one of the moſt important parts of the art of war, though they do not make a whole regiment ſtand for ſome minutes on one leg, in order to teach them how to preſerve the equilibrium of the body) there are certain little things, which people do not obſerve, on which the whole depends. The King ſuffers no perſon to be preſent at the grand *manœuvres*, without particular permiſſion; but this is probably done more to prevent the troops being diſturbed by a ſwarm of ſpectators, than to make a myſtery of any thing. It requires indeed a very nice and well-accuſtomed eye, as well as a very favourable ſituation in the field, to ſee and underſtand a Pruſſian *manœuvre*; ſo that amongſt twenty profeſſional men, who are ſpectators, there ſhall hardly be one that can compaſs it. This is the true cauſe why the Pruſſian officers themſelves can give ſo little account of their own art. Every man has too much to do upon his own ſpot, to be able to attend to what is paſſing round him.

As wonderful as the Pruſſian infantry is, it is ſtill infinitely ſurpaſſed by the cavalry, according to the teſtimony of all the officers I have ſpoken with. Even Engliſh travellers, who are not apt to give any favourable accounts of what they meet with in other countries, and who are ſo proud of their own cavalry, confeſs that this part of the Pruſſian army goes beyond all that can be conceived of it. The King himſelf ſays of them, that they always ſtand to advantage between him and the enemy he expects. He ſpends immenſe ſums upon them, and ſends for horſes as far as Tartary. The Pruſſian officers, though not given to boaſting, aſſert, that in all the hiſtory of the art of war, there is not an inſtance of the cavalry's ever having been brought to the point of perfection it is now brought to in Pruſſia. They ride always full gallop; but their evolutions are as exact as any of thoſe of the infantry.

They look upon the attack of the cavalry as not to be ſtood by the infantry. The King's cavalry is above eighty thouſand ſtrong, and he every year uſes five thouſand freſh horſes. The Emperor takes all poſſible pains to rival the King in this reſpect; but he is ſtill at a great diſtance from him, though his cavalry is beyond compariſon the beſt in Europe after the Pruſſian.

A great

A great advantage poſſeſſed by the Pruſſian army is the uniform diſcipline that obtains all through. There are particular maſters of exerciſe for every diviſion of the army. Theſe the colonels themſelves muſt not controul, when they are exerciſing their regiments, though they are often only majors. This occaſions an attention to a great number of little things, which in other armies particularly our own, depend only on the will of the colonel, and are therefore often neglected. By this means the whole muſt harmonize better, for when rules are the ſame, the alacrity or negligence of the colonels or majors in the execution, make a wonderful difference in regiments.

Another cauſe, which in my opinion, greatly contributes to the excellence of the army, is the high birth of the officers. They are moſt of them of the firſt nobility of the country, and you hardly meet with one foreigner in twenty. They muſt all have been educated at the cadet's ſchool, and have ſerved as cadets: I have ſome very reſpectable acquaintance amongſt them. They are in every reſpect well-educated people, and upon the whole very ſenſible men. The ſmall pay of the ſubalterns obliges them to be œconomical, which is of great advantage to the ſervice. They have all a martial appearance, and that alacrity in every thing, which beſpeaks men always ready to cut a knot with their ſwords. I believe that the Pruſſian army has an advantage over the Auſtrian, from the Pruſſian nobility not being ſo powerful as the Auſtrian. You cannot expect from counts and princes with large incomes, that exact ſubordination and ſimplicity, which is the ſoul of the Pruſſian army. Our experienced officers make a great outcry about the irregularities in ſervice, which are perpetually ariſing from the intrigues of private families; and it is well known that the Engliſh army is as ill circumſtanced in this reſpect.

The Auſtrians are by nature a far ſtouter race of ſoldiers than the Pruſſians, but this does not avail them; for, after all that has been ſaid of the advantage of art over uncultivated nature, no ſtronger inſtance can be ſhewn of it, than bringing up a miſerable artificial being, with all his art about him, to face a natural man, who is without it. The natural man, who, were they both unarmed, would be able to tear to pieces a dozen ſuch creatures, lies ſtretched out at the feet of the wretched man of art, as ſoon as the latter gives fire.

The ſame truth holds good with regard to armies that are more or leſs diſciplined, nor are the natural qualities of the ſoldier able to ſtand againſt thoſe which are acquired by art.

LETTER LII.

Berlin.

WHEN we read in Linguet's Annals that the King of Pruſſia had more ſoldiers than peaſants, during the laſt Sileſian war, we are naturally apt to take it for a *bon mot*; but I am apt to think it rank ignorance. The man who could adviſe the European powers to help the Houſe of Auſtria to a part of Germany, in order to enable it to oppoſe the Turk on all ſides, is very capable of making ſuch a blunder. He eſtimated the Pruſſian territories by the map, where, on account of their broken appearance, they make but a ſorry figure, and ſo naturally fell into the opinion of its being impoſſible for more than two hundred thouſand men to inhabit ſo narrow a ſlip of land.

What confirms me in this opinion, is the ignorance people are in with regard to the real ſtrength of Pruſſia, which yet they ought to be better acquainted with, partly by the information of their eyes, and partly from German documents, which are open to every man.

Mr. Pilati, one of the few foreigners who underſtand German, and derive their knowledge from the fountain head, relates, that the King of Pruſſia had not more than 120,000 men, when he made his firſt conqueſt.

When the King came to the crown, his own territories contained at leaſt 2,200,000 inhabitants; Brandenburg had 600,000; Pruſſia 60,000; Pomerania 300,000; Magdeburg and Halberſtadt 300,000; and his own Weſtphalian dominions at leaſt 400,000. His income conſiſted of at leaſt twelve millions of florins, and he had inherited a wonderful treaſure of ready money from his father.

It is likewiſe a very generally received prejudice, that Pruſſia is not ſtrong enough to maintain itſelf hereafter in the ſtate of ſplendour to which the preſent King has raiſed it. It is very true, that with regard to interior ſtrength, there are but few of the European powers which do not ſurpaſs the Pruſſian; but, as long as the ſyſtem of government ſhall laſt which has been eſtabliſhed by the King, it will always be able to meaſure ſwords with any power in Europe. In fact, the true ſtrength of a ſtate does not conſiſt ſo much in the quantity of its poſitive force, as in the uſe made of it; but there is no power in Europe who is able to ſtretch every nerve and every fibre, as the Pruſſian certainly can. Beſides this, if population continues to encreaſe as it has done during the time of the preſent adminiſtration, the poſitive force itſelf will encreaſe faſter than that of any other country.

The Pruſſian dominions, of which no perſon can have an idea in the map, contain 3650 German ſquare miles, which is as much as the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Portugal put together. The population is about ſix millions. The kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal put together, do not contain ſo many inhabitants; nor does England alone contain as many. As the Pruſſian population does not yet bear any proportion to the ſize of the country, and as that is not yet all cultivated, the Pruſſian population is ſuſceptible of a great encreaſe. With regard to goodneſs of territory, the country in general may be counted amongſt the middling ſort. The ſoil of Brandenburg indeed, is remarkably bad; but that of Magdeburg, Halberſtadt, Cleves, the marquiſate of La Mark, and ſome parts of Sileſia, Pomerania, and Pruſſia, are as remarkably good. When, in proceſs of time, they have acquired the degree of culture of which they are capable, they will be able to ſupport eight millions of perſons. Beſides theſe, this court has much to expect from an acceſſion of the marquiſate of Anſpach and Bareith; and it is ten to one that it will come in for a ſhare, when the courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh ſhall execute the plan againſt the Porte, which they have been engaged in ever ſince the Emperor's journey to Peterſburgh.

This plan has been ſpoken of here for ſome time with a great degree of confidence, and as it is impoſſible that whenever it takes place, this court ſhould ſit idle, I will lay before you the political opinions of thoſe perſons who deſerve the moſt credit. They ſay the two imperial courts hardly need the third part of their troops to be a match for the Turk. The King's ſituation is therefore critical, for he is placed between two courts, each of which equals him in ſtrength, even after they have ſent out one hundred and eighty, or two hundred thouſand men againſt the eaſtern enemy. This is true; but if the King chooſes to oppoſe their meaſures, France, who is more intereſted in this affair than the Pruſſian court, on account of her Levant trade, which is an object of eight millions a-year, muſt naturally ſeek for a connection with him. France, however, has had the folly, at a time when the weſt and north were occupied by the two moſt formidable powers that hiſtory knows of, to waſte her power at ſea; and the two imperial courts ſuffered her to ſpend herſelf in the American war, in which ſhe had no manner of concern, till ſhe was intirely exhauſted. By this means ſhe has loaded herſelf

with debt, and will not be able to maintain the balance in the Eaſt. By the bye, brother, it is very humbling to a Frenchman to obſerve how they ſpeak of the power of France in this country. They affect to think our armies might make a tolerable ſtand againſt Dutch, Piedmonteſe, or ſuch troops, or at moſt againſt the army of the ſtates of the empire; but that they would make no reſiſtance at all if oppoſed to the Ruſſian or Auſtrian armies. But to return—The King of Pruſſia, whoſe age and love of philoſophical quiet, incline him to peaceful councils, would let himſelf be perſuaded to peace by a ſlice of Poland. Something he muſt have—for ſhould it pleaſe him to put his old weather-beaten head out, he would find many methods, by his great treaſure, of procuring ſuch aſſiſtance from Sweden, Denmark, and other German courts, as would enable him to make head againſt both the imperial courts; eſpecially if France was to do for the Porte, what its fleets enable it to do, or was to force the Emperor to make a diverſion in the Netherlands and in Italy, where ſhe might be aſſiſted by the Kings of [illegible] and Sardinia. Difficult as it may be, to make ſo powerful a head, and unlikely [illegible] mſtances ſhould concur, we may venture to ſay that it is ten to one the [illegible]na and Peterſburgh will rather chooſe to make the King quiet in his own [illegible] him to the utmoſt. Only ſhew him that it is worth his while, and [illegible]ontribute his ſhare in driving the Turks out, or at leaſt guarantee the [illegible]inſt the attempts which may be made by any other powers of Chriſten[illegible]heir operations.

I [illegible]terſburgh and Vienna ſhall, as they have it in their power, proceed to t[illegible]his plan; the loſs of our profitable trade to the Levant, muſt be the inevitable conſequence of the ruinous American war, the end of which we cannot yet ſee, and which we cannot get as much by as we are ſure to loſe by this means. Our wine trade to the north muſt likewiſe ſuffer from this cauſe, as the Poles have been long at work on a canal, which, by means of the many rivers which paſs through their country, is to unite the Atlantic and Black Seas, and to bring wine for the ſupply of all the north, from the provinces which now conſtitute Turkey in Europe. Not to ſay that Europe will have two powers more at ſea, which will be hoſtile to us on the Mediterranean. All this gives us good reaſon to blame the fleets built at the expence of our land forces. We have only one hope left, which is, that Ruſſia and Auſtria cannot long continue friends when they are ſo near one another.

The Pruſſian monarchy has alſo great improvements of another kind to expect. If it was once compact and cloſe together, it would be a conſiderable deal ſtronger than it now is. They often talk of an exchange of the Pruſſian territories in Weſtphalia, and the duchies of Bareith and Anſpach for Mecklenburg, Anhalt and Lauffits. This would be very advantageous for the King, but it is extremely difficult to bring about.

The King's income is about thirty-four millions of Saxon florins, or eighty-nine millions of livres *. His civil liſt is incredibly and uncommonly ſmall. His firſt miniſters appointments are 15,000 florins. I know ſome privy counſellors in Vienna who have more. The ſtate of his ambaſſadors, at the greateſt courts, does not amount to more than 15,000 florins. The public of Vienna laughed at the Baron Riedeſel, the editor of the Journey to Greece, for not having from thirty to forty thouſand florins, like the imperial miniſter; but he knew very well, that the qualities of a good miniſter are not to be found in his pocket. Accordingly a long time did not paſs before he gave the ton in the beſt ſocieties, and his jealouſy for the honour of his maſter, made ſeveral of the Emperor's miniſters aſhamed who were much better paid than he was.

* About 870,833l.

Sileſia

Silesia is the province of most consequence after the kingdom of Prussia. It is only half as big as this, but has nearly the same number of inhabitants, and yields very near as much. The Silesian linens are famous all over the world; and the King has just opened a trade with Spain for them, which was formerly in the hands of the Hamburghers. They have likewise a large trade for handkerchiefs. The Silesian forests also afford a great deal of wood for ship-building. The Ville de Paris, which was taken the 12th of April of this year, was intirely built of Silesian wood.

Having made several excursions into different parts of the Prussian dominions, I have observed that there is no where so much poverty as in the two towns of Berlin and Potsdam. This probably it is, which has contributed to bring the country into discredit with foreigners. The high price of the necessaries of life in these two cities, the great number of idle people, the small pay of many civil and military servants, the pinching way in which many of the smaller nobility, who must have their servants (and often their debts) live, and the great luxury of dress, may be the causes of this. Upon the whole, the country appears to me, though not rich, yet in a state sufficient[illegible] of. The equal distribution of the coin amongst many people, makes the sum[illegible] as it is in other places, in which a nobleman covers the poverty of a hu[illegible] countrymen by his dissipation. This is not the case here; there are[illegible] Prussian dominions, some of the large feudal nobles in Silesia only[illegible] sess above thirty thousand guilders income in landed estates. In[illegible]ind more than three houses which have twenty thousand florins; bu[illegible]ants are upon the whole as remote from extreme poverty as from exce[illegible] you meet with as few beggars here as in any other country in Europe. There is no ground for the assertion of some travellers, that manufactures do not thrive in this country, for I did not see one city, though ever so small, in which there were not some flourishing manufactures. It has indeed been objected to the King, that his system of finance has ruined the fair of Franckfort on the Oder; but the trade carried on there was a kind of Jewish business, which might perhaps be profitable to the merchants of the place, but was rather hurtful than useful to the rest of the country. The same objection, upon the same narrow grounds, is made to the Emperor, with regard to the fair of Bissen, in the Tyrol.

With regard to the sciences, and literature of all kinds, Berlin is, without a doubt, one of the first cities in the world. It is obliged to the King for this pre-eminence. His father was as orthodox and stiff as the late Empress of Germany; and the Muses, who without liberty do not live at their ease, fled from him of course. This silly prince banished the celebrated Wolfe, who certainly was no infidel; but the King had no liberal ideas; he considered every study, except those of divinity and finance, as nonsense and delusions of the devil, and his treasurer was a greater man in his eyes, than Wolfe, Leibnitz, or Newton. The present King, who is a true friend of the arts and sciences, has established a freedom of thinking in his country, which is not to be met with any where out of England. Neither orthodox nor politics restrain philosophy in this country; but whilst every professor at Vienna is teaching that land and people are the private property of the monarch, they publish here, without the least fear of danger, that the King is nothing more than a *stadt-holder*, or the first amongst his fellows. As to religion, the Jews openly declare that the Messiah is not yet come; the Catholics, that they eat him every day, and that the Pope is the head of all princes; the Protestants, that the Pope is the wild-beast in the Apocalypse, and the Whore of Babylon; the Greeks, that there is no Trinity; the Turks, that Mahomet was a greater prophet than either Jesus or Moses; and the whole race of Infidels, that there never has been

any prophet at all. All theſe things are conſidered as bare ſpeculations of the cloſet by the police; and any prieſt, rabbi, or cadi, deſiring to make an *auto-dé-fé*, would be the firſt to occupy a place on his own faggots.

The King has an academy, which is *not* compoſed of the beſt wits to be met with here. There are, however, ſome men of true merit amongſt this generally very indifferent ſet. But Frederick, as has been obſerved by ſeveral of his enemies, has a prejudice in favour of foreigners, and had rather take one of our *journaliſts* * to fill up his academy, than any of the German literati. Mr. Pilati has obſerved that ſeveral of the German men of letters would make a better figure in this academy, than moſt of the foreigners who are in it. The King does not think ſo; but then it muſt be confeſſed that he has given the Germans full revenge on this ſubject, by the publication of his eſſay *ſur la Literature Allemande*, which makes it very evident that he knows nothing at all either of their literature or their language. The reaſon of this is alſo obvious. When he began his courſe, German literature was ſtill in its infancy, and there prevailed at Berlin eſpecially, a barbarity which muſt have vexed him ſorely. His taſte was conſequently formed on the French and Italian models; and the company he kept in his hours of recreation, conſiſted only of perſons of theſe nations. In proceſs of time, light advanced in Germany, but he did not perceive the blaze it made in its progreſs. He himſelf wrote and ſpoke only in French; and the jeſts of the foreign wits who ſurrounded him, and knew no German, increaſed his prejudices, both againſt a language which he could neither ſpeak nor write, and againſt a nation which he knew only by its dark melancholy humours, and ſtiff cut of the clothes for which the inhabitants of Berlin were remarkable in his father's time, and which they have not yet intirely thrown off. When the fame of German literature increaſed, and inconteſtible proofs of its eminence were offered to be laid before him, it was impoſſible for him to enter into the beauties of a language which he had always treated as barbarous, and of which he could only write and ſpeak the moſt miſerable jargon. In order to diſcover the beauties in any tongue whatever, it is neceſſary to be acquainted with its peculiar idiom: for it is in this caſe as it is with an actor who ſucceeds one that had been the favourite of the public. The new actor may poſſeſs all that art and nature can beſtow upon him, ſtill he will not do enough for general expectation on his firſt appearance; the ſpectators muſt have time to grow familiar with his peculiar pronunciation, his carriage, and a number of trifling circumſtances, which only hurt him from the compariſon with his predeceſſor, in whom many things of the ſame kind did not make unfavourable impreſſions, on account of the habit which people were under of ſeeing them. The King, who never had time enough to ſpare from the cares of his ſtate, to make himſelf thorough maſter of the beauties of the language, and to wear away the prejudice he had formed againſt it, was rather confirmed in his prejudices than ſhaken in them, by the proofs that were laid before him of the contrary opinion. It is poſſible too that his inſtructors might not be happy in the choice of the works they took to convince him. After all, if we conſider that ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne he has only uſed literature for a recreation and an amuſement, we ſhall not be very angry with him for his averſion to German literati. The *ton* of the polite world is ſeldom found united to their learning, and their wits are moſtly blunted by the ſevere ſtudies of their reſpective profeſſions. Whilſt in other nations the literati often ſacrifice their underſtanding to their genius, theſe always offer up the former at the ſhrine of the latter. Hunger and want of knowledge of the world render them booriſh and untractable in ſocial life, though

* Reviewers.

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at the ſame time they form the imaginary worlds of which they write, after quite a different ſyſtem from what they practiſe, and know how to give their writing a poliſh which they want themſelves. The profeſſional countenances of the Dutch literati, and the ſtudies of the *beaux eſprits*, which came to the King's notice, could not recommend German literature much to him; doubtleſs the genius of the nation contributed ſomething to the preference he gave the French and Italians. The Germ[illegible]enius is dull, and though many of their pieces do not abſolutely *ſtink* of the lamp, yet you may eaſily obſerve that they have come with difficulty from the authors. In conſequence of this, they ſeldom recommend themſelves as fine writers, even when they are moſt entertaining; for they have not the livelineſs which enables the French and Italians to mark the remarkable parts of a thing in a minute, and to give a neatneſs to obſervations often paltry enough in themſelves. Religion is alſo in ſome meaſure the cauſe of this. The Proteſtants are accuſtomed to give too great a preference to the uſeful over the agreeable, and as the Catholics, whoſe religion gives the fineſt ſcope to the powers of wit and imagination, are in Germany, all plunged in the deepeſt barbarity, it is not to be wondered at that the King chooſes, for his hours of recreation, Italian abbés rather than German paſtors, who are often much ſuperior to them in real knowledge, but who have the air of their cathedrals, and are apt to fall into the preaching one, with which it is impoſſible that the King ſhould be pleaſed. The ſame thing obtains with reſpect to the writers of German politics and hiſtory. In point of truth, and the knowledge of bare facts, they far ſurpaſs the hiſtorians and politicians of all othe countries, but they do not know how to make their heroes ſpeak, nor how to give them a beautiful dreſs. It is certainly better to be true and dry, than falſe and witty; but truth alſo allows itſelf to be joined with wit, which makes it ſlip down more glibly. The complaints which the King makes on this head, in his eſſay againſt his countrymn, *ſur la Literature Allemande*, are certainly well grounded; but his remarks on the ſchools, as well as his proofs of the want of genius of ſeveral Dutch writers, are certainly not well choſen. *The ſhooting of darts as thick as the arm*, and *the ring on the finger of Time*, have been univerſally exploded in Germany for the laſt twenty years. As to the ſchools, in no country in Europe are they ſo flouriſhing as in the King's own dominions. The Germans proceed intirely by rule, and even in things in which they are not calculated to improve themſelves, they are able to give the beſt direction to others. No nation ſurpaſſes them in eſtimating the productions of genius. They have given the beſt rules how a hiſtory is to be written; which, however, like all the rules in the univerſe, have not yet produced a ſingle genius. In the mean time, rules and criticiſm of authors, is all that hitherto goes forward in the ſchools.

Nothing ſo much prevents the progreſs of German genius, as the indifference of the Princes of Germany to German literature; but on this account, in my opinion, they deſerve no reproach: for if they go on as they have begun for ſome time, to encourage agriculture, to make the arts alive, to improve legiſlation and manners, and to pay their debts; theſe manly, theſe imperial purſuits, will, as the King well obſerves in his eſſay on German literature, contribute more to the happineſs and glory of the nation, than if their poets and hiſtorians eclipſed all thoſe of old and modern times. This, however, is my own private opinion. But when one of the firſt princes of Germany reproaches his countrymen, as the King of Pruſſia has done, for not having produced a Virgil, a Horace, a Tully, a Corneille, a Moliere, a Voltaire, and a Taſſo, one would think that they ought to contribute to the progreſs of taſte and language, and to the developement of genius; whereas I met with no court in Germany, in which a foreign dialect did not prevail. In all places but Saxony, the immediate followers of the court generally ſpoke

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their mother-tongue wretchedly, nor was their French and Italian jargon leſs miſerable. No man can make his way at either of theſe courts without the French language. In moſt it is accounted vulgar and unbecoming to ſpeak your own language; and yet the court is the only place where language can acquire the rounding, and the lightneſs which is to diſtinguiſh it from the brogue of barbarians.

In France and Italy the court contributes moſt to the poliſh of the language; for it is not the writer who makes the language, but words and expreſſions muſt have acquired the right of denizenſhip in good company, before any author can uſe them without offence. The jealouſy of ſpeaking their own language well and with taſte, is an object of the ſame pride and pleaſure to the great folks, (who always aſſume the tone of the court) as the being diſtinguiſhed in their dreſs, their hair, and their demeanour. Even in Greece and Rome, good company, and the buſineſs of the ſtate, contributed much more to the forming their languages than the writers, who did not appear till after thoſe nations had already acquired a very conſiderable degree of poliſh. But upon what models are the German writers to form themſelves? On the pulpit? Few people in high life pay any attention to what paſſes there. On the courts of juſtice? By the nonſenſical law jargon, and the cold and tedious form of ſuits? No, no, this cannot be: there muſt be Roman tribunals, and a Roman adminiſtration of juſtice, before Cicero can poſſibly be expected. As to tranſactions with foreigners, which were formerly a wide field for German eloquence, they are moſtly carried on in the French language. There are ſeveral princes who have their very proclamations written in French, and tranſlated out of it before they publiſh them to their ſubjects. The diet of Ratiſbon, the only place where the ſcattered nations of the empire form an aggregate and can conſider themſelves as a whole, and where the love of their country, ambition, and even national pride, ought to make Demoſthenes', Ciceros, Burkes, and Foxes; this celebrated diet is the temple of ſleep, inſenſibility, ſilent corruption, the darkeſt nonſenſe and treachery. All the tranſactions with foreign miniſters, and moſt of thoſe with the miniſters of the German courts themſelves, are carried on in French and in the aſſembly of the ſtates itſelf, every thing is carried on by a ſingle *yea*; you ſeldom hear a nay, and commonly all is ſoon brought to a deciſion. As to the Emperor's court at Vienna, there is a jargon there, which not one man of letters in ten can underſtand; nor is that of Weſslar one jot behind it in unintelligibleneſs. The German nation is no where brought together in a point nor is it accuſtomed to conſider itſelf as one and the ſame nation; hence the language can be as little fixed as the character is. But if theſe impediments were once to be removed, ſtill the German genius would always be kept back by want of encouragement.

The ſmall court of Weimar is the only one I have yet met with in Germany, where the national genius is not left to ſtarve; but in order to feed it, the Duke is forced, by the ſcantineſs of his income, to make his wits counſellors, ſecretaries, and lord high treaſurers. Klopſtock is perhaps the only poet alive, who ſhews any thing like a well underſtood patronage in any of the German princes. In a word, the moſt miſerable of our journaliſts will make his fortune ſooner at a German court, than the greateſt writer of the country. There is a viſible proof of this in the ſtate of the academy of this country.

Amongſt the numerous tribe of literati of this country, *qui ne ſont rien, pas même académiciens*, I was made moſt happy in the acquaintance of the Jew Moſes Mendelſohn, Meſſrs. Buſching, Teller, Spalding, Nicolai, and Madam Karſchin.

The firſt of theſe is one of the moſt remarkable writers in Germany. His works are elegant, and his ſtyle has a neatneſs, richneſs, and preciſion, which muſt in time make

him claſſical. He is at the head of a houſe of trade, and brings out his philoſophy as he can. He amuſes himſelf at his ſpare hours with the publication of fragments of his ſcattered opinions. He has all the elegance in his manner which diſtinguiſhes his writings, and it helps him to carry off a corpulent unweildy body.

Buſching, Teller, and Spalding, are members of the conſiſtorial court.

The firſt is the greateſt known geographer in Europe. His deſcription of Europe far ſurpaſſes, in point of accuracy and fullneſs, every thing that has gone before. Geography is a ſcience which, from the various changes which take place every hour, muſt of courſe have many defects; but I doubt whether it be poſſible to do more than has been done by Buſching. Not only his immenſe induſtry, which is abſolutely neceſſary in a work of this kind, but his wonderful acuteneſs in the choice of his help-mates, is moſt admirable. His hiſtorical and geographical magazine contains the moſt ample materials for modern hiſtory, particularly that of Ruſſia. He himſelf is an inexhauſtible fund of anecdotes of the European courts; nor is there a ſingle one amongſt them all, with whoſe circumſtances he is not as well acquainted, as if he kept a ſervant fed in each of them. As he poſſeſſes a great variety of living languages, none of the geographical, political, or hiſtorical productions of the age eſcape him; the whole world lays ever before him, juſt as a part of Switzerland does before General Pfiffer of Lucern, who you know has contrived to delineate not only the natural and phyſical ſtate of each country, but alſo the motions of the men in them. I talked to Buſching of finiſhing his valuable geography, but he alledged his numerous occupations, which prevent his undertaking the taſk he affected to be delighted with. I could diſcover, however, amidſt all this, that he is deterred by the difficulties of it; and indeed Aſia, Africa, and America, are not ſo eaſy to be deſcribed as Europe was. I find, however, that he has done a great deal towards theſe.

Teller and Spalding are the moſt unprieſtlike prieſts that I know. No ſoul upon God's earth is in danger of being damned by them for his ſpeculative opinions. Their religion is theoretical and practical philoſophy. Both of them are wonderful preachers, elegant writers, and deans of churches. Contrary to the generality of proteſtant teachers, they have comfortable incomes, to which it is probable that they owe much of the ſoftneſs and gentleneſs of their manners; as it is often hunger that makes divines ill-mannered, rough, and untractable.

Ramler is one of the moſt amiable poets in all Germany; and none has carried the poliſh of his verſe ſo high as he. He has ſomewhat of the ſharp and ſhort points of Horace, as well as of his nervous and crowded periods. His language is claſſical. He is profeſſor at the cadet ſchools, but not in very good circumſtances.

Mr. Nicolai is a prodigy as an original writer, but poſſibly ſtill greater as a compiler. His *Sebaldus Nothanker* is one of the beſt German novels; it is quite original, and abounds in ſtriking characters and intereſting ſituations. As he is a bookſeller, no body can find fault with him for regulating his authorſhip according to the pounds and ſhillings it brings in. There is no German writer, except only Wieland, (who, notwithſtanding his notorious Jew practices in this branch, has dared to blame him for it,) who knows how to dreſs his commodities ſo well according to the public taſte, and to ſend them out at a proper time. His own intereſt, however, often coincides with that of the public, and they run together. Germany is obliged to him for a Literary Journal; which, in point of ſolidity and real merit, has not its equal in Europe. As he is only the compiler, there is no being angry with him if a partial review of a book now and then ſlips in; but there are very few of theſe; whereas all the Reviews of other nations are, generally ſpeaking, plots upon the credulity and ignorance of mankind.

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His converſation is ſingularly intereſting, as he is poſſeſſed of a fund of anecdotes of German writers, which, if they were to be publiſhed, would ſurpaſs every chronicle that has hitherto been called ſcandalous *. He knows all their clubs, and the ſecrets of their private houſes.

Madam Karſchin is an amiable poeteſs. Her tales breathe innocence, ſoft ſenſibility, and peace of mind. She is likewiſe very good company, and the more admirable for having made herſelf what ſhe is.

You meet with many women in this place who are well acquainted with the polite arts, and *belles lettres*. Madame Rechlan, among many others I could mention, is an excellent German poeteſs. I was in ſeveral ſocieties where all the young women took a part in literary converſations.

There is no country in which you meet with miniſters ſo enlightened as you do here. All the miniſters and effective counſellors are choſen men, amongſt whom there is hardly one but would be a wonderful writer in his own line. The preſent Attorney General has done more in clearing up the ſubject of criminal legiſlation, in a ſhort pamphlet on the ſubject, than all the folios and quartos in the Beccaria taſte put together. The miniſter Hertſberg, to whom the King's Eſſay on German Literature is addreſſed, and who takes the part of his countrymen with great warmth, has been diſtinguiſhed by the writing of many, and the publication of ſtill more excellent ſtate-papers. He is an excellent miniſter, and muſt be known to you by his conduct of the diſpute on the Bavarian inheritance, and the peace of Teſchen. The Chief Juſtice Zedlitz has publiſhed ſome very exellent remarks on education; and many of the King's counſellors are good writers. If, according to the old proverb, a man is known by his ſervants, every one muſt think highly of the King of Pruſſia.

What principally diſtinguiſhes the literati of the northern parts of Germany, is their acquaintance with the literature of the more cultivated European nations. I did not meet, either here or in Saxony, with a ſingle character of eminence, who was not well acquainted with the beſt French, Engliſh, and Italian writers. They are true cosmopolites in literature, and totally void of prejudice, either in favour of the productions of their own country, or againſt thoſe of a foreign growth. I have no where met with ſuch univerſal and impartial knowledge of the world as there is here. This is an advantage which neither the Engliſh, French, or Italians, can diſpute with them.

LETTER LIV.

Berlin.

OF all the amuſements of this town, that which delights me moſt at this ſeaſon, is the walk in the park on the ſouth ſide of the Sprey. I have never ſeen a finer public walk. The varied beauties of the woods, alleys, groves, and wilderneſs, beggar all imagination. It is above three miles round, and has water ſufficient to give it more life than there is in the walks of much larger cities. A part of it commands the Sprey. It is a pity that they have not carried it over the parade and the royal wood market as far as the river, from both banks of which you have very beautiful proſpects.

In this park on a Sunday you ſee Berlin in all its glory. It is to the people of this place what the Thuilleries are to Paris, only the mixture of the company is much more ſtriking, as you find all the populace and all the fine world here. You ride or

* Mr. Nicolai, greatly to his honour, has declared that they never ſhall.

walk through without any moleſtation. In ſome parts of the park you likewiſe ſee rows of ladies magnificently dreſſed, ſitting together as in the Thuilleries, and have the ſame freedom of ſtaring them full in the face, and comparing them to one another. You alſo meet with moſt of the literati of the place at ſtated times. There are refreſhments of every kind provided, nor is there, as at Vienna, a police to prevent any amuſement ladies and gentlemen may chooſe to fall into.

I had no oportunity of ſeeing the Royal Opera, which is looked upon as one of the beſt in Europe, but is ſeldom open except in winter; nor is there any theatre here except a very indifferent German one, which is not to be compared with thoſe of Vienna and Munich. The manager, Mr. Dobbelin, has ſome very ſingular opinions. He places the ſtrength of his company in the number of his actors, and ſeems to diſtribute the parts amongſt them by lot. I have often obſerved that he who plays the ſervant is much better qualified to play the maſter, who again, was nature attended to, would play the ſervant. Among fifty actors there are hardly four that would be reckoned tolerable at Vienna. The wardrobe is of a piece with the reſt. I ſaw two pieces in which modern manners were repreſented, played in Spaniſh dreſſes no longer wore. Amidſt dreſſes of the fifteen centuries, you often behold a modern one, eſpecially amongſt the women. The women ſeldom change their head dreſs, though the ſcene ſhould happen to be in India; and yet Mr. Dobbelin makes a great outcry about his wardrobe, and the propriety of the *coſtume*. This theatre is ſo ſmall, that many of the ſpectators are obliged to take care leſt the clouds of heaven over them ſhould be entangled in their hair. I ſaw trees which were hardly big enough for walking ſticks. Some of this great king's troops are carrion, whom hunger has robbed of all their fleſh; and many are hardly able to move their legs and arms, for which want of action, the actreſſes are accountable, as you may eaſily diſcover by the ſound of their voices. Mr. Dobbelin's wages, which are from ſix to eight guilders a week, are indeed not calculated to give his people a great deal of ſtrength. Their *forte* conſequently conſiſts in fainting away, in which art two or three of his women ſurpaſs every thing that I have ever ſeen of the kind. In this they are only excelled by themſelves when they die. Dying is the principal buſineſs of every German actor, and when he knows how to give life to his death, like ſome great actors I have ſeen, whoſe convulſions began in the feet and ran through the whole body, he is ſure of the applauſe of a German pit. The tragedy taſte which obtains throughout Germany, from the Mediterranean to the Eaſtern ſea, would lead a foreigner to imagine that the country was made up of raviſhers, houſe-breakers, &c. eſpecially as the ſame cannibal guſto is diſcoverable throughout moſt of their modern romances.

Though the inhabitants of Berlin, including the garriſon, amount to one hundred and forty two thouſand men, yet it is not able to keep up a good company of players. It is entirely owing to want of encouragement that Mr. Dobbelin ſuffers half his company to ſtarve, and plays in a building, which in any other city would be looked upon as a barn. In this reſpect the city is *unique*. You will imagine that the officers alone, who are conſtantly from eight to nine hundred in number, would be ſufficient to keep up a good theatre; but it is not ſo. In truth, this is one of the moſt eminent marks of the poverty and parſimony of the people of this place.

A man would not wonder to find the public of all the great cities of the Pruſſian monarchy diſaffected to plays. The great induſtry which they are remarkable for muſt have this effect; but the capital is the rendezvous of all the idlers of the country, and though the number of them does not amount to that of any other capital, it ſhould, one would think, be ſufficient not to let a couple of dozen of players ſtarve. Theſe parti-

culaities are to be ſolved by conſidering that the idle, ſuppoſing them to have their incomes neat and free from incumbrance, are ſtill very poor people. This is the natural conſequence of the wiſe ſyſtem of finance eſtabliſhed by the King. The induſtrious part of the public does not feel the dearneſs of the neceſſaries of life, which is the conſequence of the exciſe and monopoly, becauſe the wages of work are raiſed in proportion to them. But thoſe who live on their rents feel their whole weight. If therefore they chooſe to live conſiſtently, and in ſome degree anſwerably to their eſtates, the expence of the theatre becomes too weighty an item for their purſes. In a word, the labouring part of the public do not go to the play here, becauſe labour makes them ſparing; and the idle do not go becauſe they are too poor.

I know no ſtronger mark of diſtinction betwixt the Pruſſian and Auſtrian character than what relates to the theatre. The Pruſſian monarchy contains ſeveral other fine cities. In Konigſberg there are upwards of ſixty thouſand ſouls; in Breſlaw, forty thouſand; Stettin, Magdeburg and Potſdam contain thirty thouſand inhabitants and above; Francfort on the Oder, Weſel, Embden, and other cities, have from eighteen to twenty-five thouſand inhabitants. A great many have from ten to fifteen thouſand ſouls. In all theſe, two companies of players can hardly get enough to keep out hunger. On the other hand, throughout Auſtria you meet with a theatre in every ſmall town. I found one at Lintz, at Neuſtadt, at St. Polnair, and even at Chreps. The larger cities, as Prague, Preſburg, Gratz, Brun, &c. have all ſtanding theatres. This difference is not owing to the difference of fortunes, for Vienna excepted, which is fattened not only with the marrow of the whole monarchy, but with part of that of Germany; there is much more money in the Pruſſian, than there is in the Auſtrian dominions, though no ſingle houſe in the former has an income of fifty, one hundred, or even two hundred thouſand guilders. There is an appearance of care amidſt the middle claſſes of the inhabitants of the Pruſſian towns, of which you can have no idea in the Auſtrian monarchy, the Netherlands and Lombardy only excepted. The only difference conſiſts in the greater induſtry of the Pruſſians, and the frugality which is inſeparable from it. The Auſtrian cities are full of idlers and ſpendthrifts, who are, on the contrary, the ſcarceſt commodities in the Pruſſian ſtates. Beſides this, the knowledge and manners to be found amidſt the inhabitants of the greater part of the Pruſſian provinces, put them in poſſeſſion of better pleaſures than are to be met with in the theatre, the dancing booth, the cellar, &c. In the ſmalleſt Pruſſian villages you meet with more happineſs, than in many large ſtates in Auſtria; and there is much more good done by private perſons in the former, than in any of the latter.

You have long been deſirous I ſhould ſay ſomething to you of the heir of the Pruſſian monarchy. The common accounts of him are as contradictory as they are ridiculous. There is a German journaliſt who has been ſhameleſs enough to declare that the King has purpoſely neglected the Prince's education, in order that the ſhades of his future government may make his own adminiſtration more glorious. It is impoſſible to revile either the King or Prince with leſs ſemblance of truth. The Prince of Pruſſia is not only particularly well educated, but the King ſeeks every opportunity in his power to attach him to his ſyſtem of government. The warmth of his temperament betrayed him into ſome amorous exceſſes in his youth; but he is now much more ſtaid and ſober. According to the teſtimony of the King himſelf, who praiſes no man upon ſlight grounds, he is a great general; and all the people here, who know him at all, aſſure me that he is likewiſe a great ſtateſman. He loves the arts and ſciences, and what ought to recommend him to the notice of the German reviewers, thinks much more favourably of German literature than his great uncle. He has been reproached with being reſerved, and

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not knowing any thing of friendſhip. This was a conſequence of his former exceſſes, which naturally rendered him diffident whom he truſted or admitted to be witneſs of his irregularities; but it is alſo a proof that the King had always a watchful eye over his education. All this, however, is much changed within the courſe of a few years, and his character has opened itſelf ſo much to his advantage, as to render him worthy of ranking amongſt the greateſt princes, who, by a kind of miracle, of which hiſtory affords no other example, have within a century raiſed the Pruſſian kingdom from almoſt nothing to be one of the moſt terrible ſtates in Europe.

The only thing which makes the Pruſſian patriots at all apprehenſive of a change, is a little love for magnificence, and rather too unlimited a generoſity. It is true that theſe are moſt formidable failings in a monarchy, which, like the Pruſſian, is built only upon ſimplicity and frugality, and has no other ſtrength but that which ariſes from the exacteſt œconomy. But the King, who is better acquainted with this than any body elſe, and has ever been a more careful father, both of the Prince and country, than journaliſts think, has frequently made him feel, by experience, the bad conſequences of the want of proper frugality; and though the Prince ſhould not, during his uncle's lifetime adopt his ſyſtem of œconomy, he will not ſit half a year upon the throne after his death without being convinced that he muſt adopt it. The Pruſſian ſtate is a piece of clock-work, which ſtands ſtill as ſoon as one wheel is impaired; and the Prince has wiſdom, alacrity, and honour ſufficient to give ear to the preſſing voice of neceſſity, and not to let the country ſink through his indolence.

The incomes of the Pruſſian princes and princeſſes are by no means ſo ſcanty as people are generally taught to believe. Every prince has 50,000 rubles per annum ſettled on him as ſoon as he comes of age, and the King's brother, as well as the hereditary prince, have beſides, incomes ariſing from eſtates and places. Prince Henry has nearly 400,000, and the hereditary prince at leaſt 350,000 livres annually to depend upon. Neither of them are able to make the year meet on their incomes. But in caſes of neceſſity the King is as free of his aſſiſtance, as of his brotherly and paternal advice. He has a ſpecial art in mixing advice and admonition with the money he at any time beſtows. At the ſame time there is not a better pay-maſter in the world, nor is there an inſtance of his having cheated any individual of a penny in his accounts with them.

I cannot conclude this ſubject without giving you ſome more anecdotes of this in general ſo much miſtaken monarch. I ſhall not repeat any of the ſtories which are publicly known of him, and do him as much honour as a private man, as his exploits do as a monarch. What I have to communicate to you relates to his treatment of perſons with whom he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied, which will ſhew you at once both how little of the deſpot he really has in him, and how well he underſtands the art of inſinuating himſelf into the cabinets of the ſeveral European princes, and making himſelf maſter of their moſt important ſecrets.

I am acquainted with two perſons who have long been employed by the King in matters of the greateſt importance. They are both of them adventurers of the firſt claſs. The one poſſeſſes ſome talents, which however are more ſhining than ſubſtantial, as his knowledge is too much confined to his own affairs, and he does not know the connection of them with political circumſtances. The other had not hands ſufficiently clean, but his corruption has ariſen more from diſſipation, than nature or culpable habit. Both having been detected in impoſing upon the King, there came to them ſecret advice from a third hand, and they diſappeared from Berlin at different times. The affair at that time made no further noiſe. It happened that both had it afterwards in their power to ſerve the King, the one at the Eaſtern Sea, and the other at the Lower Rhine. All thoſe

who have at any time been in close connection with the King, even when they quarrel with him, preserve an affection for his service in their breasts, which shews more than any thing else, that the King is not the tyrant he is represented to be.

The abundant love for his service, which was more a consequence of true regard and friendship than of self-interest, induced the fugitives to write the King word that there were things on the spots where they were, in which they could be of service to him. This happened at different times, and the circumstances had nothing to do with each other. The King accepted their offers, rewarded them according to their services, and though he sent them many letters, some of which I have seen, let fall never a word of their former misdeeds. So far from it, there were marks in several of the letters, that he wished to banish the remembrance of them from his memory as fast as possible. A still more extraordinary thing is, that one of the men has been returned this three years, and has often had occasion to converse with the King, without having heard a syllable from him that could lead, even in the most round-about way, to the old story.

Some anecdotes which I have been told here, and do not recollect to have seen in print, shew that this treatmeut of the two adventurers did not arise from any regard to self-interest, but was the result of the opinions which the King entertains of human nature. The present minister ———, was a major in the last Silesian war. As he had confessedly great military talents, the King made him adjutant to General Hilser, who was as brave as his own sword, but was no deep thinker. This was done in consequence of the usual custom; for when a dangerous expedition is in hand, Frederick always employs persons with iron bodies, who are used to run without fearing against any wall he sends them; but then he always places an adjutant behind them, to give them the direction. The major did his duty, and the King was well pleased with him, and expressed himself so. The next thing you would imagine would have been preferment; but this did not follow; for the gentleman had too much salt in his composition, and had happened to make some observations rather too warm on the King's operations. These came to his ears, and made such an impression on him, that he found an opportunity of letting the gentleman know that his actions were more pleasing than his criticisms. The major now thought that all hopes of his promotion were at an end for ever, he therefore retired to a provincial town, and gave himself up to philosophical pursuits, like a man who had nothing more to hope from the court. After a certain time had elapsed, the King bethought himself of enquiring for him. He was told that he was studying politics and finance for his amusement. On this the King let him wait a little while longer, and then promoted him to a conspicuous post in the province, where having had occasion to distinguish himself, he was finally called to the ministry, nor has there ever been the least hint given of what had passed between him and the King.

Quintus Icilius had once been treated very roughly in consequence of one of his publications, by a gentleman who was displeased, and took the liberty of writing with great freedom against him. A little while after, having occasion to publish again, he asked the King's permission to do it. "I have nothing to say to these matters," replies the monarch, "you must ask Mr. ——, your reviewer's leave." This nettled Quintus Icilius, whose weak side was the pride of authorship; and he shewed his resentment by absenting himself for a few nights from the King's suppers. When the King imagined his author's pride was a little cooled, he sent him word that he had heard with pleasure that he was well again, and hoped to see him at the usual season. Quintus accordingly attended, and not a look or question passed which could put him in the least distress. On the contrary, the King conversed with him with a familiarity and good-humoured pleasantry that would have done honour to a private man, and could come only from one

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who was a man of the world, and loved mankind as well as he underſtood them. There are many other *traits* of the ſame kind, which ſhew how different the King of Pruſſia is in every thing from a Sultan.

Whilſt the Pruſſian adminiſtration is thus generally miſunderſtood; whilſt the very courts who endeavour the moſt exactly to imitate the operations of Frederick, cannot enter at all into the ſpirit of his adminiſtration, and commonly either take that for an end which is only a means; or for want of thought make thoſe parts of their government myſterious, which he renders the moſt open to every man's inſpection who chooſes to look upon them; whilſt, *in fine*, moſt of the other powers of Europe have not ſenſe enough to think of learning his ſyſtem of government; *he* is perfectly acquainted with the conſtitution, adminiſtration, and the external circumſtances of every power in Europe, the ſmalleſt and moſt apparently inſignificant not excepted. He knows France better than our whole miniſtry put together. I have been aſſured from good authority, that for many years paſt four perſons have travelled at his expence throughout our ſeveral provinces, in order to give him accurate information of the population, the agriculture, the exports, and particularly the manufactures of the country. I know for a certainty that by this means he knows the Auſtrian provinces better than they are known at Vienna itſelf. The anecdote mentioned in the *Diſcours preliminaire*, of the book entitled *Grande Tactiqueet Manœuvres des Guerres ſuivant les principes de Sa Majeſté Pruſſiene*, of the Pruſſian ambaſſador at Paris, Lord Marſhall, having in vain endeavoured to open the eyes of our miniſter for foreign affairs with regard to the affairs of Ruſſia, is founded on a fact. Nor is this the only opportunity our miniſters have loſt by their preſumption of being taught by the King what might have been advantageous to the country they pretended to govern. It cannot indeed be denied that the emiſſaries which he employs to come at the ſecrets of foreign courts, often make uſe of ways and means by which honour comes ſhort home. When, for inſtance, the partition of Poland was in agitation, the papers of a private ſecretary of a certain cabinet were procured in a manner which much hurt the bonds of private friendſhip; not only ſo, but there was an audacity uſed which far ſurpaſſes all idea. Without attempting to apologize for ſuch things, I can only ſay, that as they are artifices which all the courts of Europe allow themſelves, none is ſo ſucceſsful in them as the King of Pruſſia, as there is no monarch who has ſuch truſty and acute ſervants as he has. The activity, fidelity, and ſecrecy with which all his matters are managed, are the cauſes why the Pruſſian ambaſſadors in all courts make ſuch ſhort proceſſes, and commonly arrive at their concluſions when other miniſters firſt begin to reaſon, to conjecture, and to combine. That cabinet which thinks to carry on any important thing in which the King of Pruſſia is concerned, without his coming at the knowledge of it, is much miſtaken. In the preſent tranſactions of the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna with regard to the Porte the King of Pruſſia has ſprung ſome mines which have opened him the doors of the two cabinets. He told the Jeſuits of their fall two years before it happened; but they believed not in him, and imagined themſelves to be much greater prophets.

Upon the whole, the ſtrength of the King of Pruſſia conſiſts partly in the knowledge of his own ſtrength, and partly in that he has of the ſtrength of his rivals. There is a double advantage in this, ariſing from the underſtandings of the latter being as unſteady and variable as tho ſe of the King and his miniſters are plain and preciſe. Want of underſtanding is the mother of pride, which leads us to the greateſt political errors, and makes us deſpiſe our enemies, to our great loſs. This blindneſs it was which, as the King well obſerved, carried Auſtria into Sileſia, and Great Britain into America. He himſelf is ſure never to fall into ſuch a ſnare, as his ſelf-love never blinds him. As a proof of this, obſerve the remarkable difference there is between Auſtrian and Pruſſian

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ſtate-papers. In the former the writers always endeavour by all means, and often in the midſt of viſible marks that they themſelves know better things, to trumpet forth the power of Auſtria, and leſſen that of Pruſſia. The latter, on the contrary, even when they are at war with Auſtria, ſpeak in the higheſt terms of its greatneſs; nor is there an inſtance of a Pruſſian's having given himſelf the trouble in a public writing, to make the greatneſs of his country more than it is. They uſe plain facts and arguments, without the leaſt exaggeration. A very ſtrong diſtinctive character this of the two countries. In the midſt of the Bavarian war, whilſt Auſtrian writers uſed to ſet forth that the King of Pruſſia was obliged to enter into ſome war to pay his army, whom he could otherwiſe neither clothe nor feed; the Pruſſian miniſters only obſerved in their ſtate-papers, how inconceivable it was that ſo high and mighty a power as the Houſe of Auſtria, a power ſo juſtly formidable to all the neighbours round, ſhould ſeek to make itſelf ſtill greater by the depreſſion of an old monarch, from whom it had ſo little danger to apprehend. In a word, the Pruſſian kingdom is governed by rule, and the greateſt part of the reſt of the world by opinion.

LETTER LV.

Hamburgh.

THE body, my deareſt brother, feels itſelf as much worſe in all the parts of North Germany, than it is in the ſouthern ones, as the mind feels itſelf better. On this ſide the Erts-mountain, the inns, roads, poſt-waggons, and all that relates to travelling, are the very beſt poſſible; on the other the inns are not a jot better than the Spaniſh ones. The roads are like the Hungarian, and inſtead of poſt-chaiſes, they have a kind of large farmer's waggon, without cover or window, in which the paſſengers lay along the ſtraw like ſwine, and are expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather. On the other hand, here you meet with the beſt company every where; there is hardly a village ſo ſmall but what has manufactures, collections of the arts, and libraries; beſides which, every pariſh-prieſt in the country has more knowledge of mankind, than many a courtier in the ſouth of Germany.

Nature has likewiſe made a great difference with reſpect to the phyſical appearance of the two parts of Germany. Saxony, which is the beſt northern province for natural fruitfulneſs of country, ſtill bears no compariſon with Bohemia, Auſtria, Bavaria, and Suabia, and the hills of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, are not nearly of the ſame value as thoſe of the ſame ſize in the ſouth.

The dutchy of Mecklenburg is as large as the dutchy of Wirtemberg. The latter has five hundred and ſixty thouſand inhabitants, and its prince enjoys a revenue of two millions of rix dollars; the former hardly two hundred and twenty thouſand men, and a revenue of not more than four hundred thouſand rix dollars, of which the Schwerin line enjoys three, and that of Strelitz one part. Notwithſtanding this much larger population, the duchy of Wirtemberg could nouriſh all the inhabitants of Mecklenburg with its ſuperfluity. On a calculation, we ſhould find that the dutchy of Wirtemberg has five or ſix times the natural riches of that of Mecklenburg, notwithſtanding the more advantageous ſituation of the latter on the ſea.

With regard to picturesque appearance of country, there is much more beauty and variety in the dutchy of Mecklenburg than in the mark of Brandenburg; though you meet with no hills properly ſo called in either, for the things which they dignify with the name of hills, throughout this whole country, are no other than mole-hills when compared to true hills. There are however in Mecklenburg, ſeveral very pretty land-

ſcapes, where ſoft hills beautified with great varieties of woods; meadows covered with corn, and little cottages ſurrounding ſmall lakes, make a very fine picture.

The Mecklenburg farmers are a very ſtrong and healthy race of men. Their curling white hair reminds the traveller of the old Germans, who heretofore contributed to the Roman luxury that *aurea cæſaries* which, on the head of a thin boned, ſallow-faced, and coughing young ſenator, muſt have been the greateſt ſatire on the corruption of Rome, in the eyes of thinking men. Almoſt all the farmers in Mecklenburg are ſlaves; but their fates are not ſo hard as they ſeem, as the nobility are humane, enlightened, and good-natured. They, as well as the burgeſſes of certain cities, enjoy a freedom here which has long been loſt in the Upper Germany. The Duke of Mecklenburg and the Electors of Saxony, are the moſt limited princes of the empire; nor have any decrees of the imperial court, which they have brought forward in their ſeveral contentions with their ſtates, yet been able to humble their nobility, whoſe jealouſy of the power of their governors ſometimes amounts to an almoſt ridiculous exceſs.

The dukes obtained at the treaty of Teſchen, in return for having given up their claims on the marquiſate of Leuchtenberg, the famous *Jus de non appellando*, in conſequence of which no law-ſuits can be carried out of their own courts to the tribunal of the empire. They thought by this to have gained a prodigious advantage over their ſtates; but theſe proteſted againſt this privilege, as being inimical to their liberties, and the affair is not yet determined. Probably the dukes will maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of a privilege poſſeſſed by few except the electors, and by this means obtain real dominion in their countries.

When I tell you men of the great world, that there is very good company to be met with on the banks of the Lokeniſs, the Stor, the Rekeniſs, the Warne, and ſeveral other rivers, which though you have never heard them mentioned in your lives, are not only as true rivers as the Somme, the Scheld, the Sambre, but in many parts of them navigable rivers too; you will think that my taſte muſt needs have ſuffered great corruption from the groſs air of Germany. I can aſſure you, however, that if by a ſtroke of a magic wand you could be taken out of your perfumed beds, and without breathing a drachm of German air, be tranſported into a circle of Mecklenburg nobleſſe, you would find the ſociety very agreeable. It is true you meet there no academicians, no abbés, no virtuoſi, no journaliſts, no players, nor any of the *characters* which contribute ſo much to enliven your ſociety. But on the other hand, natural ſound underſtandings and good hearts give the converſation a ſtronger and more ſubſtantial reliſh than all your anecdotes and *hiſtoriettes de cour*, your comedies, *brochures*, and all the other artificial ragouts—with which you mix ſo much aſſafœtida.

I have ſeen no nobleſſe happier, or more hoſpitable than that of Mecklenburg, eſpecially that in and about Guſtrow. Nor are they ſo unacquainted with the refinements of life, and the great world, as you may imagine. The tables are wonderfully well covered, and you may viſit many perſons who are very well acquainted with the life of courts. Literature is found among all ranks who are above the populace. The women know nothing of what is commonly called *ton*. They have none of that boldneſs and imperiouſneſs, nor yet any thing of the deſire of conqueſt of our country-women; they are gentle, and attentive to their children, ſtill and baſhful; but all that they ſay is ſo *naif* and hearty, that the wit of our moſt famous country-women appears loathſome and flat to me when compared to it. I was not at all ſurpriſed to find the preſent war much the ſubject of converſation throughout the whole of my tour. The nation take a natural concern in it, both on account of the troops they let out, and from their having been for ſeveral centuries very warlike themſelves. No wonder that under ſuch circumſtances

cumſtances more than a hundred news papers ſhould not be ſufficient to ſatisfy their hunger after news. But what I cannot ſo readily explain is, the amazing partiality of the Germans for the Engliſh. You hardly meet with one German out of a hundred who is on our ſide. The Mecklenburghers eſpecially have a fondneſs and veneration for our enemies which approaches to ſuperſtition. I was in many places where they gave little *fetes* whenever the god with two trumpets, the one before and the other behind, ſpread reports favourable to the Engliſh. It is true indeed that there is ſomething great in the heroic deeds and character of the Engliſh, which naturally leads the opinion of mankind towards them. But it is not only in what relates to war that the Germans are hoſtile to us. They look upon our government as the exceſs of deſpotiſm, and conſider us as a tricking and treacherous people. You know that this is the direct oppoſite of the character we give ourſelves, and indeed of that which is given us by ſome other nations whom we have made our friends by our frankneſs and honeſty; but it is the projectors and adventurers, who being caſt out by France, have attempted to make their fortunes in Germany, that have raiſed this prejudice againſt us; for which reaſon I could not forgive the Germans their judging ſo unfavourably of us from ſuch ſpecimens, if I did not know that we are equally unjuſt towards them, and are apt to conſider the baron, who often makes a ridiculous figure in Paris, with his embroidered coat, and embroidered veſt, as a model of the German nobility. Upon the whole, different nations muſt forgive each other their prejudices, and it is eaſy to forgive them when, as it is in Germany and France, they do no hurt to individuals, however they may affect national pride. In England, Holland, and ſome other countries, they are often attended with fatal conſequences to individuals, and are therefore not to be forgiven.

The firſt appearance of the free imperial city of Hamburg is very diſguſting and ugly. Moſt of the ſtreets are narrow, cloſe, and black, and the populace in them is fierce, wild, and, generally ſpeaking, not very clean. As ſoon however, as a man has made his way into the principal houſes, he begins to conceive a more favourable opinion of the town. In the houſes of the rich merchants you ſee taſte, cleanlineſs, magnificence, and at times even profuſion. The Hamburghers are the firſt proteſtants I have ſeen, who have continued good catholics in the material points of eating and drinking. Their tables are even better than thoſe of the people of Vienna, Gratz, Prague, and Munich, whom heretofore I have deſcribed to you as ſuch commendable proficients in the art of the Apicii; nor is there a place in the world where they have ſo many refinements on the ſenſual pleaſures as is in this. Though in few parts of Germany gardening is in as flouriſhing a ſtate as it is here, yet they are not contented with the wonderful vegetables which their own country affords, but import many ſpecies of them from England, Holland, and various parts of Germany. This is owing to faſhion, which has affixed a preference to the vegetables which come from theſe countries. They get together from Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South, what every country produces peculiar to itſelf and coſtly for the table. But it would far exceed your belief was I to lay before you an exact picture of the way of living here. You may however form to yourſelf ſome idea of it, when I tell you that it is the cuſtom in great houſes to give a particular wine with every diſh. According to the eſtabliſhed courſes of good houſekeeping, Burgundy, Champaigne, Malaga, Port and Moſelle, have each their different diſh to which they belong; ſo that when the meat is ſerved up for which nature, according to the opinion of the Hamburghers, has deſtined each particular wine, there is always freſh glaſſes ſet on. With young green beans, which is a diſh of ſome ducats, and new herrings, a diſh which coſts a guilder, the Hamburghers commonly drink nothing but Malaga wine; and Burgundy is the ſtanding vehiculum of green peaſe. Oyſters muſt of all neceſſity ſwim in

Champaigne; and the coſtly ſalt meats admit of no other convoy than Port and Madeira. You muſt not think that this takes place only on feſtivals; by no means; it is the daily food of the rich; and their way of living is adapted in every thing to this.

I am ſoon to make ſome viſits in the country houſes near town, which are out of all number. Equipages, furniture, play tables, every thing, in a word, is anſwerable to the expence of the table. Few aſſemblies of Pariſian people of faſhion, are more brilliant than the parties who meet in villas here, and they hardly play as high. Thoſe who can afford to ſpend no more than twenty or thirty thouſand livres a year, rank among the middling claſs, and though they are all obliged to ſupport themſelves by their own induſtry, and that there is ſcarce any nobility with a ſtated revenue to be met with, there are many families who ſpend from forty to fifty or ſixty thouſand livres a year in their houſekeeping.

Notwithſtanding all this love of good eating, the mind is not oppreſſed and borne down by the body here as it is in the ſouthern parts of Germany. The Hamburghers of the higher claſs are ſtill more jovial, more happy, more converſible, and more witty, than the Saxons. You meet here with many literati of the firſt claſs. Natural hiſtory particularly flouriſhes much, and is held in high eſtimation. It was a Hamburgher who gave Linnæus the fundamental ideas of his *Syſtema Naturæ*. As moſt of the young people are ſent abroad to form trading connections in the ſeveral ports of London, Peterſburg, Calais, Bourdeaux, &c. in all which the Hamburghers have houſes, a ſtranger is ſure to meet with ſome people who are acquainted with his native country. The Hamburghers upon the whole are great travellers, which renders the ſociety of this place particularly lively and animated.

The women of this place are handſome, genteel, and freer in their manners than they generally are in proteſtant countries; particularly there obtains a vivacity which a man is not uſed to look for in the north, and is a ſtrong contraſt to the aldermannic guſto of Holland. Doubtleſs the good eating occaſions this.

One of the great pleaſures of this city ariſes from the Alſterſluſs. It comes from the north, almoſt through the middle of the city, and forms a lake in it, nearly eight hundred paces in circumference. In a ſummer evening this lake is almoſt covered over with gondolas, which have not ſuch a melancholy aſpect as the Venetian ones. Theſe are filled with family or other parties, and have often boats in attendance upon them with muſic. The whole has an aſtoniſhing good effect, which is ſtill greater from there being a much-frequented public walk by the lake; the livelineſs of which correſponds very pleaſingly with that of the people on the water.

Near the city there are ſome villages on the Elbe called the Four *Lands*, which are alſo in ſummer a notable *rendezvous* of pleaſure. The farmers who live in theſe villages are in very good circumſtances, and take a prodigious ſum of money from the town, for their excellent vegetables, particularly for their green peaſe. Every day during the ſummer you meet here with parties from the city, who are as conſpicuous for their genteel appearance, as for their exceſs in eating and drinking. The farmers' daughters are very pretty, and their dreſs the handſomeſt I have yet ſeen amongſt this claſs of beings. They allure the young men of the city to their cots; and many quarter themſelves here under the pretence of a milk diet, but in fact to be near their ſweethearts.

Theſe above mentioned four villages ſupply the town with vegetables, butter, milk, hay, and many other things of the kind—alſo with moſt of the women of pleaſure, and moſt of the ſpinners.

The city of Altona, which lies at no greeat diſtance from this town, alſo affords this people many opportunities of amuſing themſelves. The King of Denmark, who from

a jealouſy of Hamburg, endeavours by every means in his power to make this place flouriſhing, appears to have it in his head to hurt the brothels and inns of the city, as well as the trade. Through his care Altona has, in a ſhort ſpace of time, from a ſmall village, become a town of thirty-five thouſand inhabitants, amongſt whom, however, to ſpeak freely, there are far too many raſcals.

The country round about Hamburg, though a flat, is extremely pleaſant; the various and flouriſhing agriculture gives it a very gay appearance; the water, however, contributes much to the beauty. The river conduces extremely to the advantage of this city, which by taking the laſt toll, has almoſt an illimited command over it. It is a mile and three quarters broad at Hamburg, and forms ſeveral iſlands, on which they make parties of pleaſure. The aſpect of this mighty river, always well filled with ſhips, and in ſeveral parts containing very rich iſlands, has a great deal of majeſty in it. 'Tis a pity that you enjoy this magnificent proſpect only from a few houſes in the city.

Notwithſtanding the quantity of water, and low ſituation, the air of the place is extremely good; this is owing to the cleanſing it receives from the ſtrong winds which blow upon it from all quarters. The north wind is very dangerous to the city, it impedes the courſe of the ſtream, and occaſions many inundations which frequently fill the lower parts of the houſes with water, and do a great deal of miſchief to the country around.

LETTER LVI.

Hamburg.

HAMBURG is without compariſon the moſt flouriſhing commercial city in all Germany. Except London and Amſterdam, there is hardly a port in which you ſee conſtantly ſo many ſhips as you do here. The preſent buſineſs conſiſts in great part of commiſſion and carrying; but the proper and ſolid trade of the inhabitants is likewiſe very conſiderable. Their principal trade is driven with Spain and France; and they gain conſiderably by the exchange with the former. Hamburg has hitherto ſupplied Spain with moſt of its linens; it alſo ſupplies it with large quantities of iron, copper, and other articles which the north produces. The Pruſſians, Danes, Swedes, and Ruſſians give themſelves a great deal of trouble to be the carriers of their own commodities to Spain; but it is extremely difficult to turn trade out of an old channel, and many of the merchants of the north find the carrying trade of Hamburg too convenient, and in part, alſo too profitable to them, for the preſent proprietors to be in any great danger of loſing this channel of trade. The ſums advanced ſtay too long at Cales, and when a country cannot pay itſelf in the commodities of that it trades with, the trade with Spain is very troubleſome. At preſent Hamburg is always in debt to Spain, for except in time of war, (when materials for ſhip building, ammunition, &c. make ſome difference) it carries more things out of the country than it furniſhes. Another reaſon why that part of the northern exports will always go through the hands of the Hamburghers is, that they can pay for them quickly and regularly; whereas the waiting for the ſhips from the Havannah, without the return of which the Spaniſh trade cannot go on, often puts the northern merchant to inconveniencies.

Sugar cane is the great article which goes from Spain to Hamburg, by which the latter gains great ſums. No nation has hitherto been able to vie with the Hamburghers in boiling and refining ſugars. The trade for theſe articles extends through all Germany, Poland, and a great part of the north. Other important articles which Hamburg

burg takes from Spain, and with which it drives a very conſiderable trade in the north, are wine, ſalt, fruit and the like. Beſides all theſe, manufactures of handkerchiefs, ratteens, and ribbons, apothecaries' drugs, and the fiſhery, form a very conſiderable part of the trade of the country. There is no place in the world which contains finer and more cunning ſpeculators than this does; no circumſtance or moment favourable to a ſingle article eſcape them. The preſent war has brought them in aſtoniſhing ſums.

The enlightened and patriotic governors of this place omit nothing which can contribute to the extenſion of trade. Some years ago the proſpect of advantage to their fellow citizens made them attempt to open a trade for them on the coaſt of Barbary; the Dutch were immediately jealous of this, and made the King of Spain believe that the Hamburghers furniſhed the Saracens with implements of war: the King, in conſequence, made ſeveral orders, which have ſtopped the channel to the preſent merchants, whom however he cannot prevent from a much more profitable commerce with his own ſubjects.

This ſtate is ſurrounded on all ſides by mighty rivals, of whom, however, the induſtry, cunning, and liberty of the inhabitants ever get the better. The Daniſh government omits nothing that can hurt the country; nay it often ſeeks to hurt it without any proſpect of advantage to itſelf. One of the favourite projects of the Daniſh miniſters is to unite the Eaſt Sea to the German Ocean, by a canal joined to the Eyder. This would give a death ſtroke to the commerce of Lubeck and Hamburg; but the government and the intelligent part of the country are as eaſy about this, as they would be if his Daniſh Majeſty was to order a canal to be dug in Greenland. On the other ſide, the King of Pruſſia had, by his terrible taxes, cut off the communication of this country with Saxony by the Elbe, which was a ſevere ſtroke to both countries. What did the wiſe government here do? It entered into a treaty of commerce with Hanover and Brunſwick, and laid the plan of a road between Saxony and this place. This ſoon convinced the King of Pruſſia that his toll on the Elbe would be ruined ſooner than the trade between Hamburg and Saxony, and forced him to lower it accordingly. Still however it is too high for the Saxons and Hamburghers, but muſt continue for ſome time within tolerable bounds.

Notwithſtanding all the impediments caſt in the way of it, the trade of this country has been continually gaining ground during this century. No doubt, the immediate cauſes have been the improvements in agriculture, the increaſe of population, and the greater approaches towards luxury, made by the inhabitants of the north. Liberty alone would however in time have been ſufficient to have removed many of the hindrances which hoſtile neighbours fought to put in the way of the trade. Whilſt the neighbouring powers were increaſing their exciſe and cuſtom-houſe duties, and by ſo doing ſtopping up ſo many channels of commerce to their ſubjects, here they were opening every door both of exports and imports; and inſtead of ſeeking to raiſe, were inventing every poſſible method to diminiſh the taxes. This illimited freedom of trade is of a piece with the ſpirit of the conſtitution and of the city, and was the only means which the wiſe governors of it could hit upon to raiſe the ſtate. But if the ſtate had not been a ſingle independant city, as the luxury which ſupports a free trade could not have been kept up but at the expence of the country, the illimited freedom would have been very diſadvantageous to the country belonging to it. The politicians of this place are in the right when they maintain that illimited liberty of trade is the foundation of the well-being of their country; but they are in the wrong for blaming, as they all do, the Pruſſian ſyſtem of exciſe, as a mad ſyſtem, equally deſtructive to the country and people. There is a great difference between a ſingle independant city and a great ſtate.

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That commerce which enriches the Hamburghers, makes ſeveral of the Holſteiners and Mecklenburghers poor, by taking ſo much money from them for coffee, ſugar, wine, &c. and it would ſoon ruin the King of Pruſſia's beſt provinces, juſt as the flouriſhing trade of Dantzick has too much contributed to the impoveriſhing of the wide extended kingdom of Poland. If Hamburg had a large extent of country, it would ſoon find the bad conſequences of an illimited freedom of trade, eſpecially, if like the leaders of other republics, its governors would not prefer the inhabitants of the country to thoſe of the city. In the mean time, the baſe clamour of foreign and domeſtic merchants, by neither of whom the King of Pruſſia would ſuffer his ſubjects to be plundered, has made him be reputed a tyrant by Mr. Wraxall, and writers of his ſtamp.

The fortunes of the inhabitants of this country are in a conſtant ſtate of fluctuation. The expenſiveneſs of living is the reaſon that there are very few rich houſes; you can hardly find any that has been fifty years in the ſame ſtyle of ſplendour. The immenſe profits of this grand commercial country are ſo well divided, that you cannot meet with above five perſons who poſſeſs a million; but the number of houſes which have from three to ſix hundred thouſand guilders is extremely great. But then as ſoon as a merchant makes one hundred thouſand guilders, he muſt have his coach and country houſe. His expences keep pace with his income, ſo that the leaſt blow brings him back to poverty; from which, however, the ſlighteſt labour will extricate him again. Hamburg is truly ſingular as a commercial city, in this reſpect, for you meet in it with perſons who have been bankrupts three or four times, and yet have returned to riches. The man who has an income of from two to three hundred thouſand florins, and makes more ſhew with it, both in his trade and houſe-keeping, than many Amſterdamers who have many millions, loſes in a moment his country houſe, his houſe in town, his palace, his warehouſe, his coach and gardens, and begins again as a broker; but hardly are his old eſtate and country houſe ſold off, than he has another eſtate, buys another country houſe, is able to drive through the town with two prancing Holſteiners before him, and has his garden, his coach, his gambling box,—till, heigh preſto! he is a broker again. The inexplicable facility of making uſe of one's money, renders the Hamburgher here too bold; ſo that he does more buſineſs with fifty thouſand florins, than a Dutchman will do with two hundred thouſand; but then he is more expoſed to reverſe of fortune than the Dutchman is. However the ſecurity he is under of not being obliged to beg in his old age, renders him quite careleſs. There are, indeed, no where ſo good retreats for bankrupts as there are here. If broken merchants do not chooſe to turn brokers and try their luck afreſh, they have employments given them on which they may live very comfortably. Beſides theſe, there are funds for the ſupport of *poor burghers*, words which mean here bankrupts. There is no place indeed where the eſtabliſhments for the poor are on ſo ſplendid a footing as they are here. Look where you will you ſee that bankrupts have had a ſhare in the legiſlation, and that they have ſought to make themſelves and their poſterity ſecure againſt all events.

The great and frequent revolutions in the commercial houſes of this place, give the merchant an alacrity which he has no where elſe in the world. The genius of trade does no where ſo many wonders as it does here. The Hamburghers far outdo the Dutch in happy calculations, ſpeculation, and fortunate hits; and you meet with more true theory of trade amongſt the brokers of this place, than there is to be found in many thick books written expreſsly on the ſubject. Only you muſt not expect to ſee the ſubject treated with a view to finance, as they have no reliſh for cuſtoms, exciſe, and all the modern Jewiſh inventions to ſpunge the ſubſtance of the people.

The quickneſs and vivacity with which trade is carried on here, employs a larger capital than is put into it by the Dutch, who are more expert at ſaving money than at getting it. The Hamburgher works himſelf up again with the ſame eaſe with which he falls; whereas the Dutchman could not make his fortune without exceſſive parſimony, and, commonly ſpeaking, is indebted only to his induſtry and ſaving for what he gets. Rich inheritances are very ſcarce here, in compariſon to the ſum of money there is in the place, as this is divided amongſt too many, and the ebbs and flows are too frequent. The great capital of every inhabitant is his induſtry and underſtanding.

The illimited credit of the bank of this place, is a certain ſign both of the riches of the ſtate, and of the right notions which prevail here with reſpect to every thing which has a relation to trade. The foundations on which this bank reſts, are the ſimpleſt that can be imagined. There is neither paper nor any kind of coined money, but only a large quantity of ſilver, which is meaſured out by the pound. It is, however, the moſt reſpected, and I muſt think the moſt ſecure of all the eſtabliſhments of the kind in the world.

The government of Hamburg is wonderful. I am acquainted with no commonwealth that has ſo nicely hit off the juſt mean betwixt ariſtocracy and democracy, and ſecured itſelf ſo well againſt the inconveniences of both, as this has done. The legiſlative power is in the hands of the aſſembled burgeſſes. Theſe are choſen from the five pariſhes of the city. The firſt college, or firſt deputation of them, conſiſts of the aldermen, three of whom are choſen by the inhabitants of each pariſh. Every pariſh alſo ſends nine perſons to the ſecond, which, with the former one, make a college of ſixty. Finally, each pariſh contributes twenty-four to the third, making, when joined to the two former, a number of one hundred and eighty. The ordinary buſineſs is regularly brought by the council before this aſſembly; but when there is a new law to be made, or a new tax to be raiſed, after having paſſed this court, it muſt farther be laid before a general aſſembly of the burghers. The one hundred and eighty, together with ſix aſſeſſors added to them from each pariſh, muſt appear before this aſſembly, in which every man who poſſeſſes a houſe of his own, or an eſtate that is out of debt, or a certain ſum in ſpecie above the value for which the houſe or eſtate is mortgaged, may appear and give his vote.

The miſerable corporation ſyſtem, which, in other republics approaching towards democracy, often leads to ridiculous, and often to very ſerious and fatal exceſſes, has no influence here upon the ſtate. No manufacturer can tyrannize over the people, as is the caſe in many other republican governments; nor does the happineſs of the whole depend upon the will or caprice of a company of ſkinners or barber ſurgeons. Due proviſion has alſo been made that the will of the mob, which often overturns the wiſeſt ordinances, and the moſt uſeful projects, in countries approaching ſo nearly to the democratic form as Hamburg does, ſhould not eaſily do miſchief here. Before a law comes before a general aſſembly of the people, it has been tried and approved by the wiſer part of them, which renders it not difficult to gain over the reſt to the good ſide, as of courſe they will have confidence in legiſlators originally nominated by themſelves. This legiſlative aſſembly is likewiſe ſo numerous as to render it very difficult for a part to get the maſtery over the whole, by the uſual democratic artifices.

As theſe colleges are eſtabliſhed for a long time, and are not eaſily changed, the members of them are well enough acquainted with the true circumſtances of the common wealth, to be able to lay before both their reſpective communities, and the burghers in general aſſembly, an accurate and juſt account of the ſenſe of every law, proclamation, or tax. The diviſion of the burgher ſocieties, according to pariſhes, has likewiſe

this

this farther advantage attending it, that family connections do not eaſily acquire a prejudicial influence as they do in republics divided into corporations or private ſocieties. If you will take the trouble to compare this conſtitution with that of other commonwealths, many other advantages will immediately ſtrike you.

The council, in whoſe hands the executive power is lodged, conſiſts of thirty-ſix perſons, to wit, four burgomaſters, four ſyndics, twenty-four counſellors, and four ſecretaries. Only the burgomaſters and counſellors have votes. It elects its own members by lot. The power being directed only towards the proper execution of the laws in being, is illimited, the natural conſequence of which is, that both the courts of juſtice and the police have a ſtrength here which they have in few republics that are ſo democratic. Nor is government taken in hand here as in other countries, by perſons who have no proper vocation to it. Three of the burgomaſters, the counſellors, and all the ſyndics and ſecretaries, muſt be graduated literati, who have given proofs of their learning. One burgomaſter and ten counſellors muſt, conſiſtently with the nature of the commonwealth, be merchants. The pay of the counſellors is ſufficient to reſtrain the ſpirit of innovation. Honour, virtue and ability, are the moſt likely foundations to ſucceed in being elected. When a counſellor abuſes his power, he is obliged to leave the city. The number of counſellors is too ſmall for the power of private families to be able to put a reſtraint on the adminiſtration of juſtice and police. In a word, the legiſlative power is as gentle and popular as it *can* be; and the executive is, as it *muſt* be, *monarchically* ſtrong. Hamburgh is in truth the model of a well-regulated commonwealth. A miſapplication or waſte of the public treaſure happens very ſeldom, and is almoſt impoſſible, as the perſons who are charged with the adminiſtration of it, are no members of the council, but on the contrary are watched over with the greateſt attention by them and the general aſſembly, and are obliged to the greateſt punctuality. They conſiſt of ten perſons ſelected from the general aſſembly, and are choſen out of each pariſh, one by vote and the other by lot. Every ſix years each of the three deputies lays his office down, and his pariſh ſends another in his ſtead. The reaſon of the change is not as in other republics, that all may have a ſhare of the cake, but to free the deputies from a troubleſome and laborious office.

The income of the ſtate is very large. It is made up partly from ſtanding ſources of income, and partly from occaſional taxes granted by the community. Some taxes are voluntary, and the burghers have the right to put what they think their quota into the purſe which is ſhut, and the deputies dare not open in their preſence. Upon the whole the taxes are conſiderable. In order not to let the mouth of the Elbe, on which the exiſtence of the country depends, be choked up with ſand, and for the maintenance of the ſeveral harbours in it, they have been obliged to raiſe ſome taxes, which in appearance are beyond their means. The aggregate of them together makes about 3,000,000 of marks, or 4,000,000 of livres, and is hardly ſufficient for the purpoſes required of them.

The quick and conſtant revolutions in the fortunes of every citizen ſecure this commonwealth ſtill more than its conſtitution from the miſchiefs of oligarchy and family plots. They know nothing here of domineering or dangerous houſes, from which none of the republics of the preſent day are free. One ſign of the good government and wonderful adminiſtration of this commonwealth is, that it is almoſt the only imperial city that carries none of the ſuits between its own members before the tribunal of the empire. At Vienna they mentioned to me ſeveral free imperial towns who had rendered themſelves dependant on the Emperor, by carrying their private grievances before the Emperor's court. In the beginning of this century Hamburgh itſelf was expoſed to ſome danger of this

this kind, but in 1708 it was ſuppreſſed by the benevolent offices of the imperial court, and the zeal of ſeveral patriots of the place, and ſince that time the tranquillity of the country has met with no interruption. The bands of ſociety are too faſt bound for there to be any cauſe of uneaſineſs about future events.

The only real cauſe of apprehenſion which this city has experienced of late years, has ariſen from a miſunderſtood religious zeal; but in our time religious zeal, if it light any fire, can only light up a fire of ſtraw, which is very eaſily put out again. In the inſtance before us, the imperial miniſters, (whom the burgeſſes have more than one cauſe to reſpect) and the wiſdom of the council united, took joint care that the ſparks ſhould be ſmothered before they could break out into a flame. The caſe was this: Hamburg was bleſſed with an orthodox prieſt, who let it want for nothing that could ſtir up a flame. This, by conſtant blowing, he had at length ſo well fed, that the people were for proceeding to action to prevent the catholics from ſerving God in the chapel belonging to the Imperial miniſter; but the police took care to prevent the miſchief, which has never ſince broke out to any extent. There is indeed at the head of the preſent clergy, a man who would do our preſent philoſophical age very little credit, were it not that every body knows the government only ſuffers him becauſe they are ſecure that his inquiſitorial ſpirit only hurts himſelf, and cannot have the leaſt bad effect upon others. This gentleman, who is called Goſs, ſome time ſince gave fire in his pulpit againſt the pope and all his adherents; but this produced no other effect than his being compelled to make an apology to the imperial miniſter. The caſe it ſeems was this: When this gentleman firſt aſcended his paper tribunal, the cuſtom ſtill prevailed at Hamburg of curſing the pope and all his adherents publicly in the prayer before ſermon. The government wiſely perceiving that this gave great ſcandal in ſuch times as theſe, ordered the court prieſt to omit this ceremony in future. The love, however, of curſing, had taken ſuch firm poſſeſſion of the man, that he not only gave in a formal proteſtation againſt this inroad of the ſpiritual upon the temporal power; but the next ſunday, without waiting to ſee what anſwer his ſuperiors would make, fired a double volley. Upon this, the council took the beſt way of teaching the ill-mannered brute a better behaviour, by puniſhing him with the loſs of his fat beneffice. Mynheer high paſtor had ſoon philoſophy enough to ſee that it was better for him not to curſe than to ſtarve, and ſo the pope and his ſtate had juſtice done them in the ſtate and high church of Hamburgh. But though this man has been many times publicly and univerſally hiſſed ſince this event, which took place twelve or fifteen years ago; and though he has been the jeſt of all the proteſtant part of Germany, and even of his own brethren at Hamburg, yet is not his holy head in the leaſt cooled. He raves as publicly againſt the race of monks, as he does againſt the pope. He is the declared enemy of all public amuſements. The theatres are a particular eye-ſore to him. This, as the better part of the public do nothing but amuſe themſelves with him, gave riſe to a very humourous adventure. An Engliſhman who happened to be at the play, was ſo pleaſed with a piece which he ſaw exhibited, that he aſked the gentleman, who ſat next to him, the name of the author. The gentleman, whoſe name is Dreyer, happening to be a wit, aſſured the Engliſhman that this very excellent and intereſting drama was written by Mr. Goſs, firſt preacher in Hamburg. The Engliſhman, full of impatience to be acquainted with ſuch an extraordinary good poet, went the next day to make his bow to the reverend author, who, contrary to his expectation, received the compliment upon the fruit of his brain ſo ill, that he fairly ſhewed him the outſide of his door. Dreyer, who had ſent the Briton on the errand, ſoon after met him in the ſtreet, where the Engliſhman, without entering into the leaſt explanation, gave him ſuch a box on the ear, as very nearly brought him to the

ground. Notwithſtanding which, Mr. Dreyer has ſince that time played the anti-theatrical prieſt ſeveral other tricks.

I have talked to you thus long of this prieſt, in order to convince you that the proteſtant clergy are not as tolerant throughout Germany as they are in Pruſſia and Saxony. Notwithſtanding this, the religion of the more faſhionable people who inhabit the lower parts of the Elbe, is by no means ſo auſtere as that of thoſe who dwell higher up. The miſtaken zeal againſt public amuſements is attended with this bad conſequence here, that every other kind of pernicious exceſs reigns uncontrolled. Thus whilſt no theatre can ſupport itſelf in a city which has ninety thouſand inhabitants, many thouſand guilders are every day loſt at play during the hours in which it is uſual in other places to go to the play.

LETTER LVII.

Hamburg.

SINCE my laſt letter, my deareſt brother, I have made an excurſion into the territories of Denmark. As ſoon as I came into Holſtein, which is ſtill a part of Germany, I was ſtruck with the difference of living and manners, as well as the diverſity of agriculture; but when I had got ſome poſts beyond the Eyder, which is the natural boundary between Germany and Denmark, I found a difference betwixt Germany and this country, which was as ſtriking as any betwixt Bavaria and Saxony. When people praiſe proteſtants for their good ſenſe, and freedom from prejudices deſtructive of happineſs, they ought to make ſome limitations; as ſhould proteſtants alſo when they paſs indiſcriminate cenſures on the catholics, for their ſtupidity, lazineſs and debauchery.

The Danes are at leaſt a century behind moſt of the proteſtant ſtates of Germany, and in no reſpects better than the Bavarians or Portugueſe. They are the moſt melancholy, moſt untractable, and moſt clowniſh people I have hitherto ſeen. Their debauchery, bigotry, and brutality diſtinguiſh them ſo much from the greater part of the Germans, that it is only neceſſary to be amongſt them to be convinced of the inefficacy of religion alone to make men better, when other favourable circumſtances do not concur. There are, it is true, enlightened men amongſt the prieſts of this country, but in general they are as proud, as intolerant, and as ignorant as the Spaniſh prieſts. I ſaw ſome of them who were likewiſe very like the Spaniſh prieſts in their external appearance. They wore their ſpectacles over the noſe, held up their heads, drew back the body, ſpoke through the noſe and throat, and ſtrutted juſt like the prieſts at Barcelona or Saragoſſa. When they ſit down to preach, they do it as if they were in labour with the ſalvation of mankind. I viſited one of them, who paſſes for a great botaniſt, though he knows nothing more than the medicinal plants of his own country. He was ſtudying his ſermon for the next Sunday. It was long a matter of doubt whether or no he would give me an audience. After having converſed for about half an hour upon the wind and weather, with his two daughters, the ſilliеſt and moſt unformed creatures I had ever ſeen, who, out of real or affected modeſty, never truſted themſelves to look in my face, out came their bulky and yellow-coloured mother from the ſtudy of her lord and huſband, to aſſure me that he was extremely buſy about his Sunday's diſcourſe, which would however only take him up another hour, after which I ſhould have the honour of ſmoking a pipe of tobacco with him. I was for ſome minutes in doubt whether I ſhould accept of this honour or not. It rather hurt my ſelf-love to think that I was deſtined to ſerve a clowniſh prieſt for the vehiculum to his ſmoking, and I would have gone away, but that I recollected that had I been among the Hottentots, I ſhould have been obliged to pay reſpect to the cuſ-

toms of the country. After waiting therefore ſome time the penetrale was opened, and I beheld my hero, a ſhort ſquare figure, the Trulliber of ſcience, enthroned amidſt a labyrinth of books, and encompaſſed with clouds of ſmoke which ſcarce allowed me to view his viſage. In four or five minutes our converſation was at an end. I tried him every way, but no tone I could take would bring a word out in return. At length, after having obſerved himſelf that ſmoking rather ſpoiled the converſation, he took his ſermon in hand, and read me a period or two by way of enlivening it. Of this I did not hear a word, as the ſmoke of the tobacco puffed under my noſe, took away my reſpiration, and obliged me to attend to ſelf-preſervation; but he was determined I ſhould not get off thus, and ſo propoſed to open what he called his treaſure. This was a cheſt which contained all the ſermons he had ever written, making in all eight or ten thick folio volumes. When he took out the firſt a cold ſweat ran down my ſhoulders, which making him apprehenſive that he might kill his patient, he aſſured me he would read only the texts of the ſermons from the tables of contents. I bore it for one table with great reſignation; but as he was taking down the ſecond folio, took my hat and ſtick and hurried to the door. In no proteſtant country which I have yet ſeen, Holland itſelf not excepted, are the prieſts held in ſuch profound reverence by the people as they are in Denmark. Pride and inſolence in the miniſters of a humble religion, is ever a ſure mark of little knowledge and a bad government in the places where it is found. The temporal and ſpiritual powers are by nature ſo jealous of each other, that there muſt always be indolence in the governors when the prieſthood comes to have a certain degree of authority. Every body knows what an influence the Daniſh prieſts had in the fate of Struenſee. You obſerve indeed, in every part of Denmark, notwithſtanding many foreigners are ſettled there, many marks of the overgrown power of the prieſts. In ſeveral places I found prejudices conceived againſt me, on account of my being a catholic, by people from whom one ſhould have expected better things. At Horſens, a young lady of one of the beſt houſes, could not be perſuaded that the catholics were chriſtians. They look upon us in the ſame light as Jews and heathens. I do not believe that the King of Denmark, as abſolute as his power is, in other things, could make as great advances to toleration, as has been done at Vienna.

The government of Denmark is the moſt deſpotic in the univerſe. This form of government has its advantages and diſadvantages; the ſmallneſs of the country renders it eaſy to govern thus; and on the other hand, this very circumſtance makes the people feel more ſeverely the weakneſs and oppreſſion of its governors. Denmark is in truth the ſmalleſt of all the European powers. It contains hardly one million eight hundred thouſand inhabitants, Lapland, Greenland, and Iceland included; and the Holſteiners, who live in a part of Germany, hardly make the number two millions in all. The King of Denmark's income does not amount to above 9,000,000 of Rheniſh florins, or 20,000,000 of livres *, even with what ariſes from the paſſage of the Sound, which the ſea faring nations willingly pay. He cannot cope with the Elector of Saxony, and the Elector of Bavaria is upon a footing with him. Without ſubſidies, the King of Denmark is unable to maintain an army of forty-thouſand men, and a fleet of twenty ſhips of the line only for a few years. The taxes are very high, and ſome of them are of a ſort which are met with in very few countries. Here a man muſt pay for a licenſe to marry. Our government you know formerly raiſed a tax on batchelors; but the Daniſh and French principles of government are very different.

* About 83,333l.

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The emptineſs of the treaſury is the reaſon why more projects are entered into in Denmark than in any other country in the world; but moſt of them are only air bubbles, which are in general blown away by the firſt wind. The private intereſt of the projector is commonly at the bottom of them all, and the court wants not only the power, but the good will to encourage the projects of good patriots. The King, who is the only king in modern hiſtory who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a public trial of his wife, is obliged to leave a great part of the government to his miniſter. His ſtep-mother, it is true, poſſeſſes a great deal of court-craft; but ſtill the miniſters and counſellors have the moſt influence. Amongſt them, there are conſtantly cabals, intrigues, and revolutions, as you may learn from the hiſtory of Struenſee, particularly his apology, which will make every man who reads it exclaim—*Beatus ille qui procul.* Another firſt miniſter has been lately diſmiſſed.

St. Germain was very ill treated in Copenhagen. The late King called him to his court, with a view of having his troops better diſciplined, at a time when it was his intention to take part in the affairs of the north, or at leaſt to make himſelf formidable. St. Germain was told that he would have the command of fifty or ſixty thouſand men; but when he came, he found hardly any ſoldiers except the guards. The reſt conſiſted partly of a wild undiſciplined militia, and partly of a number of hungary invalids. There was no cavalry at all. The good King, who had only ſeen his troops upon paper, and probably, as he was not born for a number of troops, had not ſufficiently conſidered them even there, could not eaſily conceive how his great army ſhould have mouldered away by St. Germain's arrival. Some of the miniſtry, who governed the paper troops, entertained hopes that St. Germain would play part of the game with them; but he was not the man for their purpoſe, for as ſoon as he found out that part of the ſums deſtined for the payment of the forces went into the purſes of the miniſtry, commiſſaries, ad officers, he ſet himſelf with his uſual determined ſpirit to bring about a reformation. He, however, ſoon found out, that even if the abuſes could be corrected, the hopes of having an army able to take part in the affairs of the north, muſt continue a vain expectation. Being ſatisfied, therefore, that where there is nothing, there can be nothing to reform, he told the King, with his uſual freedom, that he ſaw nothing in which he could be of any uſe to his Majeſty; on the contrary, he was only a burthen, and in his opinion, it would be moſt adviſeable to ſend him away again.

The miniſters were extremely happy to get rid of ſo troubleſome an inſpector, and the more, becauſe they could not eaſily have got rid of him by a court intrigue, becauſe the King loved him; for court intrigues can do but little againſt extraordinary talents, united with a true knowledge of human nature and courts, where eſpecially, as the caſe was here, the ſovereign is on the ſide of juſtice as often as he underſtands it. After ſome trifling, and a great many under-hand tricks, the miniſtry propoſed to St. Germain to accept of a certain ſum of money paid once for all, inſtead of the promiſed penſion. Nothing could be more agreeable to him than this, as he knew the unſteadineſs of the Daniſh court. But he was unfortunate in the end, for having never paid any attention to his own private money matters, he thoughtleſsly contented himſelf with a letter of credit of fifty or ſixty thouſand thalers *, on a merchant at Hamburgh, whom, on his arrival in that city, he found had become a bankrupt, and was run away from the German ſtates and territory. St. Germain thought, to his laſt hour, that the miniſter was an accomplice in the robbery. It is well known that he was maintained for a long time after by a collection made for him by the officers of our German troops, out of their own allowance. A beautiful trait in the hiſtory of the Daniſh miniſters.

* 2500l.

Struenſee,

Struenſee, and every other man who had a grain of penetration, thought that the beſt principles of government which the court of Denmark could adopt, would be to make retrenchments of the ſums expended on foreign affairs; not to meddle with the diſputes ſubſiſting between the other German powers; to limit its own eſtabliſhment to what would ſuffice for the maintenance of the internal tranquillity and the police, and to employ all its ſtrength in the cultivation of the waſte lands, and the promotion of induſtry. This is indeed all that experience and patriotiſm united can recommend; for in the preſent circumſtances of the two countries, Denmark has nothing to apprehend from Sweden, or if it had, a word from Ruſſia or Pruſſia would ſet every thing to rights there. But on the other ſide of the country, the firſt elector of Germany who ſhall ſet himſelf to oppoſe an extenſion of the Daniſh power, would reduce the country to great difficulties. The loſs of a ſingle magazine or treaſury would put an end to their whole war apparatus: nay, even if moſt of their operations did not depend upon foreign ſubſidies, they would not be able to keep the field long againſt a middling German army. The militia of the country, in which the ſtrength of the army principally conſiſts, is raw and unformed, and the German forces, which have been raiſed at a great expence, would deſert the inſtant they ſet foot out of the country; for they all deteſt a climate in which, by reaſon of the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, the bad and unuſual food, and the little attention ſhewn to their health, they are expoſed to periſh like ſo many fleas. Whenever I had occaſion to converſe with Germans in the Daniſh ſervice, the tears uſed to run down their cheeks, when they recounted how they had been decoyed away by crimps, and deſcribed the miſeries of their preſent ſtate. Indeed the inſtances of the extraordinary means they have made uſe of to get out of the deteſted country, are almoſt incredible. Beſides all this, there is a want of cavalry, which in the preſent time is ſo ſerviceable, and conſtitutes a fourth part of the German armies. Innumerable ſubſidies indeed would be required to put that of this country upon a reſpectable footing. It cannot be raiſed out of nothing in a minute, on the breaking out of a war; and the maintenance of it in time of peace demands an expence which the reſources of the ſtate, with all the ſubſides they can procure, are not equal to. The times are paſt, in which wonders could be done with a handful of undiſciplined and diſobedient troops, who were maintained at the coſt of the enemy. The mode of war now in uſe requires preparation, and a proviſion for ſuch and ſo many wants as would make the Daniſh miniſter's hair ſtand an end, if an account of them were to be ſet before him. Suppoſing the Daniſh court to receive a ſubſidy of even a million of thalers * per annum, which is more than the French or Engliſh courts have ever given to the courts of Stockholm or Copenhagen, this would hardly be ſufficient to enable it to keep the field one campaign with an army of 40,000 men, and it would be completely ruined by the loſs of a ſingle battle. The ſhort campaign in the Bavarian war ſome years ago, though no extraordinary ſtroke was ſtruck in it, coſt the court of Vienna ſeventy-two millions of Rheniſh guilders *, excluſive of the ſums expended on previous preparations, which are always neceſſary. The army was at leaſt three hundred thouſand men ſtrong. Calculate what the proportion will be for forty thouſand men—but what would forty thouſand men do, if, what however is impoſſible, the court of Denmark alone was to carry on any operations for a length of time out of its own territories; The King of Pruſſia would ſwallow up this army in a moment, let him have ever ſo much occupation; for it is a maxim, that when a man is once engaged with great enemies, he will do well to add leſſer ones to them, as a ſingle ſtroke may get from theſe all that

* 1,400,000l.

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is loſt on the other ſide. What became of the Swediſh army, whom French ſubſidies led into Pomerania, in the laſt Sileſian war? And yet the King of Pruſſia had at that time to cope with moſt of the principal powers in Europe. What became of the poor Saxons? of the poor army of the empire? And yet the Saxon and Imperial troops were better kept, and at leaſt as well fed, as the Daniſh are likely to be.

Denmark cannot, like Sweden, be compelled in any caſe to break the neutrality, nor is it neceſſary for it, on that account, always to maintain itſelf in a reſpectable ſituation. For more reaſons than one, it has nothing to apprehend from Sweden, and its poſition ſecures it on every other ſide. Indeed, could it render its power ever ſo reſpectable, it has nothing to expect at any time by taking part in an offenſive war, but a great deal to loſe; whereas the advantages it would derive from beſtowing the ſums waſted in military preparations on the improvement of the country, are conſiderable. I have been thus particular on this point, in order to convince you and your friends, that our court added a new folly to the many it has lately been guilty of, when for certain privy purpoſes it gave ſubſidies to the Daniſh court. The money was in every reſpect thrown away. Half of it ſtuck to the fingers of the Daniſh miniſters and commiſſaries, and the other half was very ill ſpent. Strong as all theſe reaſons are againſt the keeping up a great land army in Denmark, every day produces freſh projects to encourage it. The vain miniſter, whom Struenſee has ſo well depicted in his apology, will not let the world forget that Denmark is a monarchy. He gives himſelf airs of aſtoniſhing conſequence. A few external marks of reſpect from the great courts, make him believe that he is reſpected, whereas he is in fact the jeſt of them all. A ſingle word from the Ruſſian miniſter brings the whole country to the Empreſs's feet; and ſhe has at leaſt twenty times more weight at Copenhagen, than either at Vienna or at Berlin. It will certainly be much more politic in Denmark to aim only at being a maritime power, which is more conſiſtent with the nature of the country, and the ſituation of the people. By purſuing this plan the Danes might, with ſome aſſiſtance, make themſelves formidable, or at leaſt protect their merchants in time of war. But the Daniſh miniſter chooſes to ſhine both by ſea and land. The navy accordingly conſiſts of fifty ſhips, including thoſe of fifty guns; however, not above ſix of theſe are in a condition to put to ſea under ſix or eight weeks, though ſince the armed neutrality they have been making all ſorts of preparation to put to ſea. Many ſhips have been repaired within theſe ſix or eight years, and others are no longer in a reparable ſtate.

The facility with which adventurers of the firſt claſs contrive to make their way into the Daniſh councils, and even into the miniſtry, is no very favourable ſymptom of the wiſdom of this court. There is a proverb at Hamburgh, that when a man is fit for nothing elſe, he is fit for a Daniſh privy councellor, and may make his fortune by projects at Copenhagen. Under ſuch circumſtances much patriotiſm is not to be expected. Upon the whole, the Daniſh government is a viſible proof, that deſpotiſm, notwithſtanding all its great apparent force, is the weakeſt of all governments, when the head is not very ſound and ſtrong. The miniſters ride on the councellors, the councellors on the ſecretaries, the ſecretaries on their clerks, and the wives of all theſe on their lovers. It ſometimes happens too, that the miniſter is governed by the counſellor, the counſellor by the clerk, and ſo on; all this produces an abſolute anarchy, and the quiet and happineſs of the country depends upon the throwing the handkerchief to this or that woman. It is no wonder, that in a court like this many cataſtrophes happen ſimilar to that which took place ten years ago. Prince Frederick, the King's brother-in-law, promiſes the country ſome hopes of better days. He ſeems to be more diſpoſed to do

what

what is right, than to govern by faction or intrigue. His influence is however hitherto very limited.

On my return out of Lapland, I came hither by Lubeck. That place, which formerly played ſo great a part in the league of the Hantz cities, has ſcarce half the importance of Hamburgh in point either of population, riches, or trade. The Daniſh miniſter ſets his whole force againſt this place, as he has only Hamburgh and it to fear. At Lubeck, however, his principal operations are confined for the preſent, for though he makes the poor town feel what he would do by every petty injury in his power, he dares not hitherto come to open hoſtilities, as it is protected by the Emperor and the ſtates of the empire. He is therefore compelled to change his ſiege into a kind of blockade. The bond of union betwixt the German imperial towns operates much more forcibly with regard to foreign powers, than is commonly imagined; and the article in the Emperor's coronation oath, not to allow of any diminution of the empire, is maintained in its full force under Joſeph the Second. It is indeed this article which compels our court to treat the ſmall princes its neighbours who border on Germany with much more attention and reſpect than it ſhews towards the other ſovereign ſtates in its neighbourhood. It would not dare, for inſtance, to act towards the imperial ſtate of Spires, as it has lately done towards Geneva, where it is interpoſed with ſuch great effect, after having formally renounced the mediation, and having hardly any bond of union with the city.

LETTER LVIII.

Hanover.

ALL the country, dear brother, which lays to the north and north-weſt of this, and is watered by the Elbe and the Embs, is partly ſand, and partly mud and moraſs. Indeed the mud which is thrown up by the ſea and rivers, is looked upon here as a paradiſaical earth, as it affords the inhabitants bread and hay, whilſt the higher countries are nothing but ſand. Here, my dear brother, a man perceives, for the firſt time, the bleſſings of a mountainous country. Through the whole road, from Hamburg to Embden, and from thence through a great part of Weſtphalia to this place, I did not ſee a ſingle hill, a ſingle laughing landſcape, ſhady foreſt, beautiful wood, or, in brief, any of the things which can give a fillip to life. In Weſtphalia I ſaw large heaths which were ſtill more barren than thoſe of Jutland. The whole country has been ſubject to revolutions. It is a bottom of ſand, which the rivers from the higher parts of Germany have formed, and to which they are conſtantly adding. In ſome parts the ſea adds a quantity of mud, and in others entirely demoliſhes the barriers oppoſed to it, ſo that the inhabitants have conſtantly to contend with the water and frogs. The rivers overflow every year, and lay the country for many miles under water. The inundations of the Weſer are particularly terrible. When they happen, the cities and villages are as it were in the midſt of a ſea, and ſeem to form ſo many iſlands. The conſequences of this are agues, colds, and fevers, which would commit vaſt ravages amongſt the poor people, were it not that cuſtom renders them hardy, and that they are in a habit of warming their inſides well with brandy. To a ſtranger, however, the country muſt be extremely unwholeſome in winter and ſpring. The inhabitants are all through of the ſmall order, yellow ſkinned, ſoft fleſhed, and full of wrinkles. Their ſmall round figures are very ſtriking when you compare them to the tall long Germans of the ſouthern parts. You hardly ever ſee roſy cheeks among the men of the country, and but very ſeldom among the women. They live here as in Denmark, ſailor-like, upon ſhell-fiſh,

(which

(which they render very palatable) fiſh, fruits, and brandy, of which laſt the wives of the common people take large bumpers. Of the fine fruits and excellent vegetables which the other Germans, particularly the Suabians and inhabitants about the Rhine, are ſo fond of, they know nothing. The people are ſtupid, naturally melancholy, and generally ſpeaking dirty; they are not, however, particularly in the Hanoverian country, ſo ferocious and ill-natured as the Danes. Many of the farmers here are very rich. The facility with which they diſpoſe of their crops, the great fertility of their marſhes, their fiſheries, the great extent of land they poſſeſs amongſt the heaths, (which may always be uſed for paſtures) and the government, which is ever very gentle, ſecure them advantages which the inhabitants of many countries in which nature has poured out all her abundance, do not enjoy. In many parts of Weſtphalia I ſaw no ſmall villages, but the whole country belonged to ſome great landlords, whoſe eſtates reached many miles in circumference. There are, however, likewiſe ſome very ſmall farmers. Thoſe particularly who dwell on this ſide the Weſer, about Bremen and Delmenhorſt, appear in general not to be in very good circumſtances. In many places they have their cattle in their houſes; and I have been twice forced to reſt upon a ſtraw bed amongſt the cows, which is indeed an accident that is ſure to happen to a knight-errant of my complexion, as ſoon as he goes a ſtep out of the great roads. In the ſmall villages there are no inns, and a man is forced to put up with the ſmall farmers, who have nothing to ſet before him but brandy or potatoes, or ſome ſalted bacon, and brown bread made of bran. I cannot conceive how our troops did to exiſt in this country during the laſt Sileſian war.

Bremen is a very rich city, containing about five and twenty thouſand inhabitants. It drives a very large trade for iron, flax, hemp, and linen, with France, England, Spain and Portugal, and in return takes back other proviſions, with which it ſupplies Weſtphalia and the countries about Hanover. It alſo gets a great deal by its fiſheries; the trade for blubber with the ſouth of Germany is very conſiderable. Stiff and ſullen as the inhabitants of the country are in general, you meet with ſome very ſociable and converſable people amongſt them.

Embden is by no means ſo fine a place as Bremen. The King of Pruſſia has taken an everlaſting diſlike to the inhabitants of this city, who, to ſay the truth, when taken in the lump, are not a very amiable people. They are very remarkable for their lazineſs and inſenſibility. It was a great while before the good endeavours of the King to turn this people to commerce and ſhip-building were attended with any ſucceſs. The Eaſt India Company, which he had eſtabliſhed at a great expence in this city, was ruined within a few years of its erection, and certain republican prejudices, which the burghers of this city affected, rendered all the King's other efforts for a time ineffectual. At length the activity and wiſdom of the government, attended with ſome fortunate circumſtances, got the better of the impediments to that extenſion of commerce for which the city is particularly well ſituated. The herring fiſhery, which the King took every ſtep in his power to encourage, brings in large ſums of money every year. The American war aſſiſted the King's deſigns very much, and the trade of the place now begins to be very flouriſhing. Embden imports many Weſtphalian linens to the ſouth countries, and provides a part of Weſtphalia with ſpices and wines. They have alſo a conſiderable trade in cheeſe. Their harbour is extremely good.

The duchies of Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt, which the King of Denmark, at the deſire of the Ruſſian court, exchanged for a part of Holſtein, with a prince of Gottorp, now make a very good principality, which contains ſeventy-five thouſand people, and

yields every year about four hundred thouſand Rheniſh guilders *. It is from all theſe countries, but particularly from Frieſland, that they procure the ſtrong fine coach-horſes who trot ſo proudly over the pavement of many Italian cities, and are ſometimes, though ſeldomer, met with in France. The court of Peterſburgh buys up ſeveral of theſe horſes to mount its heavy cavalry, who look very formidable on this terrible cattle. The Dutch cuiraſſiers are ſupplied from Holſtein, and in truth the horſes of that country are preferable to thoſe of Frieſland and Oldenburg for this ſervice, as with the ſame ſtrength they connect more alacrity and life.

Hanover, conſider it in what light you will, is a very fine city. The number of its inhabitants is about twenty thouſand. There are very good ſocieties here, to which the officers contribute not a little. The nobility is as poliſhed and refined in its manners as that of any other German city. The country, which hereabouts begins to be more elevated, is not quite ſo ugly as the deeper country round the Weſer. Prince Frederick, the King's ſecond ſon, reſides here at preſent, and makes a particular circle of the inhabitants very happy. He is biſhop of Oſnaburg, which principality produces him, yearly, a revenue of one hundred and eighty thouſand Rheniſh florins. Having come to this very early in life, and his indulgent father having given up to him, when he comes of age, all the province of the biſhopric, without any deduction whatever, he will have an income of three millions of florins, or three hundred thouſand pounds. They wiſh and hope here, that in proceſs of time he will be declared governor of his father's poſſeſſions in this country, and reſide conſtantly. His great income will make this a conſiderable advantage to the city in point of intereſt, and his wonderful education gives the whole country hopes of a wiſe and gentle adminiſtration.

Though ſome parts of the electorate of Hanover are very fertile, yet, upon the whole, it is the moſt miſerable part of all Germany. It is about ſeven hundred German miles in circumference, but hardly contains ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants; nay, ſome think this is going too far, for though they have numbered one hundred thouſand houſes, our commiſſaries in the laſt war, who numbered the people, could not make more of them than five hundred thouſand ſouls in all the Hanoverian dominions. But put them at ſeven hundred thouſand, ſtill you will find no other country of the like extent in all Germany, which does not contain more than one thouſand ſouls for every ſquare mile. The difference betwixt Hanover and Suabia, Saxony, Auſtria, Bohemia, and the other parts of Germany, is ſtill more conſiderable; for each of theſe ſtates has two thouſand five hundred ſouls for every ſquare mile, and ſome of them much more. The cauſe of the ſlender population is almoſt entirely owing to nature. The country abounds in ſand-heaths, which it is almoſt impoſſible to cultivate. Almoſt the whole country between Hamburgh and this place is a deep ſand. The difference in point of riches is ſtill more conſiderable. The whole revenues of Hanover amount only to four hundred and eighty thouſand guilders; of which the mines in the Harts alone contribute one hundred thouſand. The country belonging to the Elector of Saxony, which is very little larger, brings in nearly as much again.

The government of this country is gentle. The great offices of ſtate are held by active and enlightened patriots. Nothing is known here of extorting money from the poor. Little of the money of this country goes to London; but almoſt the whole is ſpent in the improvement of the country. The army, which conſumes the greateſt part of it, is large, and conſiſts of twenty thouſand men. They are the beſt fed of all the German troops, but are not near ſo well diſciplined as either the Pruſſian or Auſtrian

* Forty thouſand pound.

armies.

armies. This, however, is the ſofteſt of all the German governments, and there is a ſpirit of liberty throughout, which is a ſtrong contraſt to what you meet with in other parts of the country. I had hardly been three days here when I made an excurſion to Brunſwick. Germany has few princes of whom it has ſo much right to be proud, as of this. It was with a kind of enthuſiaſm that I looked upon one of the firſt heroes of Germany, though he had become ſuch at our expence. The reigning Duke is one of the firſt generals of the Pruſſian army. He is a conſummate ſtateſman, and the favourite of the King of Pruſſia. I need only mention Prince Ferdinand to you, to convince you how glad I muſt have been to ſee him. He is only known to you as a terrible enemy; but his good heart, his extended underſtanding, his active zeal for the intereſt of mankind as far as his ſphere reaches, and his affability towards every man, would ſoon make you forget that he was your enemy, if you knew him better.

Brunſwick is the rendezvous of the German free-maſons, at the head of whom the Prince is. Moſt of the proteſtant princes in Germany are members of this numerous order. It is not long ſince the ſyſtem of the German lodges has been fixed, and that they have acquired a kind of conſiſtency. Germany in general is much indebted to this order, as it is certainly owing to maſonry that many of its princes have become much more affable and gentle in their manners than they were before.

Four princes of this illuſtrious houſe fought in the laſt Sileſian war, for the honour and freedom of Germany. The youngeſt of them, only ſeventeen years of age, died covered with wounds, under a heap of Huſſars, who had been the witneſſes of his valour, and whom he comforted to his lateſt breath. Probably you may not know that this is the elder branch of the Houſe of Brunſwick, and that the King of Great Britain deſcends from a younger ſon. Brunſwick is a very handſome city. It carries on a very thriving trade, and has a great number of manufactures. The number of inhabitants, amongſt whom you meet with exceeding good company, conſiſts of at leaſt twenty-four thouſand. The whole income of the preſent duke is eſtimated at one million three hundred thouſand Rheniſh florins, or one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds.

LETTER LIX.

Caſſel.

THAT ideal beauty, my deareſt brother, which dances before the eyes of our artiſts, though it ſo often vaniſhes under their pencils, was certainly never taken from Germany. All the human figures you meet with between this place and the Northern and Eaſtern Seas, are ſo far from poſſeſſing it, that there are no lines of it to be diſcovered amongſt them.

You would in vain look for a girl's body reſembling the Grecian model. There are, it is true, faces enough with very ſoft ſtrokes in them, but they all want the Greek profile and ſpirit. Nor has the fine white fleſh the firmneſs inſeparable from a truly fine form.

In the lower parts of the Elbe and Weſer, you ſee indeed ſome ſnowy boſoms, and ſome lily and roſy cheeks, but they ſoon vaniſh when the girls have once paſſed their bloom, and the whole is ſo flat and lifeleſs, that you cannot give it the name of a fine form. Even amongſt the Saxons, the faireſt creatures under the ſun who are not Grecians, you ſeldom meet with a face which has any appearance of ideal beauty; and yet theſe are in the north, what the women of Florence are in the ſouth, and far exceed all their country-women in life and ſpirit.

The men of the north are equally deſtitute of ideal beauty. Winckelman, himſelf, thinks that better models for the ſtudy of male beauty are to be met with in Naples and

Sicily, than amongſt his countrymen the Saxons, though they are, without any compariſon, the handſomeſt of the northern nations.

It is well known that no German will attempt to vie with the inhabitants of the ſouthern countries in point of beauty; but when you tell a German that the inhabitants of the ſouth are ſtronger and more durably built than thoſe of the north, they look upon this as a great paradox—and yet ſtrength is the principal point of manly beauty. Have you ever ſeen a Sicilian wreſtle with an Hanoverian or Weſtphalian? I conſider wreſtling as the greateſt proof of ſtrength. I alſo believe that you would not find in all the north a porter like the Genoeſe or Neapolitan carrier, that is, a man able to carry four hundred pounds weight for a conſiderable way. Nor do I think that if both were put into the ſame circumſtances, as much could be done with German troops as with Spaniſh ones. We are not now to conſider that in the preſent days the latter are ſo much excelled in diſcipline; for in Charles the Fifth's time they were both alike. But the German troops in Spain and Italy ſerved only once; and few of the armies which the emperors carried into Italy with them ever came home. On the contrary, the Spaniards under Charles the Fifth fought many battles with great reputation on the Rhine, as well as in Holland, the climate of which is ſo different from their own; they ſhewed more valour, and bore more fatigues than the inhabitants themſelves, who muſt have been ſubdued had it not been that they were aſſiſted by external circumſtances, and that the Prince of Orange's ſpirit did more than all the Mynheers put together.

The national pride of the Germans has led them to give themſelves a pre-eminence over the ſouthern nations, which hiſtory, nature and appearances equally give the lye to. They imagine that underſtanding, courage, activity, ſtrength, and liberty, are the natural appendages of their thick and foggy air; and that the ſouth is the natural habitation of ſtupidity, indolence, cowardice, and tyranny. On the contrary, conſider what is depoſed by *hiſtory*, *appearances*, and *nature*. *Hiſtory* teaches us that light is come into the world from the ſouth; *appearances* teach us that the Spaniards and Italians are much more frugal in eating and drinking, and probably too in the enjoyments of love, than the Germans, amongſt whom we include the Danes, the Swedes, the Ruſſians, and the Poles: and *nature* teaches us that bodily and mental beauty are commonly to be found where the great creator of the bodies of men has appointed the fineſt forms and the greateſt ſtrength. Let us examine this poſition a little more fully: compare the underſtandings of men, as they are more and more removed from the happy air of Greece, Aſia Minor, and Italy, till you come to the North Pole, and you will find that nature does not ſuffer the inhabitants of the coaſt of Barbary, the Arabs, the people of the coaſt of Guinea, and the Abyſſinians, to ſink into the ſame degree of indolence and cowardice as the Greenlanders, the Samoyedes, and the Laplanders. What aſtoniſhing proofs do the negroes give us of bodily ſtrength, courage, and coolneſs of intrepidity; a ſure ſign that the warm and genial air of the ſouth, raiſes human nature, and that the bitter and cold blaſts of the north depreſs it.

But perhaps you will tell me that at preſent the inhabitants of the north excel thoſe of the ſouth. I allow it; but it proves nothing more than that religion, manners, and government have more influence over men than climate. But theſe very manners, cuſtoms, and arts of government, which in the preſent century give the north ſuch an advantage over the ſouth, came originally from the ſouth. What are our republics more than copies of the Greek and Roman? Crippled as our legiſlation is, in compariſon of thoſe of Carthage, Egypt, Rome, and Athens, it is only what we have been able to gather out of the ruins of thoſe ſtates. Have the Pruſſian tactics any thing better in them than the Macedonian phalanx was? Can any one be ſurpriſed that the

people who dwelt near the Elbe and Weſer, ſhould have overcome Varus, when we ſee that the North Americans, by nature the moſt cowardly, and at the breaking out of the war the moſt undiſciplined people upon earth, are able, by the advantages of their woods, rivers, pools, and the extent of their uncultivated country, to oppoſe all the force Great Britain can bring againſt them? And yet the climate of North America is not ſo adverſe to the Engliſh, as that of the ſouth of Germany muſt have been to the Romans; nor was Germany at that time nearly ſo well cultivated as North America now is? Let a man conceive Varus's army on the river St. Lawrence, lake Superior, the lake of the Illinois, and the upper regions of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſtill he will have no true idea of their ſituation in Germany. They were far from poſſeſſing the facilities of providing for the exigencies of war, which they would have had in North America. Germany was at that time an uninterrupted wood; its rivers were not confined within a ſtanding bed, but in ſeveral places formed immenſe moraſſes, too many and too viſible marks of which ſtill remain.

The inhabitants of Germany, who afterwards ſubdued the ſouth, were no doubt indebted for this advantage to the wars which the Romans had before waged againſt them, juſt as the Turks and North Americans have become good ſoldiers by their wars with the Ruſſians and Britons. What think you if any body had told the Scipios that ſome time or other the conqnerors of Rome ſhould come out of the Hercinian foreſts? would they have attributed any thing to the climate? No, they would have anſwered that the manners, conſtitution, and armies of Rome muſt firſt be changed; and that was the caſe.

But what became of theſe northern conquerors when the luxury of the inhabitants of the ſouth had ſubdued their natures, and made them vaſſals to them? Were they not like the over-flowings of their own rivers, which thaw after a long froſt, and lay waſte the fields far and near with ice and ſand? All the conquerors of the ſouth, *enlightened* and *erected*; whereas all the conquerors of the north, *darkened* and *pulled down?* This was the caſe both before and after the Roman æra. The Babylonians and Egyptians, ſuppoſing the accounts of the expeditions of the latter to be true, were benevolent conquerors like the Greeks and Macedonians. But what were the Scythians? The Arabs ſpread arts, ſciences, and humanity, wherever they extended their power. But what darkneſs enſued when the northern Turks had extended the bounds of their empire? It is a ſtriking inſtance of the bodily weakneſs of the northern nations, that they always become enervated as ſoon as they have been ſome time in the ſouth, which they never could cope with long; whereas no hiſtory informs us of the climate of the north ever having been fatal to the ſtrength and activity of the Romans. How did Cæſar's troops hold out in Gaul, Britany, and Holland? How did the Romans behave under the Emperors on the Rhine, the Danube, and the neighbourhood of the Elbe and Weſer? You tell us it is the climate which prevents the northern people from being hardy in the ſouth. But were the Romans effeminate when their forefathers eat oatmeal pap? Were the Spartans or Macedonians effeminate? The generality of the Spaniards and Italians of this day, are by no means a weak people. It is not therefore the climate alone which makes the difference. It is rather the weak nervous ſyſtem of the northern nations which renders them unable to bear the contraſt of the hot days and cold nights, which braces up the ſtrong-built natives; nor can they ſupport the change made in their way of life. The great bodies of the Dutch, Danes, and Poles, are bare lumps of fleſh and bones, the former of which is diſguſtingly flabby. On the other hand, the lighter Italians, as well as the darker Spaniards, are more ſinewy, and more muſcular, which is the true character of bodily ſtrength. Nor are the minds of the northern nations leſs weak than their bodies. A proof of it is, their never having been able to eſtabliſh laſting empires

in their ſouthern conqueſts. Their kingdoms were a bare accident of fortune, and they never had felicity of genius enough to form plans or knit the ſocial band. How differently did the nations of the ſouth, prrticularly the Romans, manage their conqueſts? juſt as if they were ſtill a freſh people, and had known nothing of ſciences or arts!

In general nature diſplays far different vigour, a far more magnificent ſpirit of creation in the ſouth, than what ſhe does in the northern provinces. What riches, and variety, and ſtrength, is in the vegetable kingdoms of the ſouth? The ſhrub which furniſhes the balſam of Mecca, and the plants from Ceylon and the Molucca iſlands, ſhame the unfruitfulneſs of the earth near the poles; and the vigour of nature ſeems evidently to decreaſe in proportion as we recede from the equator. Our ſavoury fruits have all come to us from the ſouth; and the better taſted and more ſpirited they are, the leſs able are they to bear the north. The nobler fruits, juſt like the generous wines, which gladden and make ſtrong the heart of man, cannot take root in the north. In the ſame manner in the mineral kingdom, nature ſhews herſelf more venerable in the ſouth, than ſhe does in the north.—And in the animal world! How very different are the beaſts of the ſouth to thoſe of the north! Why then ſhould not nature, which weaves every thing elſe more ſtrongly in a warm climate, alſo weave man more ſtrongly there? It is true, indeed, that underſtanding and morals are no excluſive property of any ſtrip of land. They depend on laws, cuſtoms, education, and government; which may, and often do render the artificial man ſuperior to the natural one. But the natural underſtanding awakes ſooner from its ſleep in a warm country, than it does in a cold one. Under a warm ſun abſtract ideas are much quicker formed. The ſenſes are much clearer here; and the underſtanding depends on the quickneſs of the ſenſes. Imagination, which is ſo connected with all the operations of the ſun, has more force in Sicily than in Iceland. The firſt force of the impreſſions made by the ſenſes, gives the powers of the mind an alacrity in the ſouthern countries, which is the true character of genius, and which the inhabitants of the north cannot reach by any cold abſtractions which they may arrive at, from their manners, cuſtoms, or government. Nor are the fine moral feelings ſo independant of the fine ſenſual ones, as ſome philoſophers, who know little of human nature, are willing to imagine. The Germans, who charge the French, Italians, and all the ſouthern nations, with indolence, ſlavery, and debaſement of mind, forget that the Siberians and Kamtſchatdales, amidſt their almoſt eternal ices and ſnows, are, according to the accounts of all travellers, the moſt cowardly, moſt ſenſual, moſt debaſed, and moſt enſlaved people upon earth. Nor can the glow of liberty be ſo thoroughly ſtifled in Italy as it is in ſeveral northern countries, which appear the ſeat of deſpotiſm; nay, the governments of France and Spain themſelves, are not ſo deſpotic as many Germans pleaſe themſelves in believing them to be. The clear and dry air of the ſouth elevates the ſoul juſt as it gives tone to the nerves. All the perſons who have breathed a fine weſtern air in the mountains, ſpeak of feelings which they knew not in the plains. So the air of the ſouth of Europe is as different from that of the north, as the air of the Swiſs Alps is different from that of the plains. As a proof of this, the hectic Engliſh go to Niſmes, Nice, Piſa, and Naples, to repair their ſhattered conſtitutions.

But it is true, after all, that the inhabitants of the Elbe and Weſer, though thus abandoned by nature, exceed the Sicilians and Neapolitans as much in ſtrength of mind, as they are outdone by them in bodily ſtrength and beauty. It is true; and what then? The liberal citizen of the world admires the omnipotence of government, which is able to raiſe men ſo far above their natural ſituation, or to ſink them ſo deep below it; but he does not therefore allow himſelf to contract illiberal prejudices againſt any nation. He congratulates the northern nations upon their having made themſelves what they are, and rejoices that they are every day becoming greater and greater; but he does not

forget

forget that the people of the ſouth were ſooner great, and that the arts of cultivation, and light of all kinds came from them.

You will eaſily perceive, from the nature of theſe ſpeculations, that they were made in the poſt-waggon. My company conſiſted of a ſwine of an Oldenburgh dealer in horſes, a clodpole Bremen broker, and a pretty female piece of fleſh, mere dead fleſh, lying before me on the ſtraw. There was not a word ſpoke all the way from Gottingen here; ſo that if the *dulcis et alta quies* had not been now and then interrupted by coughing, ſneezing, belching, and the like, I ſhould not have known that I had company with me.

At Gottingen I viſited ſeveral profeſſors, to whom I cannot refuſe my utmoſt veneration, but who were all ſo convinced of the cultivation of Germany, and ſo ſore ſet againſt us Southlanders, that I did not know how to reconcile it with their knowledge of mankind. All theſe gentlemen ſpoke to me of the political and literary ſituation of their own country with a veneration which often bordered on the ridiculous. This ariſes partly from national pride, partly from partiality to their own country, and partly from true rank *Charlataniſm*. Theſe gentlemen look upon our government as the quinteſſence of deſpotiſm, our academies as hoſpitals for fools, our ſoldiers as women, and our writers, to whom however, as appears from their writings, they are ſo much indebted, as petit maitres. In a word, they conſider the ſouth as the kingdom of darkneſs and tyranny, and allow more ſenſe and knowledge of things, to the Danes, Swedes, and Ruſſians, than to the moſt reſpectable people in the ſouth. It was this abſurdity which gave riſe to my ſpeculations in the poſt waggon, which were however much interrupted by ſtrong jolts. Amongſt other perſons I viſited here was Profeſſor Schloſſer, whom I found unjuſt towards us, out of mere party motives. Poſſibly there are few hiſtorians in the world who know ſo many hiſtorical facts as this gentleman does. I found a moſt unexpected and extraordinary fund of knowledge of modern hiſtory about him. He poſſeſſes an infinite number of living languages. His humour, which is ſomewhat too ſharp and ſatyrical, does not always make him amiable as a private man, but often produces very good effects as a writer. What he is moſt diſtinguiſhed by is his journal. It is publiſhed under the name of Political Letters, and is one of the moſt generally ſpread about in Germany, and other neighbouring countries, though Mr. Linguet has thought proper to call it *peu connu*. It is not like the Engliſh, Dutch, and French journals, which conſiſt moſtly of declamation, and reflections, which are commonly founded on falſe facts and falſe reaſoning. Schloſſer's journal contains for the moſt part only records, to which he ſometimes adds ſhort notes, always intereſting, and ſometimes very ſevere, but for the collection of which future hiſtorians will be obliged to him. Falſe facts ſometimes ſlip in, but theſe are generally rectified in the courſe of time; and upon the whole, there is no work from which a man may gather the preſent ſtate of politics, particularly thoſe of one part of Germany, ſo well as from this. It contains numerous liſts of the population and income of many German ſtates, and alſo of their agriculture and induſtry. As Mr. Schloſſer is particularly bent on hunting down the follies and ſultaniſm of German princes, together with abſurdities, barbarity, and monkiſm, he is not wanting in intereſting anecdotes, which often give occaſion to ſtill more intereſting explanations. This journal may indeed be conſidered as one of the ſureſt bars againſt the tyranny of the leſſer princes of Germany: And it is certainly known that it has produced great effects in ſeveral courts. Perſons of the firſt rank, and often princes themſelves, ſend the author papers. The plan of this journal is as advantageous to the editor as it is to the public. It ſupports itſelf by the contributions of ſtrangers, and is not odious by any ſelfiſh or party remarks of the editors; all works of knowledge are acceſſible to the

author, and the leſſer princes who have any ſhame left are compelled to ſtand in fear of the ſtrong cenſor who publicly expoſes their ſhame. Mr. Schloſſer makes uſe of all the freedom which the place of his reſidence allows him; and he often gives very intereſting accounts of other countries beſides Germany in his journal. The reputation of the work encreaſes every day more and more, and he may be aſſured that he will ſoon be univerſally read in his native country. In my opinion, a ſingle number of this work has more merit than all Linguet's Annals put together, at leaſt it contains more truth. This journal marks the learned character of the Germans extremely well. In the German hiſtorians and politicians there appears no marks of the acute obſervation, the piercing conjecture, and the elegant portraitures of men and manners, which diſtinguiſh the Engliſh hiſtorians and politicians. Every thing with them is made up of dry matter of fact, which they endeavour to eſtabliſh ſo as to ſet it above the power of attack. The genuine lover of truth, who loves it for itſelf, and does not deſire a particle of wit to be ſpent in its ſupport, had rather read a dry liſt of population in Schloſſer's letters, than all the pompous declamations of the Engliſh travellers and politicians, who are often brought to ſhame by a few cyphers they read in this book. In every part of literature the Germans diſtinguiſh themſelves from other nations in the ſame way.

Gottingen is a pretty little city, containing about eighty thouſand ſouls; the territory about it is pleaſanter, and produces more than that of any other part of Hanover I have ſeen. It ſubſiſts entirely by the univerſity, which is one of the beſt I have ſeen. There are Ruſſian, Daniſh, Swediſh, and Engliſh *, as well as German ſtudents in it. The ſtudents here are about eight hundred, and the profeſſors, including the dancing and fencing maſters, are about ſixty.

The King of Great Britain ſpares no expence to bring theſe higher ſort of ſchools into repute. The library, which is kept up at his expence, and is always encreaſing, is as numerous as it is well diſpoſed. The phyſical apparatus, aſtronomical inſtruments, the collection of natural hiſtory, the chirurgical inſtruments, the botanical garden, every thing, in a word, beſpeaks royal care.

The way, in the Proteſtant univerſities, of going through all the ſciences in half-yearly courſes, which diſpleaſed Mr. Pilati ſo much, has my full approbation. Though it may be calculated for the advantage of the pockets of the profeſſors, the ſcholars loſe nothing by it. No ſciences are *thoroughly* learned at any univerſity. All that can be done, and that is done, is to give the ſtudent the elements of them, to let him have a notion of the parts of the building, and ſhew him the eaſieſt way of coming at it. It depends upon him afterwards to travel the whole of the road. If the young man lays his foundation right, the half-year's courſe is as profitable to him as it is to the maſter. It ſpares his time and money. When a young man comes here, they commonly lay a *Programma* before him, in which all the arts are diſpoſed according to their natural order, and likewiſe according to their connection with each other. In conſequence of this it happens not unfrequently, that a ſtudent attends ſix or ſeven courſes in a day. What then? you will tell me he will only be confined by the variety of knowledge. I believe not. The generality of young men will not be at the pains of digging deep for themſelves. Lectures make a deeper impreſſion on the mind than the ſilent meditation of a cloſet. We muſt likewiſe conſider that the profeſſors are able to give the marrow and reſult of the whole.

* The Engliſh have, I am informed, been lately almoſt baniſhed; at leaſt the profeſſors do not deſire the company of young men ſo totally loſt to what ought to be the glory of young men, as they for the moſt part are.

I do

I do not approve of the lectures being paid for by the ſtudents. It is true, that it tends to keep up the ſpirit and emulation of the profeſſors; but their independence of the ſtudents, were it otherwiſe, would in my opinion be attended with much more beneficial conſequences. All that can leſſen the reverence of the ſcholar towards the maſter ought to be avoided with the greateſt caution. The ſtudents are, it is true, for the moſt part, well educated young men; but ſtill they are too young to know how to eſteem a man of merit according to his real abilities. Too much reverence for him that teaches ſeldom does any harm to him that is to be taught. In ſhort, cabals, conſpiracies, with a number of inferior artifices, to which good men ſometimes condeſcend for the ſake of a few guilders, but which leſſen them in the eyes of the ſtudents, are the conſequence of this part of the plan.

When Mr. Pilati ſays that the Germans treat all the ſciences only in a compendious way, he ſhews himſelf quite ignorant of the method adopted by the public profeſſors, at leaſt by thoſe of this place. Almoſt every profeſſor compoſes a plan of his lectures, which ſerves his hearers for a ſyllabus of what they are to be taught. You cannot properly call this a compend of ſcience, in the ſenſe you affix to this name, when you give it to Boſſuet's Introduction to Univerſal Hiſtory. It is neither more nor leſs than an account of the method which every man for himſelf purpoſes to uſe in teaching his ſcholars a ſcience. Another object, with thoſe who make the moſt of their induſtry, is to lend or ſell this manuſcript for a few louis d'ors. It is true indeed, that ſome have taken ſo much pains with theſe ſyllabuſes, that they may paſs for compendia; but it does not follow from thence that the literati of Germany, who are not, it muſt be remembered, all proteſtants, treat all the ſciences compendiouſly. Some of theſe ſyllabuſes, which have gone beyond their original deſign, and are become compendia, are maſter-pieces of more value than ſeveral works in folio; and, taken in general, are an evident ſign that the univerſity of Gottingen poſſeſſes ſeveral moſt valuable men. Upon the whole, the thorough freedom of opinion which is eſtabliſhed here, the abſence of the notions and abſurd ſyſtems which keep other univerſities in bondage, together with an enlightened and gentle adminiſtration, ſecure advantages to theſe ſchools which are hardly to be found in any other.

Caſſel is not only a very handſome, but in ſome reſpects a magnificent city. It contains about thirty-two thouſand inhabitants. This is one of the cities of Germany which, as well as ſeveral others, the Hugunots have cauſed to flouriſh at our expence. They have eſtabliſhed ſeveral conſiderable manufactures in it, one amongſt others of hats, which are not at all inferior to thoſe made at Lyons in fineneſs and ſtrength, and are held in equal eſtimation.

The number of the ſubjects of the landgrave, I have been aſſured, is three hundred and thirty thouſand. His income amounts to two millions two hundred and twenty thouſand Rheniſh florins (about two hundred and twenty thouſand pounds). Add to this, the country of Hanau, which contains one hundred thouſand men, and brings in ſomething above five hundred thouſand florins, or fifty thouſand pounds; ſtill the poſſeſſions of this houſe are not ſo good as thoſe of a Duchy of Wirtemberg.

This country is the moſt military of all Germany. The peaſants are not only always diſciplined, but always ready to march any where through the wide world. The ſending the Heſſian troops to North America, cannot be conſidered as a hardſhip in itſelf, conſidering the intimate connection of this country with Great Britain; but the connection itſelf is a very unprofitable one for this country. The Engliſh ſubſidies can never make amends for the loſs which the treaty has hitherto brought on both prince and people. The country was ſtripped of all its young men after the laſt Sileſian war, and

ſcarcely had it begun to bloom again when they were ſent to America. At leaſt twenty thouſand Heſſians, of whom one half will never come home, are gone to that part of the world. The country has therefore loſt a ſixth of its moſt uſeful inhabitants, by the tea-burning buſineſs at Boſton. The taxes are very conſiderable, as you will ſee if you compare the population and taxes of this country with thoſe of the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, whom nature has put in poſſeſſion of far greater advantages than ſhe has done the Heſſians. Though the landgrave has remitted his ſubjects a part of the taxes for as long a time as the war ſhall laſt, they deſert in great numbers, and go into Hungary, Poland, and Turkey.

The military conſtitution of this country has, on ſeveral occaſions, been as uſeful to the German empire in general, as it has been prejudicial to the people themſelves. So early as the reformation, the Heſſians contributed exceedingly towards maintaining the freedom of the empire; and the Sileſian war would not have ended nearly ſo well for England, or the King of Pruſſia, if ſixteen or eighteen thouſand brave Heſſians had not ſtood the brunt of our troops.

LETTER LX.

Wurtzburg.

YOU will ſee, if you take up a map of Germany, that I have been true to my promiſe; and that I have gone through the holy Roman empire croſs-ways and length-ways, through wood and through thicket, by dale and by vale—in a word, like a true knight errant.

The Heſſians, my dear brother, take them in general, are deformed to a degree. The women are the ugliеſt creatures I have ever ſeen. Their dreſs is horrid. Moſt of them are clad in black, and wear their petticoats ſo high, that you can ſee no ſhape—only the ugly thick leg as high as the knee, is moſt conſpicuous. The men in ſome degree make up in ſtrength what is wanting in beauty. Upon the whole, though not a large, they are a ſtout ſtrong-built people. Here and there you ſee a giant-like figure; but they all have large bodies and feet. Moſt of them are white; and their hair is criſp. Their way of living is ſavage. Their beſt food is potatoes and brandy; which laſt they give even to their children.

The people are much the ſame in the Fuldeſe. The whole tract of country from Caſſel to the borders of Franconia, is rough and wild. The people are like the country, which abounds in woods and hills.

The preſent Prince of Fulda is a man of taſte, who lives well, and loves expence. He is extremely tolerant, and no friend to the Popiſh hierarchy. He calls the Pope his brother. He is, without doubt, the richeſt abbot in the Catholic world. The number of his ſubjects, whom he governs with great gentleneſs, and extremely well, amounts to ſeven hundred thouſand; and he has an income of three hundred thouſand Rheniſh guilders *. He has founded ſeveral uſeful eſtabliſhments for educations, and allows his eccleſiaſtics a freedom in ſpeaking and writing, which diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe of the other parts of Germany. During my abode at Vienna, it was there looked upon as a very heroic degree of courage in ſome profane literati, to declare that the council was above the Pope. At Fulda I read theſe, and much more bold things, in works which are at leaſt of twelve years ſtanding. The palace of Fulda is a very pretty building; and I met with much better company here than I expected.

* 30,000l.

Wurtzburg

Wurtzburg is upon the whole a very fine city. It is ſituated in a large plain, very fruitful in vines, and watered by the Maine. The Prince's palace is one of the fineſt buildings I have hitherto ſeen in Germany. There obtains amongſt the inhabitants, who are ſixteen thouſand in number, an alacrity, a love for the pleaſures of the ſenſes, and a freedom of intercourſe between the two ſexes, which you do not find in any proteſtant city of the ſame ſize; and which beſpeaks the great affluence and eaſe of the country very ſtrongly.

I was ſtruck here, as in Fulda, with the tolerant ſpirit and knowledge of the prieſthood, who are far beyond their brethren of Auſtria and Bavaria. As theſe qualities are commonly united to good manners and good converſation, the ton of literati, into whoſe ſociety I fell on my firſt arrival here, did not ſurpriſe me. I ſaw in ſhort that ſome favourable exceptions to the general character are to be met with in the catholic parts of Germany, as well as unfavourable ones in the proteſtant parts. It muſt be owned that the former are far leſs common than the other.—Not that you are to think the ſun in his meridian even here. I was ſpeaking yeſterday to a prieſt about the execution of the witches, with which this government has been ſo often and ſo juſtly reproached. At firſt he appeared as if he did not underſtand me. At length he told me, with a confidential air, that the moſt intelligent perſons were not ſatisfied with the grounds of trial, as ſeveral learned divines had determined, that the woman who had been burned for a witch, might have been *obſeſſa* as well as *circumſeſſa*, by the devil. I do not know whether you enter into the ſenſe of this nice diſtinction. It is as much as to ſay, that the devil was not abſolutely in the circumference of her body; but that Satan, in order to play her into the hands of juſtice, made the miracles ſeem to come from her belly, and blinded the ſpectators at her coſt. I was aſtoniſhed at hearing this expreſſion from a man who poſſeſſes ſo much knowledge in his own ſcience; but he was not one of the great wits of the place: and after all, if this theological diſtinction ſhould in future ſave a witch from the ſtake, on the ground, that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh whether ſhe be *obſeſſa* or *circumceſſa*, the nonſenſe will have had its uſe.

The preſent governor is a very intelligent man. He underſtands both men and things, and is one of the few German biſhops who have only their own merit to thank for their good fortune and promotion. He is of an old but not very rich family, of the name of Van Erthal; and is brother to the Elector of Mentz. His knowledge and activity recommended him to the imperial court, who gave him the conſpicuous place of imperial commiſſary at the diet of Ratiſbon; there he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that the imperial court gave him this biſhopric *in commendam*.

Wurtzburg alone is one of the richeſt biſhoprics in the country; the dioceſe contains about one hundred and ninety thouſand inhabitants, and the revenue is eight hundred thouſand Rheniſh florins, or eighty thouſand pounds; but beſides this, the biſhop holds the biſhopric of Bamberg, which is one of the fatteſt benefices of the empire, and brings in about ſeven hundred thouſand guilders, or ſeventy thouſand pounds. Both theſe countries are in ſome of the beſt land in Germany. They abound plentifully in the neceſſaries of life. Wurtzburg gains a great deal by its wines, which are carried as far as Sweden. They praiſed the Stein wine to me very much. I taſted it, but found it very fiery and burning on the tongue. It is very full of tartar, and raiſes thirſt.

Agriculture ſeems to be well underſtood in this country; but in their manufactures they are a great way behind, not only the northern parts of Germany, but their neighbours the Fuldans. Theſe make a great number of very fine damaſks; with

which, as well as the plainer linens, they drive a good trade. The Wurtzburghers have no employment equally profitable. Beſides this, as in winter time the Fuldans employ themſelves in ſpinning and weaving, they are infinitely better off in their wild country, than the people of Wurtzburg in their paradiſe. The Biſhop, indeed, of the laſt place has a fine manufacture of looking-glaſſes and china; but they are the only good manufactures of the place. The preſent Biſhop gives himſelf a great deal of trouble to inſpire his ſubjects with a taſte for the arts. * * * * * * * *

In order to give this letter its proper length, previous to my ſealing it, I made an excurſion into Franconia, which is the leaſt of all the circles. But the game I have taken in this chaſe is ſo very little, as to be hardly worth the poſtage you will have to pay for it.

Bamberg is a pretty, large, handſome, lively city, containing near twenty thouſand inhabitants. What is moſt remarkable in it is the gardening, which in no part of Germany is ſo flouriſhing as it is here. Several hundred gardeners carry on a conſiderable trade as far as Holland, with ſmall pickled gerkins, a prodigious number of liquorice roots, onions which are looked upon as the beſt in Germany, and other things. They alſo ſupply the neighbourhood round with pot-herbs, very good apples, and cauliflowers. Their good ſtrong beer is likewiſe carried as far as the Rhine. The common people here believe that there is no liquorice any where elſe in the world, and that this was planted here and given to this city as an excluſive poſſeſſion for ever, by the holy Cunigunda, who lies buried in the cathedral, with her huſband Henry the Second. As I am upon the miracles of this holy pair, I cannot forbear communicating to you another anecdote cencerning them, which I have learned here; and I do it the more willingly, becauſe holy legends are the only things worth mentioning from hence. Poſſibly it may be known to you that Henry the Second, the founder of this biſhopric, was, notwithſtanding his ſanctity, extremely jealous of this Cunigunda; ſo that in conformity to the cuſtoms of the times, he determined to have the ordeal proof of her chaſtity. After ſhe had walked over the red hot plough-ſhares unhurt, he of courſe embraced his ſpouſe, and begged her pardon for the ſuſpicions he had entertained. It happened that ſome time before, vieing with each other in affection towards this foundation, they had had two new bells put up in the cathedral. After the ordeal proof was over, they uſed to walk together every day in the court about the cathedral at the time of chiming the bells. Henry's conſort was one day ſo mortified at finding that his bell had a better tone than her's, that in order to give her a proof of his hearty confidence and love, the Emperor took a golden ring from his finger, and threw it up into the air, when it clung round the bell ſo as to deaden the ſound; which continues dull to this day. This piece of gallantry is almoſt too fine for the tenth and eleventh centuries; but the old cathedrals of Bamberg and Wurtzburg would furniſh each of them a numerous, and not a very unintereſting collection of tales of knight errantry, legends, and ſtories of apparitions. The abundance of ſuch tales is a ſure proof that the people are idle, and have not a ſufficient number of uſeful employments to take up their thoughts and converſations. Pſalm-ſinging, to which the common people amongſt the reformed have recourſe whenever they are tired, has not, it is true, that colouring of imagination which marks the amuſements of the Catholics in Germany; but it is more adapted to the notions of the common people, and gives them no falſe and dangerous opinions. I cannot here paſs over an anecdote of a ſpirit from Wurtzburg. I was aſſured, that even to this day, from eleven to twelve at night, the watch cannot be ſet in a certain ſtreet, on account of a very dangerous man walking through it at this time, who carries his body under his right arm.

Notwithſtanding the excellence of the ſoil, the people of the biſhoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg are upon the whole extremely poor. This does not ariſe ſo much from a neglect of agriculture, as from a want of frugality. It is however impoſſible that agriculture ſhould employ all the people of ſo populous a country. It is no doubt owing to both education and cuſtom, that we ſee ſo many beggars in a country where nature has ſhewn herſelf ſo liberal. The government of the ſpiritual princes in Germany, which I have hitherto ſeen, is much more gentle than thoſe of moſt of the temporal princes; and the abuſe caſt upon them, is upon the whole very unjuſt. It requires many ages to make a diſſipated and luxurious people frugal and induſtrious. The relaxed manners of the Roman Catholics in Germany are in a great meaſure owing to the falſe notions inculcated into them by their teachers. Schloſſer tells us in his journal, that a Roman Catholic prieſt was accuſed of hereſy by one biſhop and two univerſities, for teaching "that ſelf-love was the principle of all human actions; that a neglect of the earthly advantages which time and opportunity offer to men, was a philoſophical ſin; and that it was unlawful to do another a kindneſs, by which we might conſiderably ſuffer ourſelves." Theſe exceſſive notions of liberality and contempt for temporal things, are the true reaſons why the Roman Catholic Germans in general are, as Mr. Pilati has obſerved, better hearted than the Proteſtant ones. The number of beggars are themſelves a proof of it; for if they did not find ſo many givers, they would ſoon learn to work. It would, however, be much better if there were no beggars, and the people were made a little more frugal. For the ſame reaſon it is that you find many more charitable foundations of all ſorts amongſt the Catholics than amongſt the Proteſtants, though the former are ſo poor. The Julius Hoſpital, at Wurtzburg, is richer than all the foundations of the ſort in the King of Pruſſia's dominions put together; but all theſe foundations are a new encouragement to luxury.

The mendicant orders of friars find their account in their doctrines of free gifts, and contempt of the things of this world, (which they themſelves carefully gather;) and they are alſo the principal defenders of them. Excluſive of the maſſes for ſouls, which, taken altogether, do not amount to a great deal, the Catholic ſecular prieſts do not get much by the liberality of the people.

The benefices in the cathedrals of Wurtzburg and Bamberg are looked upon as the beſt in Germany. In good years each is worth 3500 guilders*; but you ſeldom meet with a prieſt who has no more than one of them. Several of them have four or five prebends in as many cathedrals, and receive from 8 to 10 or 12,000 guilders per year. The prelates of thoſe foundations receive from 20 to 30,000 florins a year. The whole trouble of a German canon conſiſts in his being obliged to reſidence in his cathedral for a month in the year. No other qualification is required of him but to be able to read Latin, and prove himſelf deſcended from a good family on the mother's ſide.

In a certain epiſcopal city in Germany, there is this proverb, "that prebends make themſelves." In general you ſee them hovering round the ladies.

I am aſſured that every canon of Wurtzburg, at his firſt entry into the chapter, receives a ſtroke with a ſwitch from each of his colleagues. This extraordinary inauguration is contrived with a view of preventing any prince, who of courſe cannot ſubmit to ſuch a ceremony, from deſiring to be of the chapter.

* About 350l.

Nuren-

Nurenberg is an ugly town, which grows every day more deſerted. At the end of the fifteenth century this town contained above fifty thouſand male inhabitants, who were not above one-fourth of the whole; whereas the whole population now hardly amounts to a ſixth part of the number. In the courſe of the laſt years eleven hundred men have died every year. Many hundred houſes ſtand quite empty, and the others are tenanted only by ſingle families. The inhabitants are ſtill a very induſtrious people; and it is a very pretty ſight to ſee the little children employed in making the various toys, for the manufacture of which this place is ſo diſtinguiſhed in Europe.

I am ſurpriſed to find ſo many German writers laughing at theſe productions of the Nurenberghers, and making a proverb of their induſtry. Is not the great exportation of theſe commodities a ſufficient juſtification of the mode in which theſe people employ their time? But theſe reproaches are the more unjuſt becauſe Nurenberg has long produced artiſts who vie with the beſt Engliſh ones, in making mathematical and phyſical inſtruments. You meet no where, out of England, with ſuch good manufactures in ſteel, iron, and copper, as you do here. Will any man then ſay he has a right to blame theſe people, becauſe, amidſt their more important buſineſs, they find uſeful and profitable employments for their wives and children? Nurenberg is far ſuperior to Augſburg in the arts.

The great cauſe of the ruin of this town is the ariſtocracy. I could not have believed, had not reſpectable citizens of Nurenberg told it me, the ill treatment which they receive from twenty or thirty families, in whoſe hands the government is. From time to time every citizen muſt have an inventory of his effects taken, and I do not know for what reaſon, give a third or fourth part of them to the regency. Excluſive of the evil of theſe numberleſs gifts, it is extremely bad policy in a commercial ſtate, to compel the merchant to inform every one of the profit of his trade. Theſe patricians have likewiſe a number of families in their intereſt, amongſt whom they divide the employments of the ſtate, which are very conſiderable. All this renders it not ſurpriſing to find that the rich citizens leave the city, and endeavour to emancipate themſelves by taking refuge in the Auſtrian or Pruſſian territories.

The morals of the Nurenbergers are better and purer than thoſe of any other German city. The magiſtrate is particularly anxious to put a ſtop to fornication. I do not exaggerate, but relate a real fact when I aſſure you, that the young men of the city underwent a phyſical viſitation by ſome of the members of the magiſtracy attended by phyſicians. There is a very characteriſtical print of this buſineſs, in which the deputies are repreſented in their buſineſs with their ſpectacles upon their noſes.

Nurenberg has a more conſiderable territory belonging to it than any other imperial city. The number of its ſubjects in the country is eſtimated at four hundred thouſand. Theſe the regency does not govern in ſo arbitrary a manner as it does the inhabitants of the city; or if it does, this does not prevent the country from being very well cultivated, though there is a great deal of ſand about it. I have not beheld prettier villages any where than there is here. Every thing beſpeaks a great degree of opulence in the farmers, who, as well as the town's people, remain faithful to their old dreſs.

The margraviates of Anſpach and Bareith, exhibit, in point of induſtry, a ſtrong contraſt to the induſtry of the biſhoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg. Nature has not nearly been ſo liberal to them; and yet the inhabitants of thoſe countries, though loaded with much greater taxes, are in much better circumſtances than thoſe of the former. The cities of Erlan, Anſpach, Schwaback, and ſome others, have ſome very good manufactures. The preſent Margrave, who is the laſt branch of a houſe, which

promiſes no new ones, is a very clever and amiable man. The well known Mademoiſelle N—— is his companion; a proof, at leaſt, of his good taſte. His income amounts to ſixteen hundred thouſand Rheniſh florins, or one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds. His peaſants are ſomewhat diſcontented with him for having ſold their children to the Engliſh. There were, indeed, great diſcontents amongſt the troops that were to go to America; but the margrave was not affected by them. He ſeems determined to make as much of that country as he can, upon the principle that after his death it is to fall into other hands.

The remainder of Franconia is compoſed of a number of ſmall principalities. The people here in general ſuffer very great oppreſſion. Thoſe are particularly miſerable whoſe maſters reſide in the great courts; for, by this means, they are not only deprived of the ſpending of great ſums amongſt them, but are ſubjected to the tyranny of deſpotic ſervants, who are always worſe than the maſters, and chooſe to have their ſhare of the plunder. The *locum tenens* of a well known dutchy in Franconia, hardly keeps his place more than ſeven or eight years, in which ſhort time he commonly ſaves enough to be no longer a ſervant. This will, no doubt, make you think of the ſervants of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, who hare called nabobs at their return; which they, literally ſpeaking, are, at the expence of the Indians. It is thanks to ſtanding armies that the people of this country are as quiet as they *are* under *their* nabobs. In the famous rebellion which broke out in 1425, and has been ſo well deſcribed by Gothe, in his Goſs of Berlichingen, they treated the princes, dukes, and other great perſons, in a very ſtrange manner. A number of theſe ruffians having made themſelves maſters of ſome caſtles belonging to the marquiſſes of Hohenlo, put collars round their necks, and cried out under their noſe, "Now are we maſters of Hohenloe, and ye are nothing?" It was very impolitic in the imperial cities of Franconia, Suabia, and the circles of the Rhine, to be acceſſary at that time in ſubduing the peaſants. At preſent the oppreſſion of the prince falls as heavily upon them as it does on their own ſubjects; a thing they might have foreſeen, as theſe princes were already ſo powerful, by means of their ſtanding armies, that the ſalvation of the cities would have been to make a common cauſe with the peaſants againſt them, as without the aſſiſtance then afforded by theſe cities, the inſurgents would not have been ſubdued; for the now ſo weak cities of Halle, Bopfingen, Dunckelſpuhl, Nordlingen, &c. were at that time more formidable to the rebellious peaſants, than the greateſt princes; but they have now no longer any ſuch fortunate opportunity to expect.

LETTER LXI.

Francfort.

I CAME hither through the Speſſart, which is the thickeſt foreſt I have met with in the common road. In the ſpace of twenty-ſeven miles, I ſaw only a ſingle village and an hunting box. The reſt was almoſt intirely wood and hill. Notwithſtanding all this, the road is a very wonderful one; and the Elector of Mentz, to whom the greateſt part of the country belongs, keeps it very clear from robbers. For twenty years paſt there have hardly been two inſtances of any perſon having been attacked in theſe frightful foreſts; and at preſent they are ſo ſecure, that you may travel through them in the night without any apprehenſions. At Aſchaffenburg, a pretty German town, there are always thirty huſſars, who travel through the Speſſart at ſtated times, in order to prevent the poſſibility of an accident. If all the princes of Germany were to make uſe of their forces for theſe purpoſes, there would be no cauſe to complain of their military

eſtabliſhments,

eſtabliſhments, or the tyrannical manner in which their huſbandmen are treated. The beauty and ſalubrity of its ſituation, encouraged me to make an excurſion as far as Aſchaffenburg. At ſome diſtance north and eaſtward, you ſee the Speſſart, which forms a half circle round this city, and protects it from the high winds. The country about this city is uncommonly fruitful. It is famous for producing a great number of apple-trees, with the fruit of which they make a cyder, which only a connoiſſeur can diſtinguiſh from true wine. It is often exported to the north as a Rheniſh. I taſted ſome of it that was ſeven years old; it had a great deal of fire, but coſts twenty-four creutzers the bottle, a price for which you may have very good wine.

The government encourages the people to make as much as poſſible of the advantage of their ſituation. They have planted mulberry-trees, and have made ſome very good experiments on ſilk-worms. On the banks of the Maine, near the city, there is a fine alley, which runs through a very extended plain. You meet here with a curious memorial of the ſixteenth century. An old German knight, as big as the life, and armed at all points, is kneeling before a crucifix, at the bottom of which he has depoſited his helmet. The whole has the appearance of an immenſe pyramid, of which the croſs forms the head, and the knight and his appurtenances the lower parts. The work is extremely good, and altogether exhibits a very ſtriking appearance to the beholder.

Francfort is a fine large city. There is no town in Germany which has larger or more magnificent inns than thoſe of this place. Excepting Hamburgh, this is the only imperial city which keeps up all its priſtine ſplendour. Whilſt Nurenberg, Augſburg, and ſeveral others about it, are going to decay, it continues to thrive and to improve. The outſides of the houſes are very ſplendid, and the ſtyle of the architecture ſhews that the inhabitants know how to lay out their money with taſte. There are about thirty inhabitants in the place who are worth a million of livres; and you may name above thirty Calviniſtic houſes, who have thirty thouſand guilders. The number of very rich Catholics and Lutherans, is not leſs: ſo that in all there may be about two hundred houſes who have incomes of one hundred thouſand guilders *, and above. There is a high appearance of affluence throughout. The furniture of their houſes, their gardens, equipage, dreſs, and female ornaments, every thing, in ſhort, beſpeaks a ſtate above the ordinary citizen, and which approaches the extreme of magnificence.

The trade of Francfort is extremely hurtful to Germany. According to the accounts given me by a very underſtanding merchant of this place, the exports of German commodities by this channel hardly amount to a tenth of the imports from France, Holland, Italy, and other countries. The former conſiſt of iron and other rough or worked metals, (which are exported moſtly into France and Holland) of wine, linen, and other inſignificant articles. The latter, on the contrary, are made up of all kinds of ſpices, female ornaments, handkerchiefs, ſilks, and in ſhort, all the expenſive articles of luxury furniſhed by Italy, France, and Holland. In a word, Francfort is the great canal by which the gold of the empire runs out. The loſs which this place brings on the countries about the upper parts of the Rhine, Danube, and Maine, may be judged of by the value of the louis-d'ors. As all the payment of this place to France and Holland, muſt be made in this coin, they are commonly worth twelve creutzer more here than in the other parts of Germany, the country about the Lower Rhine only excepted, which drives the ſame kind of unpatriotic trade. The older people of this place, as well as in Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, remember the times, when, after the operations of Lewis XIV. our louis and crown pieces were the coin the moſt commonly to be met

* 10,000l.

with

with in the country. But now they are very ſeldom found in the ordinary courſe of trade. Very few of them were recoined, as the mint cannot cope with the high agio given by the merchants in the courſe of exchange. They are, however, ſent in heaps to Holland, and twenty creutzer for every louis-d'or is paid above the market price.

There are ſome woollen, carpet, and cotton manufactures here, and in the country round. Theſe belong in part to the merchants of the place, but are moſt of them only rented by them, and a great part of the woollen manufactures of Hanau, are ſold by third hands here. Upon the whole, the entire trade of this place is a mere Jewiſh buſineſs, which employs very few hands profitably, and is in a great meaſure ſupported by the internal conſumption. The greateſt merchants of this place are not aſhamed of being brokers; and a great number of traders, with revenues of from forty to fifty or ſixty thouſand guilders, do only commiſſion buſineſs; whereas, if they had more activity, and the true ſpirit of induſtry, they might make uſe of their money to more advantage in manufactures.

The ſituation of the place ſecures it the perpetual enjoyment of the advantages which have made it ſo rich. It lies in the midſt of the beſt part of Germany, in a country, the natural wealth of which is favourable to luxury, and which is broken into ſo many ſmall ſtates, that there is no cauſe to fear the prohibition of foreign wares. It has not, like Dantzick, which carries on the ſame kind of trade, but is now nearly ruined by Pruſſia and Poland, powerful and enlightened neighbours to cope with, who are attentive to loſe no advantages that may be procured to their own ſubjects.

Francfort contains thirty-four thouſand inhabitants, including the ſtrangers conſtantly reſident. Thoſe who come for the fair are generally eſtimated at ſome thouſands. Amongſt theſe, there were at laſt ſpring fair fifty princes. As the way to the principal high roads of Germany lies through this place, all the perſons of conſequence who go to the baths and watering places, commonly take Francfort in their way to them. This occaſions a concourſe of good company; and the apparatus of the fair, together with the liberty of living which prevails at theſe times, form together an intereſting ſpectacle. The German nobility come here from many cauſes, ſuch as payments and ſales of many kinds to make, the neighbourhood of powerful courts, and various other reaſons.

The government, which was formerly very rigid, has now ſomewhat relaxed, and endeavours to make the ſtay of ſtrangers as agreeable to them as can be. During the fair, there are play-houſes, concerts, a Vaux-hall, fine walks, public dancing-booths, and women of the town in abundance. A village in this neighbourhood called Bornheim, is famous all over Germany for its brothels.

Excepting at the time of the fair, ſtrangers, who are generally here in great numbers, are but ill treated. As Francfort is one of the few imperial cities who have freed themſelves from the tyranny of the exciſe ſyſtem, the magiſtrates, who have loſt conſiderably by loſing it, endeavour to make themſelves amends by making ſtrangers feel the weight of their privileges. For inſtance, the innkeepers will not allow a ſtranger to take up his quarters at a private houſe, even though he eats at his inn. The little jealouſy incident to ſmaller ſtates, but which you would not expect to meet with in a city ſo conſpicuous as this is for its *ton*, ſometimes alſo plays ſtrangers ſcurvy tricks. A few years ſince, two miſtreſſes of a German prince, with large revenues, ſettled here, and ſpent large ſums of money. After a time they were baniſhed the city by the magiſtrates, under pretence that they led diſſipated and idle lives; but the true reaſon was, that the ladies of the place, who could not afford to ſpend as much money as they did, grew jealous of them.

The ever increaſing luxury of the Germans, particularly of thoſe who inhabit the countries round this place, the habit the German *nobleſſe* are under of coming hither to make a figure, the increaſing care of the magiſtrate to procure ſtrangers every kind of pleaſure, the admirable roads which lead hither from every part of Germany, and the excellent inns, are the reaſons why this fair is of late years more and more frequented. It is now viſited by French and Engliſh, who meet here with every article of luxury they can deſire.

In general the inhabitants of this place are rather ſtiff in their carriage. There is, however, ſome excellent company to be met with amongſt them. Amongſt the patricians there are ſeveral very reſpectable perſons of good nobility who have no ſhare in the magiſtracy.

Francfort has ever ſupplied, and ſtill continues to ſupply Germany with ſome of its firſt-rate literati; and you meet here with well-informed men in every branch of the arts and ſciences. The only thing which ſtands in the way of liberty of thought, and refinement of manners, and alſo affects trade and induſtry conſiderably, is the inquiſitorial ſtate of the Lutheran clergy, who are here the principal church. The reformed, who, in proportion of their numbers, are without a doubt the richeſt part of the inhabitants, have not yet been able, with all their pains, to obtain the liberty of worſhipping God publicly; though the Catholics, whoſe religion differs much more than theirs, from that of the eſtabliſhed church, have more chapels than any other ſect, and the Jews have a public and very conſiderable ſynagogue.

The number of Jews ſettled here is about ſix thouſand. There are ſome who are worth a million, and vie with the Chriſtians in every articles of expence. Their induſtry is not to be conceived. They are pimps, language-maſters, fencing-maſters, dancing-maſters, writing and arithmetic maſters, and their daughters are at the ſervice of the uncircumciſed. Thoſe who go into their ſtreets, are in danger of being preſſed to death by them. They fall upon ſtrangers by dozens, and compel them to buy their wares. It is very difficult for a man to diſentangle himſelf from them without the help of a good ſtick; and they call to ſtrangers from the diſtance of three or four hundred paces. The houſes of their well-encompaſſed ſtreets are filled to the very roofs with inhabitants. In ſeven of them, which hardly occupied a ſpace of fifty yards, and were burned down ſome years ſince, there were twelve hundred perſons. On the other hand, there is often only one family in the houſes belonging to the rich. This is the ſign of an incredible affluence, for houſe-rent is dearer in theſe ſtreets, than in any part of London, Paris, or any other great city. There is a law which forbids the Jews to live any where out of their ſtreets; but the magiſtrate winks at the breaking of it, and only renews it from time to time to extort money from thoſe who chooſe to live elſewhere.

The celebrated colleges here are a wonderful inſtitution. Theſe conſiſt of aſſociations of people of the ſame rank, who aſſemble on a certain day. There are colleges of nobility, of artiſts of all kinds, of bookſellers, of doctors of law and phyſic; and, in ſhort, of all orders. It is not difficult for a ſtranger to be introduced to theſe, and the advantage he derives by it, of being acquainted in an hour with the moſt reputable people of his own rank, is incredible.

The government of this city is of a mixed kind, and very intricate. The conteſt between the ariſtocracy and democracy is warmer here than in any other city in Germany. Hardly a year paſſes but the burghers begin a new law-ſuit with the council, or the council with the burghers. The conſequence is, that as law-ſuits carried before the imperial court are of very long duration, the law-ſuits of the city of Francfort againſt itſelf, already amount to ſome dozens. I have it from good authority, that the ſtate

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has laid out 30,000 rix-dollars, in the laſt twenty years, annually, in expences for law-ſuits carried on betwixt its own citizens. And as the ſpirit of pettyfogging and litigiouſneſs is no where higher than it is here, Francfort is likewiſe engaged in perpetual diſputes with the Princes, Dukes, and Marquiſſes round it, much to the advantage of the lawyers of Vienna and Weſlar. The coſts of theſe, during the above-mentioned period, have amounted to 20,000 rix-dollars annually; ſo that when we come to caſt up ſtate expences, we may lay this ſingle article at 50,000 rix-dollars. The annual revenue of the ſtate is about 600,000 guilders, or 30,000l., which are moſtly raiſed from the exciſe and cuſtoms. The contributions of the burghers, which are a kind of tax, are very numerous. They are laid on according to the true principles of a commercial commonwealth. They are divided into two portions, viz. the large tax of 50 guilders, and the ſmaller, of 25 guilders per annum. Every burgher has the liberty of paying to the large or ſmall fund, and conſequently taxes himſelf. If I miſtake not, an income of 30,000 guilders ſubjects a man to pay the higher tax; but the magiſtracy of this place has not, like thoſe of Nurenberg, the right, ſo contrary to the true ſpirit of trade, of taking an inventory of the circumſtances of a merchant. This leaves the merchants at liberty to value their eſtates over or under the line of limitation; and it is evidently the intereſt of every merchant to paſs for a man of an eſtate of more than 30,000 guilders, and contribute to the large tax.—The claſs of inhabitants to which all the reformed, and likewiſe a large part of the Catholics belong, have greater taxes to pay. The latter may, by favour of the magiſtracy, arrive at the rights of burgeſſes, but not take part in the government. The former are entirely excluded from the power of becoming burgeſſes.

LETTER LXII.

Mentz.

THE country between this place and Francfort, particularly that in the neighbourhood of Mentz, is one of the richeſt I have hitherto ſeen, and the road is the beſt and handſomeſt I have met with in Germany. Till within three miles of Francfort, it is in a ſtraight line, raiſed, paved, and guarded on both ſides with high ſtones, which ſecure the foot-paſſengers from waggons and horſes. The only defect in this road is, that it is too narrow in the middle for two waggons to paſs. All the roads through the domain of the city of Francfort are built in the ſame magnificent ſtyle, ſo that it is eſtimated that every three miles has coſt the city above 60,000 guilders, or 6000l. The *chauſſée* in the one-and-twenty miles belonging to Mentz, is not raiſed in ſo expenſive a ſtyle as that of Francfort, but it is broader; it is planted with trees on both ſides all the way, and very well kept. Here and there you meet with noble alleys of walnut and other fruit-trees, the villages at the end of which exhibit beautiful perſpectives. There is hardly a road in Germany more frequented than this; the place of poſt-maſter of Haterſheim, a place midway between the two cities, is the beſt of any of the territories of the imperial free cities. In the territory of Mentz, each horſe pays two-pence *chauſſée* money at every poſt, and each of the three poſts bring in 6000 guilders. At leaſt ſeventy-two thouſand horſes paſs this road every year, beſides a great number of horſes belonging to private perſons, not taken into the account. There likewiſe go every day between the two cities two large veſſels, which are conſtantly filled with men and merchandize. I met with waggons on this road, which, at a diſtance, looked like large houſes. They were drawn by ſixteen or eighteen horſes, and, as the waggoners aſſured

me, carried loads of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty hundred weight. They generally go from Francfort to Straſburg.

We came through the pretty little city of Hochſt, which is ſituated very pleaſantly and wholeſomely, on an elevation ſix miles from Francfort. I ſhould not have made mention of this place, but to ſet right a miſtake into which Mr. Moore has fallen; in doing which I ſhall have occaſion to lay before you a very remarkable inſtance of the political miſmanagement of two different governments.

Near this little town you ſee a magnificent country-houſe, the architecture of which is not very good. The builder is an Italian of the name of Bolongaro, who, without a penny of original fortune, has found means to acquire, entirely by his own induſtry, a capital of from a million to a million and a half of guilders. He made his fortune entirely by the ſnuff which bears his name, which is ſtill extremely liked throughout all Germany. This man was ranked in the claſs of inhabitants; I do not know exactly whether he was deſirous to leave the city, or whether the government of Francfort had occaſion to tax him afreſh as an out-burgher; be that as it may, he was called upon to lay an account of his circumſtances before the regency. He offered an immenſe ſum of money if they would take his word for the ſum total, without deſcending into particulars; but nothing would ſatisfy them but an inventory, which they inſiſted on with all the obſtinacy and harſhneſs of a ſmall ſtate. It ſo happens that there is a compact ſubſiſting between the ſtates of Mentz and Francfort, by which the burgeſſes of the one are allowed to migrate to the other, without let or moleſtation. Bolongaro determined to ſeize the opportunity to revenge himſelf of a government who had treated him ſo ill. He accordingly built at Hochſt, and became a ſubject of Mentz, which ſaved him from the neceſſity of laying an inventory of his eſtate before the magiſtracy of Francfort, and enabled him to go there as often as he pleaſed, without leaving a creutzer * behind him. Mr. Moore ſays that the immenſe palace which he has built at Hochſt, ſtands quite empty; but we ſhall eaſily conceive how much buſineſs is carried on there, if we conſider that Mr. Bolongaro now pays at leaſt 8000 guilders leſs to the cuſtoms at Francfort than he did before, when his whole buſineſs was done in that city. He has alſo contrived that great part of the conſignments ſent from Bremen, Hamburgh, and the ſeveral parts of Heſſia and Hanover into Suabia, Alſatia, and Switzerland, ſhould go through Hochſt inſtead of going through Francfort as they did before. The legiſlature of Mentz has much facilitated this by building him a crane on the Maine, before his palace.

Mr. Bolongaro has carried his revenge ſtill farther. He took Mr. Beggiora, one of the acuteſt and moſt intelligent of his countrymen, out of one of the beſt houſes of Francfort, and entered into partnerſhip with him for eſtabliſhing a commerce in drugs, the moſt capital branch of trade in Francfort, at Hochſt. The bare firm of Mr. Bolongaro was of unſpeakable ſervice to this trade, and ſoon repaid him, with intereſt, the ſums he had advanced; but beſides this, the partner enjoyed the exemption of cuſtoms which Bolongaro had obtained from the regency of Mentz, for twenty years. The conſequence was, that this new branch of trade was opened to ſo much advantage, as ſoon to put 160,000 guilders, or 16,000l. into Mr. Bolongaro's pocket. All this ſhews that the regency of Francfort committed a great offence againſt the proſperity of the country, by the perſecution of Mr. Bolongaro; and that Mr. Moore, who doubtleſs ſaw Bolongaro's building in company with the Francfortians, and through their eyes, would not have found it ſo empty if he had ſeen it with his own.

* A farthing.

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The regency of Mentz were not, however, guilty of a leſs fault in their adoption of Mr. Bolongaro, than that of Francfort in their perſecution of him. The poſſeſſors of millions are not always beneficial inhabitants to a ſmall ſtate; on the contrary, a couple of dozen of weavers' looms, which ſupport an induſtrious man in a creditable manner, are at all times of more value than ever ſo many palaces of this Bolongaro kind. The court of Mentz has paid very dearly for the honour of having this rich man for its ſubject, by entering into contracts very advantageous to him, but much otherwiſe to the ſtate. Mr. Bolongaro engaged to ſpend a certain ſum, I believe 20,000 guilders *, every year, during twenty years, in building at Hochſt. For this the government of Mentz granted him an exemption of all cuſtoms for twenty years, an illimited freedom of trade, as much ſtone as he choſe to take from the ruins of an old caſtle, and four horſes free from taxes for his own uſe. The exemption of cuſtoms alone, and the liberty to leave Francfort, are more than an equivalent for the promiſed buildings of twenty years; but even theſe laſt he has contrived to turn entirely to his own advantage. He had made the regency of Mentz believe, in his boaſting and magnificent manner, that in the courſe of the twenty years, he would build them a ſuperb new town, which he propoſed to call Emmerickſtadt, in honour of the dead elector; but all he did was to build ſome houſes adjoining to his palace, which no doubt Mr. Moore took for the wings of it. It is certain that Mr. Bolongaro ſcarce expended half the yearly ſum he had covenanted to do; and that for many years the whole town of Emmerickſtadt, from whence he dated his letters to all the world, was occupied by his own compting-houſe only.

Still, however, might the regency of Mentz have been excuſable for laying out ſo much in the acquiſition of this rich citizen, had ſome part of his money at leaſt been devoted to the employment of uſeful hands, or ſome part of his ſubſtance ſpent for the benefit of the ſtate; but excepting a few plaiſterers and carpenters, no ſubject of Mentz has ſeen a penny of Mr. Bolongaro's money. Almoſt all his tobacco is prepared out of the country, and even the greateſt part of it exported from Francfort, where his principal warehouſes and magazines ſtill are. He only removed that part of his trade to Hochſt, which he could not carry on ſo well at Francfort, and availed himſelf of the privileges of a citizen of Mentz, to hurt the former city, without being of the leaſt uſe to the latter: nay, it is ſtill free for him or his heirs to leave Hocſt whenever they pleaſe, and make it up with Francfort. In the mean time he has built himſelf a palace for the ſummer in the cheapeſt manner, and ſurrounded it with common houſes, the rents of which will richly pay him for the ſums he has laid out upon them.

This, however, was only a political error in the regency of Mentz; but the univerſal liberty of trade granted to Mr. Bolongaro is an unpardonable offence, both againſt morals and politics. This man, who originally was lower than the dirt in the ſtreets, became a miracle of popular inſolence. There are examples of his niggardlineſs, which almoſt ſurpaſs all conception, and they are the more ſtrong from being a ſingular contraſt to the brutal and offenſive magnificence that is peculiar to him. The pride of doing miſchief, has led him to make his fellow-citizens feel the weight of his money in every tranſaction by which a penny is to be got. There were eight or nine retail merchants in the little town of Hoehſt, who contrived to live honourably, and carry on a ſmall trade. Mr. Bolongaro could not reſt contented with the great advantage his own commerce enjoyed from the excluſive privilege given him, but he muſt make uſe of it, if not to the total ruin, to the manifeſt oppreſſion of theſe poor people. He therefore opened a druggiſt's ſhop for the ſale of his goods in the retail way. The regency of

* 2000l.

Mentz,

Mentz, though acting upon much better principles than any other of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates of Germany, had ſtill not ſenſe enough to ſee that eight middling and decent trades-people are a greater acquiſition to a country than one very rich one, even when the capital of the latter is a thouſand times greater than that of the former.

Mr. Bolongaro's abject ſpirit carried him ſtill farther. He wanted a monopoly of all the moſt important articles of commerce, and to obtain it, offered the regency a large ſum; but this the preſent prince would not accept.

To fill up the meaſure of his crimes, Bolongaro brought a complaint againſt the fiſhermen of the place, for having hurt ſome tree or ſtatue in his garden, and inſiſted on their being deprived of the privilege of fiſhing in the river Nid, which runs under the wall of his garden into the Maine. This too the regency was weak and wicked enough to grant: thus robbing of their bread a number of poor families, in order to ſerve a wretch, whoſe character I cannot better ſum up, than by telling you he gave an old friend, who had met with misfortunes, and was come a great way in hopes of receiving aſſiſtance from this proſperous countryman of his, a ſingle *four ſous piece* *, and that the worſt he could pick out of his purſe.

I ſhould not have detained you thus long with this trifling incident, but to ſhew how fondly the ſmall ſtates of Germany purchaſe the power of doing each other harm; for there is no doubt but the deſire of hurting Francfort was the true cauſe that led the regency of Mentz to give this ridiculous protection.

I viſited the china manufacture at Hochſt; it is not hitherto in very brilliant circumſtances; it is divided into ſhares, the poſſeſſors of which are not men calculated to do what is beſt for the whole; they are, however, hard at work upon plans to improve it. Amongſt other people engaged in them, I viſited Mr. Melchior, who is certainly one of the greateſt ſtatuaries now exiſting, and has an unſpeakable love for his art. There are but few great works of his, though what he has done in this way is inimitable; but he is without a rival in ſmall models, and it is to his labours that this porcelane manufactory owes its celebrity.

The villages and farms which we met with on the way to Francfort hither, would paſs for towns in Bavaria, or the north of Germany. They all beſpeak a high ſtate of opulence in the inhabitants. The beggars one occaſionally ſees, are a conſequence of the way of thinking of the German catholics, and the opinions of their governors, which I mentioned in ſpeaking of Wurtzburg. A peaſant is in general extremely happy throughout the whole country. He is almoſt every where a freeman, and oppreſſed with no hard taxes. A little more care to provide employments for the hands that could be ſpared from agriculture, with a little more attention to education, in order to inſpire the people with a greater diſguſt to begging, would make this government almoſt perfect. In the neighbouring country of Darmſtadt, which I likewiſe viſited from Francfort, the peaſant is by no means ſo rich as the inhabitant of the territory of Mentz, for nature has not been ſo liberal to him, and he is loaded with more taxes; but he is cleaner and more active; nor will you ſee ſo many beggars in the ſtreets of Darmſtadt.

Till within ſix miles of Mentz, the inhabitants live chiefly on their agriculture. The earth yields uncommon returns, and the corn of this country is imported far and wide on the Rhine. There are alſo large quantities of fruits and greens of all kinds; excellent aſparagus and cabbage are the food of the moſt common people: nor is there a place in Germany where the people are ſo fond of them, or have a greater ſupply of proviſions of this kind. Great ſhip-loads of their cabbages, as well raw as pickled, are

* Two-pence.

carried down the Lower Rhine, as far as Holland. The little city of Croneburg, ſituated on an eminence ſix miles off the main road, drives a trade with Holland to the amount of 8000 guilders a year for apples, cyder, and cheſnuts, of which laſt it has large groves. All the villages of the country lie in orchards of trees, and command large fields of corn below. Theſe numerous orchards make the country look a little poor, though it is as well cultivated as any other part of Germany. In the ſtrip of land which lies betwixt Francfort, Mentz, and the neareſt hills to the north of Mentz, containing a ſpace of about twelve miles long, and ſix broad, they reckon eight little cities, five large market towns, and about eighty villages, few of which contain leſs than ſixty families.

At Wickeard, a place which is ſix miles from Mentz, the nature of the country intirely changes; an arm of the large mountain called Wetteraw, extends itſelf here to the banks of the Maine, and forms a couple of large hills, on the one of which, Wickeard, and on the other, Hocheim is ſituated. The ſouthern and weſtern ſides of the former produce an excellent wine. The eaſtern ſide of the ſecond yields admirable corn; and the parts of it expoſed to the ſouth and weſt, afford the moſt delicious wine, without compariſon, of all Germany. The little village of Hocheim, from whence the Engliſh give all kinds of Rheniſh wine the name of Hock, contains about three hundred families. A prettier village I have not ſeen. It belongs to the chapter of Mentz, the Dean of which enjoys the revenue of it; in a good year he makes from 12 to 15,000 guilders of his wine. He and the Auguſtines of Mentz and Francfort, have the excluſive enjoyment of the beſt Hocheimer wine, of which, in good years, a piece, conſiſting of one hundred meaſures, ſells for from 900 to 1000 guilders from the preſs. This is certainly one of the deareſt wines in the world. Having a deſire to taſte it on the ſpot, we were obliged to pay a rix dollar; it was, however, of the beſt vintage in this century, to wit, that of 1766. Nor ſhould we have had it, but for an advocate of Mentz, to whom the hoſteſs meant to ſhew favour. This was the firſt German wine I had met with which was intirely without any ſour taſte: it was quite a perfume to the tongue; whereas the other wine of Hocheim, let it be as good as it may, is not quite clear of vinegar; though for this alſo, if it has any age, you are forced to pay a guilder and a half. The whole way from Hocheim to Mentz, was the moſt beautiful of the whole journey during three miles. It lay along the ſlope of the hill, covered with vineyards, which are ſhaded from the road by beautiful fruit-trees. This deſcent commands a beautiful proſpect, over a ſmall, but uncommonly rich country, terminated by the conflux of the Rhine and Maine. The fine wine does not grow on this ſide of the hill, but on the other. From hence you deſcend into a vale, watered by a little rivulet, where corn-fields, meadows, and orchards, form the prettieſt proſpect imaginable. At the left, through an orchard of fruit-trees, you ſee the beautiful village of Koſtheim. The way then winds through the orchards and vineyards of the large village of Caſſel, which appears directly oppoſite to Mentz, at the end of a fine alley leading to the banks of the Rhine.

As ſoon as you arrive at the bridge of boats acroſs the Rhine, you are ſtruck with one of the moſt magnificent ſpectacles that it is poſſible for human imagination to conceive. The proud ſtream which has now ſwallowed up the Maine, and is fourteen hundred feet broad, comes out of a plain which extends as far as the horizon; but at Mentz large hills come athwart its courſe, and compel it, after forming ſome iſlands, to change the northern direction, which it has kept from Switzerland hither, for a weſtern one. It is theſe hills, on the ſlopes of which you behold ſeveral habitations, which form that celebrated amphitheatre called the Rhinegau, the throne of the German Bacchus. The Rhine ſtill keeps the beautiful green ſo much admired in Switzerland; and even at ſome

diſtance

diſtance below this city, the difference of its waters and thoſe of the muddy Maine, is eaſily to be diſcerned. Directly before your eyes you have the city of Mentz, which preſents itſelf with a majeſty not to be deſcribed. The numberleſs boats which deck its banks, as well as the numerous and magnificent towers of its churches, are reflected by the clear ſtream. The length of the city towards the Rhine, including the fortifications, is at leaſt a mile and a half. Amidſt the large and ſomething dark maſs of old buildings, you ſee now and then a few new ones ſtrike out, which form a pleaſing contraſt. Both the houſes towards the Rhine, and thoſe at the two ends of the city, are here and there ornamented with a rich green. In a word, the ſituation of Dreſden, magnificent as it is, is hardly to be compared with that of Mentz.

When you come into the city the beauty of the proſpect is much changed. The ſtreets are dark, narrow, and not very clean.—But before I ſay any thing more of Mentz, I muſt give you an account of ſome excurſions I made from Francfort into the neighbouring cities.

I took a ride to Darmſtadt, which is a ſmall but lovely place. At Francfort they had deſcribed the people to me as ſtiff, but I found the circle in which I lived, and which conſiſted of ſome counſellers and officers, uncommonly affable, genteel, and eaſy. Indeed were it in my power, I wiſh for no better company to make me reliſh life than that I met with at Darmſtadt; nor do I know a place where I ſhould pitch my tent ſo willingly, if it depended upon myſelf to fix the place of my abode. You are in the midſt of ſeveral large cities, not far diſtant from each other. The company is ſuch as you can only meet with in large cities. The air is good; the proviſions cheap; and you have it always in your power to unite the city and country life. Add to this, that the popularity of the court, the delicate Engliſh garden open to every body, the magnificent parade, the number of agreeable women, and the hunting parties, which are to be made at no great expence, render it a moſt deſirable habitation.

The talents of the reigning prince are altogether of the military kind. He reſides little at Darmſtadt; but the hereditary prince, who is conſtantly there, is one of the moſt agreeable and beſt men in the world. He knows nothing of the hauteur which encompaſſes ſo many other German princes, and baniſhes ſtrangers from them. The income of this court is eſtimated to amount to 1,150,000 Rheniſh guilders, or about 115,000 pounds; a great part, however, of this, is appropriated to the payment of the principal or intereſt of old debts.—This is the ſituation of all the German courts.

This part of the territory of Darmſtadt, which lies betwixt the Rhine, the Maine, the Bergſtraſſe, and the Odenwald, is the moſt conſiderable of them in extent, but by no means the beſt; it is made up chiefly of ſandy plains and thick foreſts, the beſt part of which is the Black Wood. Some diſtricts on the Bergſtraſſe and the Odenwald are uncommonly fruitful; but in general the poſſeſſions of this houſe, which lay in the Wetterau, are much richer than this part of the marquiſate of Caſſeneln-Bogen. Notwithſtanding this, there is a great degree of opulence amongſt the peaſants; their induſtry, and the activity and wiſdom of the government, making up for what nature has refuſed them. The villages in this country have an uncommonly neat and gay aſpect. The corn afforded by theſe ſandy plains, the quantity of wood, and the large quantity of garden ſtuff, together with the other produce of their agriculture, bring conſiderable ſums to the country. The little hamlet of Gerau ſells from 4 to 5000 guilders-worth of cabbage, which is looked upon as the beſt in this country, every year. The aſparagus of Darmſtadt are famous all over Germany for their beauty and ſize: at ſeveral places they likewiſe make a wine, which is very tolerable.

The peaſants of this country are a very ſtrong and handſome race of men, well boned and well ſinewed. Better or more active troops than the three Darmſtadt regiments of infantry, are not to be ſeen in Germany; the Pruſſian troops themſelves not excepted. They conſiſt of about ſix thouſand men. The regiment of them quartered at Pirmaſentz is viſited and admired by our officers from Stratzburg, Landau, Fort Lewis, and other places. It is indeed a pattern of diſcipline, œconomy, and good behaviour. The wonderful military talents of the Prince of Darmſtadt give the greateſt expectations of the regiment called formerly the Royal Baviere, which he commanded in our army. The prince is commonly much blamed for his military turn; but his troops are really no detriment to the country; it is incredible how little they coſt; and as they have frequent furloughs granted, agriculture ſuffers nothing from them: they are, in fact, only a well-diſciplined and well-regulated militia. Nor is the military education without its advantages in other reſpects; one immediately ſees, upon looking at theſe peaſants, that they have ſeen ſervice; for the natural conſequences of it, a peculiar degree of order, cleanlineſs, and activity, diſtinguiſh them from their neighbours. Nor are theſe troops commodities for the market, like thoſe of many other German princes. The Engliſh dealer, General Fawcet, offered a much higher price for them than what he gave the Landgrave of Heſſe; but he met with a flat denial, though his money would have been of great ſervice for the payment of old debts.

In my way from Aſchaffenburg to Francfort, I came through Hanau. The country belonging to the prince of that name produces a great deal of corn, wood, wine, and ſalt, which may bring in about 50,000 Rheniſh guilders, or about 5000 pounds yearly. Hanau is a very pretty and well-peopled city, in which there are ſeveral manufactures, particularly of woollen ſtuffs. The reigning prince is the moſt amiable man I have yet met with amongſt the German potentates. Every ſtranger who has either rank, merit, or knowledge, to diſtinguiſh him, is ſecure of a good reception at his court. I am acquainted with no perſon of that high rank, who lets a ſtranger feel his elevation ſo little as this ſovereign does. He can ſo thoroughly diveſt himſelf of his ſtation, that I know few perſons who equal him either in the choice or enjoyment of the pleaſures of ſociety. His brother is as amiable as himſelf: they are both zealous free-maſons. He is blamed, as well as the Prince of Darmſtadt, on account of the number of his troops; but as he is heir of Caſſel, the government of which is intirely military, this reproach is of little conſequence.

Francfort commands a moſt beautiful country on all ſides. The villages and hamlets of this country would paſs for towns in other places. In all Bavaria there is not a city, excepting Munich only, which can vie with the hamlet of Hofenbach, three miles diſtant from Francfort, either in beauty, population, or riches.

I made an excurſion, with a gentleman of Francfort, to *Homberg von der Hohe*, the reſidence of a prince of the Houſe of Heſſe, who takes his name from this little town. The territory of this prince conſiſts only of a few ſmall villages, in one of which there is a very rich colony of Huguenots. The proper name of this is Frederickſdorf, but in the whole country they call it Walſchdorf. This ariſes from our being called Welches in this country; a name which in Bavaria and Auſtria is commonly given to the Italians. There are good manufactures here, particularly of various woollen ſtuffs. The court is like the city, exceedingly ſmall; but ſtrangers are made very welcome. The Princeſs, who is a ſiſter to the late Grand Ducheſs of Ruſſia, the Ducheſs of Weimar, and the Margravine of Baden, is one of the moſt reſpectable women I have ever ſeen. The education of theſe four princeſſes does the utmoſt honour to all Germany, as well as to their reſpectable mother, whoſe magnificent grave,

in the park of Darmſtadt, is a laſting memorial of her uncorrupt taſte and noble way of thinking. The Prince of Homberg is alſo a well educated man; ſo that this court, ſmall as it is, was one of thoſe I admired moſt in all Germany. The whole of its income does not amount to more than 100,000 rix dollars, or 10,000l.

The country betwixt Francfort, Homberg, Cronberg, and Rodelheim, is thick ſet with villages and hamlets, which form the prettieſt inland picture imaginable. You ſeldom meet with a pleaſanter landſcape than from the view at Oberurſel, a large hamlet in the territory of Mentz, which lies between Cronberg and Homberg. The noiſe of ſome iron and copper hammers has an exceeding good effect.

We met with an adventure in this country, which I ſhall all my life long recollect with the greateſt pleaſure. Behind Cronberg the mountain called *Altkoniger*, or the old king, raiſes its bare head high above the ridge of hills, which protect the fine plain along the ſide of the Maine, between Francfort and Mentz, from the rude north wind. They tell many ſtrange ſtories of this hills, and of an old ruinous caſtle which ſtands on it. We aſcended him with ſome difficulty, but at the top met with a ſpectacle which will never go out of my remembrance. Directly to the ſouth you overlook a plain thirty-three miles broad, which is terminated by the ſummits of the *Odenwalde* and the *Speſſart*. Here you may diſcern all the villages, hamlets, and towns, which lie between Francfort and the Maine; together with a great part of the country of Darmſtadt. The eaſtern view is cloſed by the Speſſart, which is fifty-one miles diſtant. The whole country of Aſchaffenburg, along the Maine, along the Necker, and as far as the Donnerſberg in the Upper Palatinate, lay like a map under our feet. Theſe extenſive proſpects are common enough in many countries, but you ſeldom find them ſo thickly ſprinkled with the ſmiling habitations of men. Behind you to the northward, and on both ſides to the weſt and north-eaſt, you overlook partly barren, or well wooded mountains, and partly the moſt agreeable mixture of ſoft hills and plains that can be conceived. Directly againſt the weſt the row of mountains form the fineſt amphitheatre that can be conceived. The fineſt ſight, however, was that which we ſaw the next morning. There is a ſpot on this mountain very favourable for ſeeing the riſing ſun. In order to enjoy this ſpectacle we had provided ourſelves with peliſſes, to guard againſt the cold, but were obliged to make a fire of wood in the night, though after one of the warmeſt days in Auguſt. The riſe of the morning, however, fully overpaid us for the toils of the night. Never did I feel my own exiſtence, or that of the Being which animates all nature, more fully than at the inſtant in which the firſt ray of the morn gilded the tops of the *Speſſart* and *Odenwalde*; both which at a diſtance appeared to be iſlands of fire. As far as this hill all was thick darkneſs; but this eaſtern view appeared like an illuminated iſland ſwimming on the black ocean of night. The morning ſpreading wider and wider ſhewed us the moſt beautiful landſcape in miniature that we had ever ſeen. We beheld villages afar off in the ſhade, which one ray of the morning ſun broke through and diſpelled the darkneſs of. By degrees we ſaw the ſeparation of the hills, with their ſeveral breaks and windings. Every thing looked as it does when you ſee a fine and well-illumined landſcape through a perſpective-glaſs. A preſſure never before experienced took poſſeſſion of my breaſt on beholding this ſcene. But the firſt break of the ſun himſelf ſurpaſſed all the beauties of the day-break. The grandeur, variety, and magnificence of this appearance, is above all deſcription. The plain, ſeventy-five miles long, and forty-two miles broad, which lies betwixt the *Speſſart*, the *Donnerſberg*, the weſtern part of the *Odenwalde*, and our hills, was overſpread with large ſtreaks of light, which contraſted in the ſtrongeſt manner with the thickneſs of the ſhades. We beheld the top of the *Donnerſberg* gilded over, whilſt deep darkneſs brooded at his feet

and

and all over the Rhine beneath. We ourſelves were in light, but the plains and villages beneath us were in a kind of half darkneſs, only broken by the reflection of the light from our hills. The elevated parts of the immenſe plains, which lay before us, broke through the darkneſs with a cheerfulneſs, which brought them half as near again to us, and produced the moſt agreeable deception. Now a ſpire emerged from the gloom, then the ſummit of a hill covered with wood, then a whole village with its trees ſeemed to ſwim on the earth; here lay a corn-field in light, by which it ſeemed, if I may uſe the expreſſion, as it were, parted and raiſed up from the country round. The Maine, which hitherto had appeared like a dark ſtripe of the proſpect, began likewiſe to be illuminated with ſilver; and the Rhine was ſoon brought nearer to our eyes in the ſame manner. But I feel that I am attempting to deſcribe a ſcene above all deſcription; and, for the deſcribing of which I have no talents. In brief, I have often ſeen the ſun riſe, but never ſo magnificently as upon the *Alt-Konig*. It is indeed moſt likely that a man may go through many countries, without meeting with ſo favourable a ſpot as this is for ſuch an object.

LETTER LXIII.

Mentz.

TRAVELLERS, who do not care for the trouble of moving far from their head quarters, carry away no very favourable impreſſion of this town with them. The beſt part of it is that in which there are hardly any inns, or any thoroughfares. The inn of the Three Crowns, which is far the beſt in the place, and indeed an excellent one, is in the very worſt ſituation imaginable. From hence you may wander over the greateſt part of the town, without meeting with any thing but a heap of black houſes, many of which threaten to fall into the narrow ſtreets. It was owing to theſe cauſes that I had heard ſuch very different accounts of this town before I came into it; ſome deſcribing it as a ſink, and others as one of the beſt towns in Germany. A few days ago I met with a countryman of ours, an *aventurier*, who, finding his account in being here like ſeveral other gentlemen of his claſs, would have ſtood me out that it was the only handſome town in Germany. As the good gentleman had ſeen nothing but Cologne, Treves, and a part of Weſtphalia, the only anſwer that I could make him was, that Germany was very large.

The northern part of the city, in which the Archbiſhop reſides, is full of very regular buildings. Here are three regular ſtreets, called the *Blerchen*, which run parallel to each other from the banks of the Rhine to ſix hundred yards within the city, and are cut almoſt regularly by very pretty croſs ſtreets. The Archbiſhop's palace has a moſt commanding view of theſe ſtreets, the Rhine, and the Rhinegau. There are alſo ſome good buildings in the old part of the city. The market of beaſts is extremely well worth ſeeing; and you here and there meet with other agreeable ſpots. The market in the middle of the town, though not regular, is one of the prettieſt places I have met with in Germany.

The cathedral is well worthy notice. It is an immenſe large old Gothic building, the ſpire of which was ſtruck with lightening ſeventeen years ago, and intirely laid in aſhes. As it was made of a foreſt of wood, it burned fourteen hours before it was entirely conſumed. To prevent theſe accidents for the future, the Chapter had the preſent one built to the ſame height in ſtone; an undertaking which coſt them 40,000 guilders, or 4000l. It is a great pity that it is overloaded with ſmall ornaments, and a ſtill greater, that this wonderful edifice is ſo choaked up with ſhops and houſes, as to

be hardly more than half viſible. As, however, houſes and ſhops are very dear in this part of the town, one cannot be very angry with the chapter for chuſing rather to make the moſt of its ground, than to ſhew off the church to the beſt advantage. The rent of a ſhop and a ſingle room to live in is 150 guilders, or 15l. per annum in this part of the town.

You will hardly find another church in Germany of the height and length of this cathedral. The inſide of it is decorated with ſeveral magnificent monuments of princes and other great perſonages. Amongſt the reſt, I admired the monument of a prelate belonging to this cathedral, whoſe name was Dahlberg. It was made by the ſtatuary Melchior, whom I mentioned to you in my laſt letter. The prelate, as large as the life, is lying on a coffin, upon which there is a pyramid, which a Trinity is carrying into the clouds. The work is very fine, but it would have been much finer if the ſculptor had been ſuffered to follow his own ideas. There is likewiſe a fine piece of ſtatuary in the upper choir; it repreſents a count of Lamberg, who commanded the imperial troops, which drove our forces out of the territory of Mentz at the beginning of this century, and was killed by the ſide of an elector palatine, during the action, by a muſket ball—he is lifting up the top of his coffin with his right hand, and holds the commander's ſtaff with his left: this has an exceeding good effect. This church contains ſeveral other monuments well worth ſeeing. The Treaſury is very ſuperior to that of Dreſden, which has been ſo much ſpoken of.

Beſides the cathedral, the city of Mentz contains ſeveral other churches in the modern ſtyle, very well worth ſeeing. St. Peter's, and the Jeſuits church, though both too much loaded with ornament, are among this number. The church of the Auguſtines, of which the inhabitants of Mentz are ſo proud, is a maſter-piece of bad taſte; but that of Ignatius, though little is ſaid about it, would be a model of the antique, if here, likewiſe, there had not been too much ornament laviſhed. Upon the whole, the palaces of the nobleſſe want that noble ſimplicity, which alone conſtitutes true beauty and magnificence.

In another century the externals of the city will be quite changed. The late prince built a great deal, and the preſent has a taſte for the ſame ſort of expence. The monks and governors of hoſpitals alſo have been forced to rebuild their houſes; ſo that when a few more ſtreets are made broader and ſtraighter, the whole will have no bad appearance. The inhabitants, who, together with the garriſon, amount to thirty thouſand, are a good kind of people, who, like all the catholics of Germany, make great account of a good table. Their faces are intereſting, and they are not deficient either in wit or activity. In a few generations more their minds will be as cultivated as thoſe of their proteſtant brethren, as the government has diſtinguiſhed itſelf, for the ſixteen or eighteen years paſt, by excellent eſtabliſhments for education. As things now are, there is no catholic ſtate in Germany which contains ſo many deep thinking, and truly learned men as this does. Under the laſt government the liberty both of thinking and writing was carried almoſt as far as it could go: and though various conſiderations, ſuch as connections with the late Empreſs, apprehenſions of the prieſthood, family motives, and other cauſes, have made it ſomewhat leſs in the preſent times; ſtill however philoſophy makes its way. In the mean time conviction is not wanting, and the theory is as perfect as can be deſired. The Archbiſhop himſelf, like his brother the Biſhop of Wurtzburg, is a man whom the knowledge of men and things have raiſed to the poſſeſſion of many great places: they were his merits alone that engaged the Emperor to recommend him upon the vacancy of this ſee. You meet with very well-informend men amongſt his

counſellors.

counſellors and miniſters, one of whom is equal to the taſk of governing a much greater country than the electorate of Mentz.

It was probably out of reſpect for the imperial court, at which the Archbiſhop was ſome time miniſter of Mentz, that he introduced ſeveral innovations here not a little detrimental to the welfare of the ſtate. He is one of the great imitators of the Empreſs's eſtabliſhments for the preſervation of chaſtity. He has alſo eſtabliſhed it as a maxim in his conſiſtory, to compel the man who has ſeduced a woman to marry her, in order to prevent the bad conſequences of whoredom and fornication. Pity that the enlightened prelate does not ſee the bad conſequences which muſt ariſe from ſuch aſſociations. They ſhewed me young men here, who had become huſbands in this way. A loſs of all true love, fidelity, the unfruitfulneſs of the marriage bed, adultery, and the moſt ſcandalous corruptions of every kind, muſt enſue from ſuch regulations. Formerly the ſame laws were eſtabliſhed at Naples; but experience ſoon taught that wiſe legiſlature, that they were detrimental; and the whores were left to their fate. The Emperor has likewiſe repealed them at Vienna; nor will it be long before all the world is convinced that every phyſical interpoſition in matters of bare morality muſt be prejudicial. It is ſaid, indeed, that laws of this kind prevent the murder of baſtard children; but thoſe who argue thus do not conſider that the coolneſs they introduce between the married pairs, and the other diſorders they give riſe to, occaſion murders by the dozens. It is indeed too cruel to make the whole happineſs of a young man's life depend upon the ſeduction of an hour.

There are few cities in Germany, beſides Vienna, which contain ſo rich and numerous nobility as this does: there are ſome houſes here, which have eſtates of one hundred thouſand guilders, or ten thouſand pounds a year. The Counts of Baſſenheim, Schonborn, Stadion, Ingelheim, Elz, Oſtein, and Walderdorf, and the Lords of Dahlberg, Breitenbach, with ſome others, have incomes of from thirty to one hundred thouſand guilders. Sixteen or eighteen houſes have from fifteen to thirty thouſand guilders, annual revenue. The nobility of this place are ſome of the oldeſt and moſt untainted in Germany. The fat canonries, and the hopes of ſome time or other producing an elector, make them ſo careful to preſerve themſelves pure. How profitable it is for a family to ſee one of its branches on the archiepiſcopal throne, you may gather from hence. The late elector, who was not the beſt œconomiſt in the world, and had but little Nepotiſm about him, contrived to leave his family 900,000 guilders, of which, however, they have only the enjoyment, as it returns to the States after their death. His anceſtor, a Lord of Oſtein, left behind him four millions of Rheniſh guilders.

There are, amongſt the nobility of this place, many perſons of extraordinary merit, who join uncommon knowledge to all the duties of active life. Upon the whole, they are far ſuperior to the greater part of the German nobility. Their education, however, is ſtill too ſtiff. The firſt miniſter of the court was refuſed admittance into their aſſemblies, for not being ſufficiently noble; and they think they degrade themſelves by keeping company with bourgeois. They all ſpeak a miſerable French jargon, and are aſhamed of their mother-tongue; ſo that of courſe they know nothing of the literature of their own country, though extremely converſant in every triſle which comes from our preſſes. Their tables, dreſſes, and equipages, are all in the high Pariſian ton; but if the poor barons did but know what wretched figures they cut at Paris, and how poor an opinion is entertained of them there, notwithſtanding the compliments they are loaded with for the ſake of the louis-d'ors, they would wiſh the dreſſes and equipages, *a la Pariſienne*, at the Devil. Some few of them, indeed, as the Lord of Dahlberg, the Stadtholder of Erfurth, Baron Groſchlag, Baron van der Leyen, and a few more, have brought ſomething

thing home from Paris, beſides the patois of our fiſh-women, and the cut of our clothes; but the number of theſe improved men is too ſmall upon the whole not to make it adviſeable to prevent the preſent nobility from coming into our country, where, for the moſt part, they only expoſe their native land, and leave their healths and fortunes behind them. I am acquainted with ſome young men of faſhion, who, from being bred at home, are conſtant ſubjects of deriſion to the foreign educated nobility, by whom they are treated as cockneys; but they remain in poſſeſſion of their plump and red cheeks; and though they may not figure in a circle, or make a good bow, or ſtand upon one leg, they have good ſound underſtandings, and know how to have a proper regard for the peaſant and mechanic. The apparent contraſt betwixt theſe perſons and the barons is a ſtronger argument againſt the modern education, than any other I could make uſe of.

The clergy of this place are the richeſt in Germany. A canonry brings in 3,500 Rheniſh guilders in a moderate year. The canonry of the provoſt is, without compariſon, the richeſt in Germany: it brings him in 40,000 guilders a-year. Each of the deanries is worth 2,600 guilders. The income of the chapter all together amounts to 300,000 guilders. Though it is forbidden by the canons of the church for any one to have more than a ſingle prebend, there is not an eccleſiaſtic in this place but what has three or four; ſo that there is hardly a man amongſt them, who has not at leaſt 8000 guilders a-year. The laſt provoſt, a count of Elts, had prebends enough to procure him an income of 75,000 guilders. Excluſive of the cathedral, there are ſeveral other choirs, in which the canonries bring in from twelve to fifteen hundred guilders a-year. To give you an idea of the riches of the monaſteries of this place, I will only tell you, that at the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, their wine, which was reckoned to ſell extremely cheap, produced 120,000 rix dollars. A little while ago, the elector aboliſhed one Carthuſian convent, and two nunneries, in the holy cellars of which there was found wine for at leaſt 500,000 rix dollars.

Notwithſtanding this great wealth, there is not a more regular clergy in all Germany than that of this place. There is no dioceſe, in which the regulations made by the council of Trent have been more ſtrictly adhered to, than they have here; the archbiſhops having made a particular point of it, both at the time of the reformation, and ever ſince. One thing which greatly contributes to keep up diſcipline is the not ſuffering any prieſt to remain in the country, who has not fixed and ſtated duties, and a revenue annexed to them. Moſt of the irregularities in Bavaria, Auſtria, and other countries, ariſe from Abbes, who are obliged to ſubſiſt by their daily induſtry, and any maſſes which they can pick up. Theſe creatures are entirely unknown here. The theological tenets of this court are alſo much purer than thoſe of any other eccleſiaſtical prince in Germany. I was pleaſed to ſee the Bible in the hands of ſo many common people, eſpecially in the country. I was told that the reading of it was not forbidden in any part of the dioceſe, only perſons were enjoined not to read it through, without the advice of their confeſſors. For a long time ſuperſtition has been hunted through its utmoſt receſſes; and though it is not quite poſſible to get entirely clear of pilgrimages, and wonder-working images, you will meet with no prieſt bold enough to exorciſe, or to preach ſuch nonſenſe as we hear in the pulpits of other German churches. It is ſingular enough that Bellarmin's book on the Hierarchy was forbid by public proclamation, ſo long as eighten years ago. The late elector did a great deal towards cleanſing the Holy Sheepcote: but he fell under the herculean labour; which, however, the preſent elector purſues, though with ſomewhat a more moderate zeal. The former was terrible to the monks, but his attention to them rendered him a little too careleſs of the ſecular prieſts,

who

who under his adminiſtration rather paſſed the bounds of a decent liberty, and aſſumed too gallant an air. What think you, for inſtance, of a prieſt appealing in his public lectures to Voltaire on Toleration, and other ſuch books? or of ſuch authors as Bayle, and Helvetius, being common in the hands of ſtudents in logic? and this, which made it ſingularly ridiculous, at a time when the Jeſuits were ſtill diſputing with all their eagerneſs on the infallibility of the Pope, and the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary? The preſent elector extends his fatherly care to the regulars, as well as the ſeculars, and has brought them to a regularity, which does himſelf, as well as them, great honour.

It is impoſſible to give you an idea of the veneration in which the late prelate is deſervedly held. From the conviction that without a good education, all projects of improvement and alteration are only palliatives, which do not touch the main ſore; this archbiſhop gave 30,000 guilders a year out of his own privy purſe towards the erection of ſchools and other foundations for the education of youth. The preſent archbiſhop, who found the foundation of ſchools for the common people laid to his hands, continues to build upon it with ſome deviation from the old plan; but he directs his chief attention to the improvement of the education of the higher orders, and the extention of arts and ſciences. With this view he has given the ground, on which the three monaſteries which he has pulled down ſtood, to the Univerſity, which by this means has raiſed its heretofore rather ſmall income to 100,000 guilders. As this prelate is entirely free from any temptation to Nepotiſm, he has it in his power to do more for the muſes than any other German prince.

The anecdote related in Mr. Pilati's travels of a Swiſs officer, who could find no inns to receive his ſervants on account of their religion, does not accord with the ſpirit which at preſent, at leaſt, generally obtains here. I was in ſeveral inns, the maſters of which, when once they knew that I was a proteſtant, offered me meat of their own accord. It is probable that the officer had not made the grand tour of all the inns; for things are here much as they are in other places: in one ſtreet they read legends, and in another converſe with Locke and Newton. Whoever attempts to judge of Paris by the inhabitants of the Porcheron; or of Berlin, from thoſe who had well nigh raiſed a rebellion on account of a pſalm book; or of Hamburgh, from the carrot women, headed by Paſtor Goſſe; will be ſure to be miſtaken.

Though the trade of this place has been conſtantly on the increaſe for theſe eighteen or twenty years paſt, yet it is by no means what it ought to be, from the ſituation, and other advantages. The perſons here, who call themſelves merchants, and who make any conſiderable figure, are in fact only brokers, who procure their livelihood at the expence of the country or territory round, or who act for the merchants of Franckfort. You will judge of the wretched ſtate things are in, when I aſſure you, that 'tis difficult to procure a bill of exchange of 30,000 guilders. A few toy-ſhops, five or ſix druggiſts, and four or five manufacturers of tobacco, are all that can poſſibly be called traders. There is not a banker in the whole town; and yet this country enjoys the ſtaple privilege, and commands, by means of the Mayne, Necker, and Rhine, all the exports and imports of Alſatia, the Palatinate, Franconia, and a part of Suabia and Heſſe, as far as the Netherlands. The port too is conſtantly filled with ſhips, but few of them contain any merchandize belonging to the inhabitants of the place. Religious principles are the true cauſe of this evil. When the Huguenots were driven out of France, a great number of them were deſirous of ſettling here. They offered the Elector to build a city juſt above Mentz, (at the conflux of the Rhine and Mayne, between Caſſel and Coſtheim,) to fortify it at their own expence; to keep a conſtant garriſon there, and, beſides all this, to pay a large annual ſum to the ſtate, provided only they might be allowed

the freedom of their religion, and a participation of the rights of the citizens of Mentz. The archbiſhop of that time did not chuſe that hereſy ſhould build her neſt ſo near him; but the laſt has often been heard to expreſs a wiſh that a ſimilar offer were to be made to him; and the preſent would moſt joyfully comply with it. But ſuch opportunities are but ſeldom found; and the times in which it was cuſtomary to drive out Huguenots are gone by.

The pride and extravagance of the nobility are another hindrance to trade. They and the eccleſiaſtics are poſſeſſed of the largeſt capitals, which are entirely employed in the internal conſumption. Whilſt the merchant of Franckfort has a place amongſt the magiſtrates of his country; thoſe of this place meet only with the profoundeſt contempt from the gentry, who will not ſuffer them to aſſociate with them. Inſtead of catching as they do all the little airs of the London and Pariſian nobleſſe, they would do much better to learn of them the art of doubling their revenues by commercial induſtry.

I have already told you that the faces of the inhabitants of this city and the country round it are intereſting. The peaſants are beſides very ſtrongly built, and are diſtinguiſhable, by their ruddy freſh complexions, from the inhabitants of Bavaria, and the northern parts of Germany, who generally have very ſallow complexions; but I was not pleaſed with the ſet of the bones any where along the Mayne, or even in part of Heſſe. Thoſe of the inhabitants of this country are particularly diſpleaſing. The knees are all either bent in like a taylor's, or ſtand out ſtraight like a ſtick. You hardly ever meet with a clever well limbed perſon. This is owing to the ſenſeleſs and abſurd faſhion, which ſtill prevails here, of ſwaddling cloaths. I could not but be extremely angry with the mothers, who dreſſed up their children thus, like pieces of wood, and ſuffered them to lay in this unnatural poſture all day long. There cannot be a doubt but this conſtraint muſt have its effect on the ſoul, which in the firſt years is ſo cloſely united to the body. You muſt not expect to meet here with any of the Germans deſcribed by Tacitus: black and brown hair is much more common than white. The inhabitants of the neighbouring country of Darmſtadt more nearly reſemble the old inhabitants.

An attentive obſerver eaſily diſcovers by the external appearance of the inhabitants, what natives of Germany have had ſtrangers mixt amongſt them, and what countries have been entirely occupied by foreign colonies. No doubt but that the black and brown hair of the inhabitants of this place is derived from the Romans, who had a ſtation here.

LETTER LXIV.

Mentz.

AFTER the Pope, there is no doubt but the Archbiſhop of this place is the moſt conſiderable and richeſt prelate in the Chriſtian world. The ſee is indebted for its increaſe of riches to St. Boniface, who may be called, with great juſtice, the apoſtle of the Germans. It was this man, an Engliſhman by birth, who in the time of Charlemagne, baptiſed Witikind, and the other brave Saxons, who had ſo long reſiſted baptiſm with their ſwords, and ſpread the empire of the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt as far as the northern and eaſtern ſeas. He it was who introduced the Roman liturgy into Germany, and made the ſavage inhabitants abſtain from eating horſe's fleſh. But he raiſed the papal power to a higher pitch than it had been raiſed in any other country in Chriſtendom. According to the teſtimony of Aventinus, ſeveral biſhops reproached Boniface with having diminiſhed their dignity, by the new oath of homage he introduced, and with having introduced ſuperſtition and irreligion in company with the ſplendid cere-

monies of the Romiſh church. But whoever conſiders the ſtate of the Saxons at that time, will ſee that the enforcing the papal ſupremacy was the only efficacious means that could be made uſe of for raiſing a laity, and a clergy if poſſible ſtill more barbarous than they (as they could literally neither write nor read,) from their ſavage ſlumbers. Had it been only the connecting together of the German eccleſiaſtics, by means of the papal hierarchy, and the bringing them acquainted with other European nations; this alone would have been a ſignal ſervice done them. Be this however as it may, the vicar of Chriſt repaid the ſervices of his apoſtles with overflowing meaſure. All the new-founded biſhopricks in the north of Germany were made ſubject to the ſee of Mentz, which Boniface had choſen for his reſidence.

The provinces, the moſt conſiderable in the whole papal dominions, all Swabia, Franconia, Bohemia, and almoſt all Saxony, with a part of Switzerland, Bavaria, and the Upper Rhine, belong to this dioceſe. Though the reformation, and revenge of the kings of Bohemia, have leſſened it one third, it ſtill contains the archbiſhoprick of Sprengel and eleven biſhopricks, moſt of which are the moſt conſiderable in Germany, as Wurzburg, Paderborn, Hildeſheim, Augſburg, &c.

It could not fail but that as the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt extended his juriſdiction to temporal affairs, his ambaſſadors (for ſo Boniface called himſelf, and ſo the council of Trent calls all biſhops) ſhould likewiſe make their fortune in the matters of this world, a thing the more likely to happen, as the eccleſiaſtics of that time were evidently ſuperior to the laity in ſcience, and alſo the greateſt politicians of their day. Spiritual and temporal affairs were indeed ſo interwoven, that the moſt eminent German biſhop would of courſe be the moſt powerful elector. The ſame thing happened in Britain, Poland, and in other countries, in which the conſtitutions were all ariſtocratical. The landgraves of Heſſe, the Palatines, nay even the Emperor himſelf thought it no diſgrace to pay allegiance to the Archbiſhop of Mentz. When the building of the papal monarchy was compleſed by Gregory VII. the archbiſhops of Mentz became powerful enough to be at the head of the empire. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were ſo eminent, as to be able to make emperors without any foreign aſſiſtance; and it was to one of them that the Houſe of Hapſburg was indebted for its firſt elevation.

Since the boundaries of the two powers have been more accurately aſcertained, and the temporal has ſo much got the better of the ſpiritual, the power and influence of the archbiſhops of this place have of courſe been much reduced; ſtill, however, they are poſſeſſed of very important prerogatives, which they might exert with much more efficacy than they do, were it not that various circumſtances have rendered them too dependant on the Emperors. They are ſtill the ſpeakers in the Electoral College, have the appointment of the diets under the Emperors, and may order a re-examination of the proceedings of the imperial courts. Theſe high privileges are, however, too much ſubject to the controul of the Houſe of Auſtria; nor are their ſpiritual powers any longer what they once were. Their ſuffragan biſhops have taken it into their heads that all biſhops are alike as to power, and that the title of archbiſhop only intitles its poſſeſſor to the firſt place amongſt brothers who are equal; it is true indeed that now and then appeals are received from the conſiſtory of ſome ſuffragans to that of our vicar general, but they generally end in a further appeal to Rome; and the metropolitan dignity commonly loſes as much by them as it gets.

The temporals, however, which are ſtill annexed to this chair, make him who ſits in it rich amends for the diminution of his ſpiritual and political ſplendour. Though he does not abſolutely poſſeſs the largeſt, yet he certainly has the richeſt and moſt peopled domain of any eccleſiaſtical potentate in Germany. The country, it is true, does not

contain more than one hundred and twenty-five German miles ſquare; whereas the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg contains two hundred and forty; but then Saltzburg has only two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants; whereas Mentz has three hundred and twenty thouſand. The natural riches of the territory of Mentz, and its advantageous ſituation, make a ſubject of Mentz much richer than one of Saltzburg, the greateſt part of which is only inhabited by herdſmen. In the territory of Mentz there are forty cities; in that of Saltzburg only ſeven.

The tax on veſſels which go down the Rhine of itſelf produces 60,000 guilders, or 6000l. a year, which is nearly as much as all the mines of Saltzburg put together, excepting only the ſalt mine at Halle. The tax on wine, here and in the country round, produces the court above 100,000 guilders, or 10,000l. a year, in which ſum we do not reckon the cuſtoms of the countries which lie at a greater diſtance. Upon the whole, the income of the preſent archbiſhop may be valued at 1,700,000 guilders, or 170,000l. At leaſt I know for a certainty, that in the laſt years of the late archbiſhop, they brought in 1,800,000 guilders; and though the preſent Elector gave up to his ſubjects two out of fifteen or ſixteen poll taxes, which they were bound to pay; theſe do not amount to above 100,000 guilders; and he has much improved ſeveral other ſources of revenue.

If the lands of the elector lay all together, they would produce a ſufficiency of corn and all the prime neceſſaries of life; but as ſeveral parts of them lie wide aſunder, the people are compelled to purchaſe a great deal from foreigners. The capital itſelf, as well as the adjacent Rhinegau, depends on the Palatinate for its corn, notwithſtanding the great abundance of that and every other ſpecies of grain in its own poſſeſſions in the Wetterau. The nobleſt production of the Elector's territory on the Rhine is the wine, which is almoſt the only true Rheniſh. Connoiſſeurs, indeed, allow the wines of Neirſtein, Bacharach, and a very few other places out of this country to be true Rheniſh. But they do not give this name to the wines of the Palatinate, of Bardon, and of Alſatia.

There is a great deal of wine made in the countries which lie on the ſouth and weſt of the Rhine, at Laubenheim, Bodenheim, Budeſheim, and Bingen; but the true Rheniſh, that which inſpires ſo many who are and ſo many who are not poets, comes only from the Rhinegau, which lies on the northern banks of the Rhine.

A few days ago, I went with a company from this place on a party of pleaſure to the Rhinegau, and was preſent at one of the prettieſt village feſtivities I have ever beheld. Our veſſel had a much better appearance than the common ſmacks you meet with in Germany, and was very like a ſmall Dutch boat. As ſoon as we had paſſed the winding which the proud Rhine makes to the weſtward, about three miles below Mentz, we had a proſpect before us which is ſeldom beheld in any country except Switzerland. The Rhine grows aſtoniſhingly wide, and forms a kind of ſea, near a mile broad, in which you ſee ſeveral well wooded little iſlands at your right. The Rhinegau forms an amphitheatre, the beauties of which are beyond all deſcription. At Walluf, the very high hills come nearly down to the river ſide; from thence they recede again into the country, forming a kind of half circle, the other end of which is fifteen miles off at Rudeſheim on the banks of the Rhine. The banks of the river, the hills which form the circles, and the ſlopes of the great mountain, are thick ſown with villages and hamlets. The white appearance of the buildings, and the fine blue ſlated roofs of the houſes playing amidſt the various green of the landſcape, have an admirable effect. In the ſpace of every mile as you ſail down the river, you meet with a village which, in any other place, would paſs for a town. Many of the villages contain from three to four hundred families;

milies; and there are thirty-ſix of them in a ſpace of fifteen miles long, and ſix miles broad, which is the width of this beautiful amphitheatre. The declivities of all the hills and mountains are planted thick with vineyards and fruit-trees, and the thick wooded tops of the hills caſt a gloomy horror over the otherwiſe cheerful landſcape. Every now and then, a row of rugged hills runs directly down to the ſhore, and domineer majeſtically over the leſſer hills under them. On one of theſe great mountains, juſt about the middle of the Rhinegau, you meet with *Johannis-Berg*, a village, which produces ſome of the beſt Rheniſh. Before this village is a pretty little riſing, and near the banks of the river there is a very fine old caſtle, which gives unſpeakable majeſty to the whole landſcape. Indeed, in every village, you meet with ſome or other large building, which contributes very much to the decoration of the whole.

This country is indebted for its riches to this ſemicircular hill, which protects it from the cold winds of the eaſt and north, at the ſame time that it leaves room enough for the ſun to exerciſe his benign influences. The groves and higher ſlopes of the hills make excellent paſtures, and produce large quantities of dung, which, in a country of this ſort, is of ineſtimable value.

The bank of the Rhine, oppoſite to the Rhinegau, is exceedingly barren, and heightens the beauty of the proſpect on the other ſide by the contraſt it exhibits; on this ſide you hardly meet above three or four villages, and theſe are far diſtant from each other. The great interval between them is occupied by heaths and meadows, only here and there a thick buſh affords ſome ſhade, and a few corn-fields among the villages enliven the gloomy landſcape. The back ground of this country is the moſt picturesque part of it. It is formed by a narrow gullet of mountains, which diminiſh in perſpective between Rudeſheim and Bingen. Perpendicular mountains and rocks hang over the Rhine in this place, and ſeem to make it the dominion of eternal night. At a diſtance, the Rhine ſeems to come out of this landſcape, through a hole under ground; and it appears to run tediouſly, in order to enjoy its courſe through a pleaſant country the longer. Amidſt the darkneſs which covers this back ground, the celebrated Mouſe tower ſeems to ſwim upon the river. In a word, there is not any thing in this whole tract, that does not contribute ſomething to the beauty and magnificence of the whole; or if I may be permitted the expreſſion, to make the paradiſe more welcome. As you ſail along the Rhine, between Mentz and Bingen, the banks of the river form an oval amphitheatre, which makes one of the richeſt and moſt picturesque landſcapes to be ſeen in Europe.

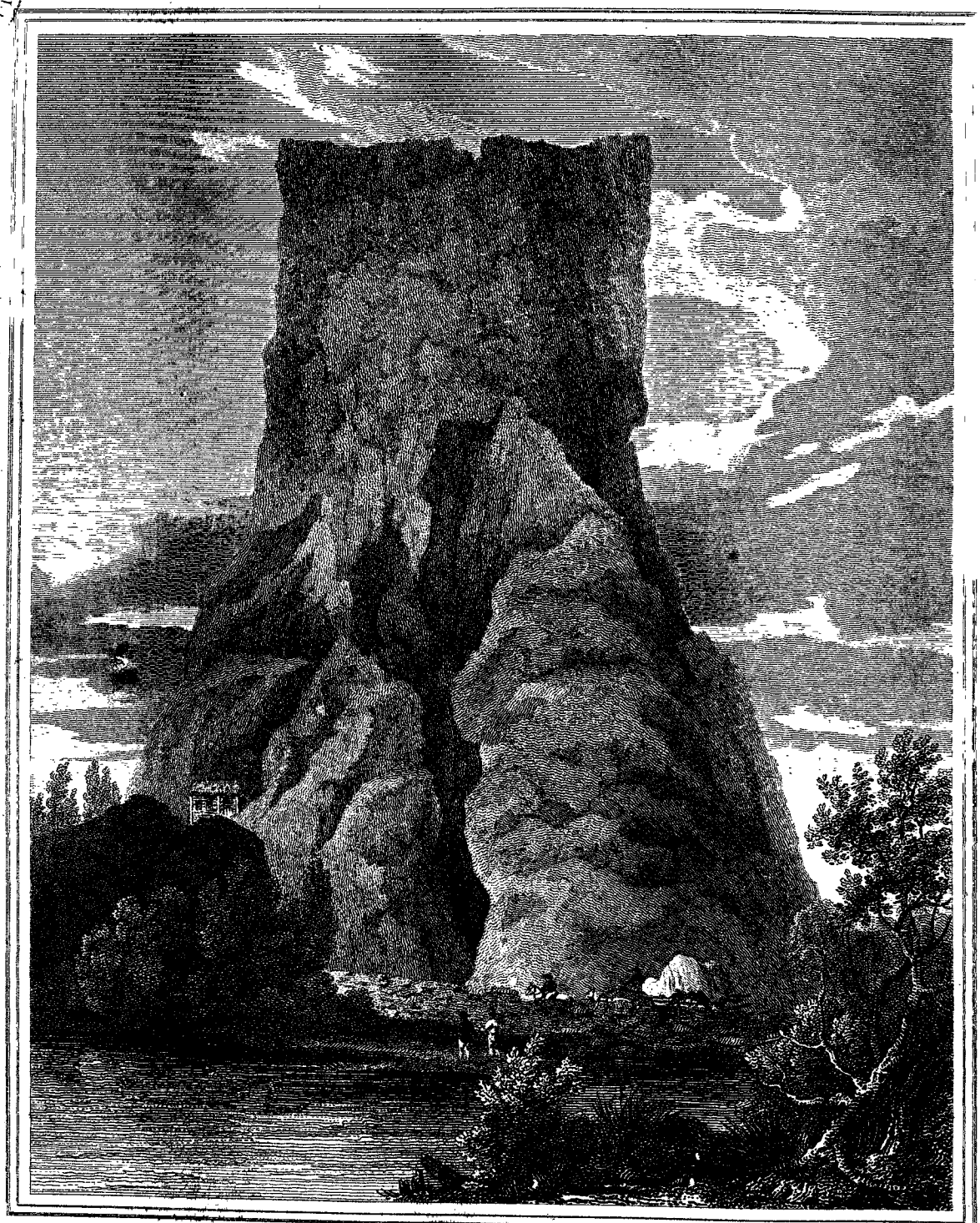
The night was far advanced when we came to Geyſenheim; before we landed, we had another proſpect not often ſeen; we could diſcover almoſt the whole coaſt of the Rhinegau, which appeared one continued row of cities; the lights in the ſeveral villages made them look like a great illuminated city, and the reflection on the glaſſy Rhine was extremely beautiful.

The day after our arrival we went to Rudeſheim, where we had been invited by an eccleſiaſtic of Mentz. We found our hoſt with a numerous company, ſome of whom were proteſtants. After dinner he carried us in proceſſion to his great ſaloon, from whence we had a moſt ſuperb view of the here very wide Rhine, and the village of Bingen. The whole of the preparations ſeemed to announce a ſplendid feſtival, the nature and character of which appeared a riddle to me. On a ſudden the doors of the ſaloon were opened, and there came forth in feſtive order a band of muſicians, followed by two pretty girls, well dreſſed, who brought in a large bunch of grapes, on a table covered with a fine cloth. The ſides of the table were ornamented with flowers. They put the bunch of grapes in the middle of the ſaloon, on a kind of throne which was raiſed on a table; and I now diſcovered that our hoſt was celebrating the feſtival of the

firſt ripe bunch of grapes in his vineyard; a cuſtom, it ſeems, moſt religiouſly obſerved by all the rich inhabitants of this country. This feaſt was the more acceptable, as it happened that the grapes had this year ripened uncommonly late. After the altar of Bacchus was erected, our hoſt made a ſhort but excellent ſpeech, ſuited to the nature of the feſtivity; and then we danced round the grape. Never in my life, brother, have I danced with ſuch pleaſure as I did here. The remembrance of theſe joyous moments ſtill poſſeſſes and tranſports me. Were I to form a commonwealth, feſtivals of this ſort ſhould be the only ones ſeen in it. Can there, indeed, be a more ſacred or more reſpectable holiday, than that in which we joyfully thank the Creator for the benefits he has beſtowed upon us? Nor was our pleaſure diminiſhed by this not turning out the only ripe bunch of grapes in the vineyard of our hoſt; for though on a nearer inveſtigation we found more, we contended for the honour of the grape round which we had danced and ſung, with more heat than if it had been an oriental pearl of the ſame ſize.

Rudeſheim is a rich village, which contains about two thouſand five hundred inhabitants. The wine of this place is looked upon as without compariſon the beſt of the Rhinegau, and conſequently of all Germany. I found it much more fiery than that of Hochheim; but for pleaſantneſs of taſte there is no compariſon betwixt them. The beſt Rudeſheim, like the beſt Hochheimer, ſells upon the ſpot for three guilders the bottle. You can have no tolerable wine here for one guilder, nor any very good for two; at leaſt I ſhould prefer the worſt Burgundy I ever taſted to any Rudeſheimer I met with either here or at Mentz for theſe prices. Indeed, the wine of our ſpiritual hoſt was far better than any we could get at the inn. It ſtands to reaſon, that the ſame vintage furniſhes grapes of very different degrees of goodneſs; but beſides this, it is in the Rhinegau as every where elſe. The beſt wines are generally ſent abroad by the poor and middling inhabitant, and the worſt kept for internal conſumption; for the expence of the carriage being the ſame in both caſes, ſtrangers had much rather pay a double price for the good than have the bad. It is only rich people, ſuch as our hoſt was, who can afford to keep the produce of their land for their own drinking. Upon this principle, I have eaten much better Swiſs cheeſes out of Switzerland than in it, and have drank much better Rheniſh in the inns of the northern parts of Germany, than in the country where the wine grows. The poſition of the country alſo contributes to render the wine dearer than it would otherwiſe be. As the beſt wine grows in its more northern parts the eaſy tranſport by the Rhine to Holland, and all parts of the world, raiſes its price above its real value.

The place where the flower of the Rudeſheim wine grows is preciſely the neck of the land, formed by the winding of the Rhine to the north, after it has run to the weſtward from Mentz hither. This neck, which is a rock almoſt perpendicular, enjoys the firſt rays of the riſing, and the laſt of the ſetting ſun. It is divided into ſmall low terraces, which are carried up to the utmoſt top of the hill like ſteep ſtairs; theſe are guarded by ſmall walls and earthen mounds, which are often waſhed away by the rain. The firſt vine was brought hither from France, and they ſtill call the beſt grape the Orleanois. They plant the vine ſtocks very low, ſcarce ever more than four or five feet high. This way of planting the vine is favourable to the production of a great deal of wine, but not to its goodneſs, as the phlegmatic and harſh parts of it would certainly evaporate more, if the ſap was refined through higher and more numerous canals. This is undoubtedly the reaſon why every kind of Rheniſh has ſomething in it that is harſh, ſour, and watery. The harveſt of the beſt vineyards, which are the lower ones, in the above-mentioned neck of land, is often bought before hand, at the advanced price of ſome du-



Engraved by George Cooke.

Rock on the river Nahe, near Oberstein.

London Published by Longman Hurst, Rees & Orme Paternoster Row, Dec. 1.1809.

cats, by Dutch and other merchants. It muſt be a very rich ſtock to yield above four meaſures of wine. You may eaſily imagine, that the cultivation of vineyards muſt be very expenſive in this country, as the dung, which is extremely dear, muſt be carried up to the top of the mountains on the peaſants' ſhoulders.

In our return through Geyſenheim, I viſited the magnificent palace of a Count of Oſtein, the richeſt gentleman in Mentz, who has laid out ſeveral millions he inherited from his couſin, a former elector, in life annuities in the Dutch funds. The houſe, which is in the modern taſte, pleaſed me much: but what delighted me moſt, was, the half French and half Engliſh garden. Behind Greyſenheim, the Count has ſtruck out ſome alleys through a wood, in which there are alſo ſome wilderneſſes. The great alley leads through a winding walk to the top of that rock at the foot of which the beſt Rudeſheim wine grows. At the top of this rock the Count has built a terrace, ſurrounded by a rail, commanding one of the fineſt proſpects I have ever ſeen. You look down upon the vine hills cut into terraces, and ſee the Rhine, which, rolling through the threatening hills which block it up, here begins to be encompaſſed in deep night. This view down to the river is moſt terrific. The partly covered and partly naked rocks, which encompaſs the river, make you think it is forcing its way through a ſubterraneous cavern. The rock, on which you ſtand, ſtretches itſelf to the oppoſite ſhore, where another abrupt mountain ſtands like an immenſe pillar. The meeting together of theſe two great mountains occaſions a fall in the Rhine, the dead noiſe of which has a wonderful effect in the landſcape. On the Rudeſheimer ſide, and near the ſhore you look directly down upon from the terrace, there has been a paſſage cut through the hard rocks, big enough for the largeſt ſhips to ſail through; this is called the Bingenloch. The rock, which occaſions the fall of the Rhine, juts out wonderfully above the water in the midſt of the ſtream, and forms an iſland partly naked and partly covered with briars, on which the celebrated Mouſe tower ſtands. If you look up the Rhine, you have a view of the beſt part of the ſmiling Rhinegau, and the whole oppoſite ſhore. Varied and beautiful as this part of the proſpect is, it is ſtill exceeded by what you ſee on looking ſtraight before you from the terrace; you have here a view into a narrow gulph, through which the river Nahe, which fills its bottom, communicates with the Rhine. On the fore ground, where the Nahe joins with the Rhine, you have, to the right, the well wooded coloſſal mountain, to which the Rudeſheimer rock joins itſelf under water. On the neck of land to the left, you have the city of Bingen at the foot of another mountain, the tops of which are crowned by an old caſtle. The gullet itſelf, which is near two miles long, is waſte and dark; only the red ſlate of a mountain in it has a ſingular effect, when oppoſed to the woods, which appear every where to the right, and to the mountains on the left, which are partly naked and mean, and partly planted with vineyards. In the middle of the gullet there is a ſtone bridge over the Nahe, which ſtill bears the name of Druſus's bridge, from Druſus Germanicus its builder, and extremely raiſes the pictureſque view of the whole. At the end of the gullet ſtands a mill, not leſs pictureſque than the bridge. Such is the fore ground; and the back ground is ſtill more beautiful. The gullet, which contains the Nahe, is like a glaſs, through which you look down upon the moſt laughing landſcape. The clear light, the diſtant blue of the hills and mountains, ſome beautiful villages, ſoft woods, and the vine hills around all theſe, indicate that the country behind this black ſluice is an open one, and moſt richly ornamented: this is a proſpect the like to which I had never yet ſeen.

The city of Bingen, which, together with the toll on the Rhine, worth about 30,000 guilders, belongs to the Chapter of Mentz, is extremely beautiful, and contains about four-

four thouſand five hundred inhabitants. A great part of the corn, which is carried into the Rhinegau from the neighbouring Palatinate, comes through this place; which on the other hand ſupplies the Palatinate with drugs, and various foreign commodities. This traffic alone would make the place very lively; but beſides this it has very fruitful vineyards. The hill, at the foot of which it lies, and one ſide of which is made by the gullet, through which the Nahe runs into the Rhine, forms another ſteep rock behind this gullet parallel to the Rhine, and the golden Rudeſheimer mountain; it therefore enjoys the ſame ſun as this does, which makes the Budeſheimer wine that grows on it little inferior to the Rudeſheimer.

After I had enjoyed this uncommonly beautiful proſpect during a few days, I ſpent a few more in the villages of the Rhinegau: here too I received ocular demonſtration that the cultivators of vineyards are not the happieſt of men. The inhabitants of theſe regions are ſome of them extremely rich, and ſome extremely poor; the happy middle ſtate is not for countries, the chief product of which is wine: for beſides, that the cultivation of the vineyard is infinitely more troubleſome and expenſive than agriculture, it is ſubjected to revolutions, which in an inſtant reduce the holder of land to the condition of a day labourer. It is a great misfortune for this country, that though reſtrained by law, the nobility are, through connivance of the Elector, allowed to purchaſe as much land as they pleaſe. The peaſant generally begins by running in debt for his vineyard; ſo that if it does not turn out well, he is reduced to day-labour, and the rich man extends his poſſeſſions to the great detriment of the country. There are ſeveral peaſants here who, having incomes of 30, 50, or 100,000 guilders a year, have laid aſide the peaſant, and aſſumed the wine merchant; but ſplendid as their ſituation is, it does not compenſate, in the eyes of the humane man, for the ſight of ſo many poor people with which the villages ſwarm. In order to render a country of this kind proſperous, the ſtate ſhould appropriate a fund to the purpoſe of maintaining the peaſant in bad years, and giving him the aſſiſtance which his neceſſities, and his want of ready money, may from time to time make convenient.

The inhabitants of the Rhinegau are a handſome and uncommonly ſtrong race of men. You ſee at the very firſt aſpect that their wine gives them merry hearts and ſound bodies. They have a great deal of natural wit, and a vivacity and jocoſeneſs which diſtinguiſhes them very much from their neighbours. You need only compare them with ſome of theſe, to be convinced that the drinker of wine excels the drinker of beer and water, both in body and mind, and that the inhabitant of the ſouth is much ſtouter than he who lives in the north; for though the wine drinker may not have quite as much fleſh as he who drinks only beer, he has better blood, and can bear much more work. Tacitus had already obſerved this in his treatiſe *De moribus Germanorum*. "The large and corpulent bodies of the Germans (ſays he) have a great appearance, but are not made to laſt." At that time almoſt all the Germans drank only water; but the mere drinking of wine has effected a revolution in ſeveral parts of Germany, which makes the preſent inhabitants of theſe countries very different from thoſe deſcribed by Tacitus. Black and brown hair is much commoner here than the white which made the Germans ſo famous in old Rome.

You will eaſily imagine that the monks fare particularly well in ſo rich a country. We made a viſit to the Prelate of Erbach. I cannot find adequate words to diſcover the poverty of this cloiſter. Theſe lordly monks, for ſo in every reſpect they are, have an excellent hunt, rooms magnificently furniſhed, billiard tables, half a dozen beautiful ſinging women, and a ſtupendous wine cellar, the well ranged batteries of which made

me ſhudder. A monk, who ſaw my aſtoniſhment at the number of the caſks, aſſured me, that without the benign influence which flowed from them, it would be totally impoſſible for the cloiſter to ſubſiſt in ſo damp a ſituation.

I was not ſurpriſed at the hoſpitality of theſe monks, as I had met with many ſcenes of the kind before, nor do I envy theſe wordly fathers the good lot they have met with on this earth; but I am not quite ſo well ſatisfied with the pains which ſome of them take to keep the people in ignorance and ſuperſtition. I was particularly diſpleaſed with the pilgrimage to a wood near Geyſenheim, where the capuchins work miracles in abundance. The very name of the place affords room for ſcandal and blaſphemy. It is called the *Need of God*. According to the legend, a ſmall wooden image of the Redeemer was, by the careleſſneſs or ignorance of a farmer, ſtuck in the hollow of a tree, where it remained for a long time, crying out, *Need* of God! *Need* of God! till at laſt ſome peaſants in the neighbourhood came and removed the cauſe of the piteous cry. Since this time it has performed numberleſs miracles, which it is poſſible help the capuchins out of *their* neceſſities.

LETTER LXV.

Mentz.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great reduction, made by the Archbiſhop of this place of his civil liſt, it ſtill remains by much too immoderate and expenſive. He has his miniſters, his counſellors of ſtate, and eighty or ninety privy counſellors of various denominations. The expence of this eſtabliſhment is very diſproportionate to the revenue of the ſtate. This is owing to the large number of poor nobility, who can only accept of employments of this kind. Ignorance of the true principles of government are the cauſes of this evil. The conſequences are, that a great number of perſons, who might be uſefully employed, live in idleneſs.

Even the military eſtabliſhment of the country appears to me more calculated for the purpoſe of feeding a hungry nobility, than for real uſe. At the acceſſion of the preſent Elector, though the whole army only conſiſted of two thouſand two hundred men, there were ſix generals. The regular eſtabliſhment paid for and ſupported by the country is eight thouſand men; but though there are only two thouſand kept up, the money expended for their ſupport, particularly that given to numberleſs uſeleſs officers, might be made uſe of more for the benefit of the country. The army of the Archbiſhop conſiſts of a German guard of fifty men and twenty-five horſes, a Swiſs guard, a ſquadron of huſſars of one hundred and thirty men, (the moſt uſeful troops, as they purge the land of robbers and murderers,) a corps of artillery of one hundred and four men, three regiments of infantry of ſix hundred men each, and ſome companies belonging to the armies of Franconia and the Upper Palatinate.

Of the fortifications of Mentz, we may ſay much the ſame as of the army. Were they, indeed, improved and kept up as they ought to be, they would vie with Luxemburg, and be the moſt powerful of all the barriers againſt France. It is true that the nature of the ground does not allow of a regular plan; but for ſingle parts, I have ſeen no place of the ſame capabilities, where greater advantages have been taken of the ground for the erection of the ſeveral works. The beauty, as well as ſize of them, is indeed an object of great wonder; but though the circle of the Upper Rhine, and even the empire in general, has laid out great ſums on the building theſe fortifications, parts of them are not finiſhed, and parts of them are ready to fall to pieces. Their extent, indeed, would require a great army to man. But this, as well as the maintaining and keep-

keeping them up, is evidently beyond the power of this court, or indeed of the whole circle of the Upper Rhine united. They are, therefore, alſo to be looked upon as one of the things, which ſerve more for magnificence than real uſe.

Whilſt the greater courts of Germany are endeavouring to ſimplify their ſeveral ſyſtems as much as poſſible, and to introduce into their ſeveral adminiſtrations, a ſtrong and efficacious ſpirit of œconomy; the diſſipation, pomp, and love of outſide ſhew of the leſſer ones, is beyond all bounds, and almoſt ſurpaſſes all belief. Theſe courts very much reſemble the expenſive puppet-ſhow theatre of Prince Eſterazi, which I deſcribed to you in a former letter; the orcheſtra is fine, the ſcenes beautiful, and the poets and machinery delectable; but the actors are only puppets, deficient in what conſtitutes true greatneſs. Theſe petty princes want to make up for it, by ſhining in little things, an affectation which would only deſerve ridicule, if it were not for the oppreſſion of the ſubject. As things are circumſtanced, it is much too ſerious a matter for a friend of human nature to make merry with. This reproach, however, does not ſo much affect the preſent Archbiſhop, who, as far as circumſtances allow him, is perhaps the only prelate who endeavours to render his court and ſtate expences more uſeful than oſtentatious, as it does the neighbouring palatinate, through which I took a fortnight's ramble.

When I was at Munich, and ſaw there the uſeleſs heap of court attendants, eunuchs, dancers, ſingers, gardens, and generals, I placed a great part of them to the account of the laſt Elector, and imagined the preſent had been unwilling to make any alterations, not to render himſelf odious, which was the more to be avoided, as the acquiſition of Bavaria had made his circumſtances very good; but how ſurpriſed was I, at my arrival at Manheim, to find the ſame taſte for magnificence, pleaſure, and idle expence. Would you believe, brother, that the court of Manheim, the revenue of which is not above 3,200,000 Rheniſh guilders, lays out 200,000 of them annually on its opera and muſic? Would you believe that the keeping up the Schweſſingen gardens, ſcarce inferior to thoſe of Verſailles, is an annual expence of 40,000? and that the caſtles of Manheim and Schweſſingen coſt 60,000 guilders a year? that the hunt coſts 80,000, and the ſtables 100,000 guilders? that this court has eleven regiments, with a general to each, which all together do not make above five thouſand five hundred men? notwithſtanding the boaſts of the ſervants of the court, who, at the time of the diſpute between their maſter, the Counts of Leinengen, and the city of Achin, ſpoke of forty thouſand men to be ſent againſt the Emperor, who threatened them with an execution, and fifteen thouſand more ready to march againſt the city of Achin. I have already told you, when ſpeaking of Munich, that to make the puppet theatre complete, the two or three ſhips on the Rhine have a lord high admiral to them.

It is true indeed that the good Elector is in a great meaſure innocent of their exceſſive waſte. His ſervants bring him in falſe eſtimates of his greatneſs, and flatter his weakneſs, in order to divide the plunder between themſelves.

The Palatinate is called the paradiſe of Germany. You will judge of its fruitfulneſs, when I tell you that, excluſive of a great deal of wheat ſold in the territories of Mentz and Treves, and exported into Switzerland, it ſupplies France every year with three thouſand combs of grain. A comb is a meaſure of one huſdred and ſeventy pounds. Beſides corn, they abound in wine and tobacco. But what gives the greateſt idea of the proſperity of the country, is a liſt of the taxes, which was ſhewed me by a collector. I do not believe there is a ſingle article, the air only which the people breathe excepted, which is not to be found amongſt them. Some contributions, ſuch as thoſe for the canal of Frankenthorn, dams on the Rhine, &c. which ought naturally to have

ceaſed

ceaſed, when the neceſſities they were meant to ſerve (if indeed ſuch a uſeleſs and ſuperfluous canal can be called a neceſſity) have been turned into perpetual impoſts. The moſt wonderful thing of all, however, for a politician, are the cuſtoms of the Palatinate. Merely with a view of raiſing theſe, the cuſtom-houſes have been ſo increaſed, that almoſt every place in the high road has ſome particular cuſtom payable in it, and all the goods which paſs through it are likewiſe taxable. Prejudicial as this eſtabliſhment is, even to the internal police of the country, as in conſequence of it a village is often three times more remote from the dwelling-place of its bailiff than it ought to be, if nature and the good of the ſubjects were more conſulted than the benefit of the Elector and his ſervants; yet is every ſpark of patriotiſm ſo extinguiſhed in this country, that there is no expectation of a change for the better ever being brought about. In many places on the road, the only mark of the cuſtom-houſe is the great ſtick, which enforces payment. The poor people, who export the commodities of the country, are often compelled to go three miles out of the road to pay the tax. In ſhort, the only difference betwixt the practice of the ancient German nobility, who, even ſo low down as the times of the Emperor Maximilian, uſed to rob the merchant on the road, or compel paſſage-money from him; and the preſent ſyſtem of taxation in the Palatinate is, that the old nobility did that at the hazard of their heads, which the government of the Palatinate does without danger, and without conſciouſneſs of doing wrong.

In order to give you a ſtill better idea of the œconomy of this country, you muſt know that there is a monopoly eſtabliſhed for the furniſhing of all the wood burnt, not only in the city of Manheim, but for ſome miles round. This is not ſuch a monopoly as that eſtabliſhed at Berlin, which you know rather helps the peaſant to ſell his wood, than otherwiſe. Here a natural ſon of the Elector, raiſed by him to the dignity of count, having entered into an agreement with the projector, procured the patent which has enabled him to live magnificently at the expence of the country.

The adminiſtration of this country is ſuch, that it is really diſguſting to me to pick out ſpecimens of it to lay before you. Every thing that you have ever heard of the *ſeparate* government of prieſts, miſtreſſes, baſtards, *parvenus*, projectors, eunuchs, bankrupts, and the like, exiſts in the Palatinate at one and the ſame time. I have ſpoken with ſeveral miniſters, who made no myſtery of having bought their places. Indeed there are more inſtances than one of places having been put up at public auction, in the antichambers of the miſtreſſes. One natural conſequence of this is, the flagrant oppreſſions of the little governors or cuſtom-houſe officers, who are ſo many Turkiſh baſhaws; and are feared in their reſpective diſtricts as the executioners of the vengeance of heaven. I had the honour to dine with one of theſe baſhaws. The company was large and ſplendid. He and his numerous family abounded in rings, watches, lace, and every appendage of the moſt extravagant luxury: we had twenty-four diſhes at dinner, and amongſt the reſt young peacocks. The deſert was of a piece with the reſt, and every thing in the higheſt ton. Beſides this, the man had a ſnug ſtable, magnificent carriage, and hounds, and yet his ſalary was not more than 2000 guilders, or 200l. a year. How he could keep up ſuch an eſtabliſhment on ſuch a revenue, would be, no doubt, eaſily learned from the poor peaſants under him, if we could obtain their confidence. With the rich peaſants, a baſhaw of this kind is naturally upon good terms. I was ſhewn a man, who, though he had been publicly baniſhed from another part of the empire, for his infamous conduct, had, notwithſtanding, by following the turnings and windings of this place, raiſed himſelf to a place, from whence he was enabled to look down upon his enemies with contempt. There is, indeed, no part of Germany,

in which adventurers of all ſorts are ſo ſure to make their fortunes as they are here. Provided they take care to put part of the booty into the Electoral cheſt, they are ſure to live unmoleſted. The *lotto* of Genoa, which, though decorated with a ſmooth and ſplendid name, is in fact no more than a Pharaoh table, at which the ſtate endeavours to cheat its ſubjects, thrives in no German ſoil ſo well as in this. It harmonized too well with the reſt of the ſyſtem of finance, not to be readily and eagerly adopted. I have ſeen lottery-office propoſals publiſhed with the Elector's privilege, and decorated with his arms, in which it is ſaid, that a lottery is the *ſhorteſt*, *ſafeſt*, and *moſt becoming way* for a man to make his fortune. Now, every body knows, that what advantage there is in a game of this kind is only for the rich, and that he who buys his thirty-twos and ſixty-fourths is ſure to be undone. What muſt we think then of a court, which uſes every trick and paltry artifice to entice its ſubjects to play a game, by which *they* are ſure to loſe, and *it* muſt gain at leaſt 100 per cent? It is true, indeed, that there is ſuch a lottery in every court in Germany; but at none are ſuch mean tricks as theſe made uſe of to induce the ſubjects to play.

Theſe oppreſſions, however, great as they ſeem, are ſtill nothing in compariſon of what the proteſtants have to ſuffer from the court. According to repeated treaties, the eſtabliſhed religion of the country ſhould be the reformed; but notwithſtanding this, the Catholics have found means to grow powerful enough, not only to be at the head of every thing themſelves, but to perſecute the Proteſtants in the moſt infamous manner. For this purpoſe they have received villains of every kind into their villages, to increaſe the number of Catholics; they have diſpoſſeſſed the Proteſtants of all places and poſts whatever; they have treated them with every kind of indignity; nay, even in the courts of juſtice, the moſt ſcandalous and infamous partialities have taken place. And yet, ſo are human affairs conducted, amidſt this outrageous tyranny, and whilſt the emigrations to America have been ſuch, that the Engliſh know no other name for a German than that of Palatine, this court has met with authors, both in and out of the country, to extol the wiſdom of its councils: nay, would you think it! although half the ſubjects of the country are driven out of it, and the reſt ſo oppreſſed that they hardly know how to live in it, there is a college for teaching the ſeveral branches of political œconomy ſubſiſting at *Lautern*, and projectors innumerable are ſent to Frankenthal to eſtabliſh manufactures!

That, notwithſtanding the repeated and multifarious vexations they are expoſed to, the farmers of this country are ſtill enabled to hold up their heads, is, no doubt, owing to the frequent emigrations. Theſe keep the price of land low, and enable the half who remain (for above half are driven out) to ſubſiſt with a tolerable degree of comfort.

Notwithſtanding all the reputation which the manufactures of the Palatinate have gained, there is more ſhew than ſubſtance about them. All thoſe of Frankenthal put together are not equal to ſingle ones which might be named in Auſtria, in Switzerland, at Berlin, and in ſeveral other countries. Excepting only the china manufactory, there is not a ſingle one which employs a hundred men, or has a capital of 100,000 guilders. But here they call a place where three men and a few boys are making wafers, a wafer *manufactory*. In this ſenſe, every taylor and ſhoemaker's ſhop may paſs for a manufactory. And yet they do not know how to prepare the produce of the country for the internal conſumption of it. The tobacco which grows in the Palatinate is carried into Holland to be made, and brought back again for conſumption. Another proof of the wiſdom of this government is, the difficulties it places in the way of the exports of its own ſubjects. The city of Mentz, I have told you, ſubſiſts entirely by bread made

in the Palatinate. Would you think that the court of Manheim, which, like all the other petty courts of Germany, is ever ready to quarrel with its neighbours, notwithſtanding every treaty and ſeeming appearance of amity between them, wanted to force the inhabitants of Mentz to come and buy their food in the Palatinate? Before this, the farmers carried it to the city market; but the court of Manheim eſtabliſhed weekly markets at Oppenheim, and other places near the frontiers of Mentz. No doubt, it would have been an advantage to the Palatines, had ſtrangers brought the money to their markets, and the Elector might have ſet his own prices on his commodity, provided that Mentz and the Rhinegau had been ſo entirely dependant upon him as not to have the poſſibility of a ſupply by any other means; but as ſoon as the people of Mentz ſaw themſelves compelled to pay more than they did before, they opened an immediate trade with the rich corn countries of the Wetterau, about Uſingen and Friedberg; the conſequence of which was, that the Palatines became the dupes of the caprices of their maſters, and were compelled to carry their commodity into France and Switzerland, with far more trouble and far leſs profit. As, however, none of the projects of this court have any conſiſtency, the markets of Mentz have, within theſe few years paſt, been viſited again. The cuſtoms are no ſmall hindrance to exportation.

Manheim is a very regularly built pretty little city, containing about twenty-five thouſand inhabitants, of which, ſince the court reſides at Munich, it has loſt about two thouſand. The Manheimers very much want the Elector to reſide with them, and leave Bavaria, which is at leaſt fifty times as large as the Palatinate, to be governed by a deputy. They cannot yet underſtand what it is their prince ſees in Munich to give it the preference. Indeed they are ſo conſcious of the beauty of their own city, that they laugh in the face of any one who tells them there are finer places in the world than Manheim; which, after all, it is doing too much honour to, to call it a miniature of Turin or Berlin, and other towns. Indeed, if you except the dull regularity of it, Munich is a much finer city than Manheim, which has nothing worth ſeeing in it but the caſtle, and church of the Jeſuits. Every thing elſe that is called fine here is ſo little and artificial, as to inſpire a knowing eye only with diſguſt. But the Manheimers are altogether the proudeſt people on earth. They have ſo great an idea of the power and riches of their country, as not to ſcruple to rank their prince with the greateſt monarchs in the world. They aſſure you, with very ſerious faces, that if they had not been the friends of peace, and averſe to the ſhedding of human blood, it would have been eaſy for them to have taken poſſeſſion of Bavaria by force, notwithſtanding all the pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria. Theſe ridiculous airs, no doubt, have ariſen from their being ſurrounded by leſſer ſtates, and their Elector being the firſt of the ſmaller princes; but their univerſal motto in every thing is, "Much buſtle for little buſineſs." The love of pleaſure, too, is ſo univerſal here, that a taylor's wife looks upon it as diſgraceful to be faithful to her huſband. This diſſipation, and the love of dreſs, has a very ſtriking aſpect, when contraſted with the deep poverty that obtains throughout. The women of this place are remarkably handſome, agreeable, and pleaſing.

The government of the Palatinate is one of the moſt arbitrary in Germany. There are no ſtates, and the privileges of the communities are the jeſt of the court. But here, more than in any other place in the world, you may be convinced that the moſt deſpotic prince in the world is the moſt limited. The Elector depends on his loweſt ſervants, and is the dupe of all who ſurround him. Every ſubordinate miniſter is a deſpot in the ſame manner, as far as the ſphere of his power extends; ſo that when a ſovereign has not ſpirit enough to look into the details of government, or at leaſt to rebuke his miniſters, he is ſure to find there is a conſpiracy againſt him and the country, whilſt there is no-

body left to tell him the truth, or ſay a word for the good cauſe. It is impoſſible for the Elector to lay the firſt ſtone of a building, without being cheated in the moſt ſcandalous manner.

LETTER LXVI.

Cologne.

IF God vouchſafes me life, brother, I will once more ſail from Mentz hither; for never in my life had I a pleaſanter voyage. The ſail on the Danube is fine, but that on the Rhine far ſurpaſſes it; and indeed I know nothing to compare with this laſt, but the ſail on the lakes of Geneva or Zurich. My company was agreeable, and the veſſel a far different kind of a thing from the miſerable rafters on the Danube: it had a maſt and ſails, the deck had rails round it, and there were windows and other furniture in the cabin.

After having loſt ſight of the magnificent and laughing Rhinegau, we were carried through a narrow valley, entirely occupied by the Rhine, which opens under Bingen. The contraſt was extremely ſtriking. The hills, which hang perpendicularly over the Rhine, are ſometimes covered with various greens, ſometimes with naked ſtones, and now and then with blue or white ſlates: their appearance, their ſlope, the different and various culture which you ſee every now and then upon them, together with the windings of the Rhine, change the proſpect almoſt every moment. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantageous ſituation of it, the banks of this vale are much more peopled, and much better cultivated, than any part of the Danube whatever. You have a village almoſt every three miles, and every hill is crowned with a caſtle, formerly the habitation of ſome German knight. The moſt pictureſque fancy can point nothing more romantic, than the ſituation of theſe cities and villages. We had a Scotchman with us, who had come over-land from the Eaſt Indies. The man was like a madman. He found ſomething like Scotland in every place we admired; but on my aſking him what there was in his own country like the vineyards which we ſaw, he ſwore that, as to theſe, their uniformity and dull regularity made them an unpleaſing ſight; and obliged him to refreſh his eyes with a ſight of the impending hills. I anſwered him only by bringing him a glaſs of red Aſmannſhauſer wine, which he found very drinkable.

The fineſt ſpots in this romantic country are thoſe about Bacharach and Kaub (which lie directly oppoſite each other on different ſides of the river), and thoſe about St. Goar and Coblentz. The ſituation of Bacharach is like the place itſelf, dark and tremendouſly beautiful. The hill, at the front of which the little town lies, hangs directly perpendicularly over it, and is in part covered with vineyards, which produce one of the beſt Rheniſh wines. The ſituation of Kaub is more open and more gay, and from the circumſtance of the houſes being painted of a light white upon a deep green, contraſts very pleaſingly with the wonderful black of Bacharach. In the midſt of the Rhine, betwixt the two cities, on a rock which hardly riſes above the ſurface of the water, ſtands a high, thick, ſolid tower, called the *Palatine*. This, which, as well as the two towns, belongs to the Elector, is generally looked upon by the common people as the original ſeat of the family. You can conceive nothing more ſingular or ſtriking in a landſcape than the ſituation of this tower, when viewed from a certain diſtance.

The country about St. Goar is quite of a different kind. On the banks of the Rhine, on the right, and on one of the perpendicular hills, which are diſtinguiſhed by their majeſtic appearance, there ſtands an old caſtle which they ſtill keep up. The left ſhore, on which the city ſtands, is ſtill more perpendicular, but it is cultivated with ſingular induſtry.

duſtry. The vines are planted as at Rudeſheim, on a number of ſmall aſcendant terraces, which riſe to a great height. The ſpace betwixt the rock and the ſtream is ſo narrow, that the inhabitants are ſometimes compelled to build in the rock itſelf. Juſt above the city there riſes majeſtically a fort called Rheinfels, which gave its name to a branch of the houſe of Heſſe Caſſel; but ſince the death of the poſſeſſor, has fallen, with the country belonging to it, to the head of that houſe. The town itſelf is very lively, and far the beſt betwixt Bingen and Coblentz. The inhabitants appear to be a very active race of men. A little above the city, the ſhort windings of the conſtrained Rhine form a whirlpool, known by the name of St. Goar's bank. Though no *remarkably* bad accidents ever happen here, we were witneſſes to one, which ſhews that it has not its name for nothing, as the whirlpool on the Danube has. A large veſſel from Cologne happened to be going down the river with us. It had taken on board an old experienced pilot, who, in the dangerous places, ſtood very deep in the river. The horſes pulled very ſtrong: on a ſudden, the pilot was ſo entirely borne down by the ſtream, that the veſſel lay in a minute on the other bank of the river, though this was a hundred and fifty paces diſtant from the place it was going down. By great good luck there was a wherry betwixt it and the rock on which it ſtruck, which prevented it from receiving great damage. It was, however, obliged to be hoven off.

About a mile above Coblentz, ſeveral old caſtles and little towns, ſituated at the top and bottom of theſe woods and hills, form very pleaſing views. At length you behold the little town of Lahnſtein, at the back of which there is a rough, tall mountain. Near the town, a gullet, through which the river Lahn runs into the Rhine, forms a very pleaſing perſpective. The valley is ſtill ſo narrow as to be wholly occupied by the Rhine. As you approach towards Coblentz, it begins to widen to the left. At a diſtance you ſee a magnificent convent of Carthuſians; on a great hill, ſtraight before you, the city; and to the right, the ſteep rock crowned by the fort of Ehrenbreitſtein. At the foot of the hill is the majeſtic caſtle inhabited by the prince, and ſeveral magnificent buildings. The whole has an effect not to be deſcribed.

Coblentz is a very pretty, though ſomewhat dead town, which contains about twelve thouſand inhabitants. The preſent maſter, a Saxon prince, and brother-in-law to the Emperor, continues true to the old ſyſtem. He is exemplarily good, and I believe that it is his goodneſs, much more than any political views, which makes him ſo attached to the papal ſyſtem of church government. In a voyage he lately made to Augſburg, he carried his veneration for the Pope ſo far, as to throw himſelf on his knees before him in the public church. There alſo exiſts a letter of his to his brother-in-law, in which he reproaches him, in very ſevere terms, for his intended project of reform. Theſe remonſtrances were not, however, well received: the Emperor looked upon the holy father in a very different light from the good archbiſhop. The latter, however, is upon the whole an excellent prince; nor does his piety, as that of princes ſometimes does, degenerate into indolence and weakneſs.

This eccleſiaſtic owes his advancement entirely to the Emperor. He was firſt recommended by him to the Chapter of Luttich, who refuſed the recommendation with great harſhneſs. The Chapters of Mentz, Wurtzburgh, and Luttich, are the only ones in Germany who endeavour to preſerve their freedom of election. Upon the refuſal of Luttich, the Emperor tried Treves, who made leſs difficulty. As Elector, he has at leaſt 500,000, and as biſhop of Augſburg near 200,000 guilders. Beſides this, he is coadjutor of Ellwangen, where, in time, he may expect at leaſt 8000 guilders more. Three ſuch pieces of preferment would almoſt make *me* think with Bellarmine: "Only

make

make me Pope (ſaid a Roman patrician to one who wanted to convert him), and I will be a Chriſtian!"

The country betwixt Coblentz and Cologne is very fine and very well peopled. There is a beautiful town near the latter. Newvied is quite new, regularly built, and full of induſtry. The inhabitants enjoy not only a perfect freedom of religion, but an exemption from taxes, very ſeldom to be met with in Germany. The place is more particularly diſtinguiſhed as the reſidence of a colony of Moravians. Juſt over againſt it, on the oppoſite bank of the Rhine, lies the old town of Andernach, which, though not ſo handſome as Newvied, is extremely full of life. Bonn, the reſidence of the Elector of Cologne, is the largeſt and handſomeſt town betwixt Coblentz and Cologne. It contains twelve thouſand inhabitants. Till you come within two or three miles of Cologne, the banks of the Rhine have ſtill hills, only the chains of hills are ſofter than betwixt Coblentz and Mentz, and they are now and then broken by ſmall plains; but here the hills terminate to the right with ſeven large pyramids, called the ſeven hills. Theſe form a fine amphitheatre, and on one of them there is an old caſtle. From hence to the German ocean there are no more remarkable hills. Here likewiſe end the dominions of the German Bacchus.

The whole ſtrip of land from here to Mentz, is one of the richeſt and beſt peopled in all Germany. In this courſe of eighteen German miles, they reckon twenty cities, which lie on the banks of the Rhine, and were moſt of them known to the Romans. There ſtill remain ſigns enough to prove, that theſe were ſome of the firſt countries broke up. Neither moraſſes nor heaths interrupt the agriculture, which is carried on with great induſtry, from the banks of the river to a great diſtance up the country. Whilſt many caſtles and cities, built in other parts of Germany, in the times of Charlemagne and his ſucceſſors, particularly under Henry the Firſt, have been deſtroyed, thoſe which were built in this country not only remain, but ſeveral freſh ones have been added to them.

It is certainly true, that the natural fruitfulneſs of the country, and the facility of exportation by the Rhine, contributes in a great degree to this; but it is alſo owing to the nature of the government. In the three eccleſiaſtical electorates, they know nothing of the heavy taxes under which the ſubjects of the temporal princes ſo heavily groan. They have raiſed the cuſtoms very little. No ſpecies of ſlavery is known here. There is no need of heavy taxes to portion out princeſſes. They have no overgrown armies, nor do they ſell the ſons of their farmers to foreign powers, nor have they taken any part in the civil or foreign diſturbances of Germany. From all this it follows, that though they do not encourage arts and manufactures ſo much as they might do, agriculture has been carried to a height amongſt them, which it has not reached in any other part of Germany. So true it is, that nature will do of herſelf all that laws and acts of parliament can produce, as ſoon as you remove the impediments that ſtand in the way.

The foreſt of ſhips in the port, and the numerous church ſteeples, give Cologne a very magnificent appearance at a diſtance; but it all vaniſhes as ſoon as you ſet foot within the gates. The ſtreets and the inhabitants are alike dark and ugly. I had ſcarce made my entry, when I met with an event, which gave me no very high idea of the police of the place. On my landing from the veſſel, they ſent a ſoldier with me to the inn, to ſearch my baggage; but we were hardly alone, when he told me how old he was, what a trouble it would be for him to go to the inn, and in ſhort offered to let me go where I pleaſed, provided I would give him a few ſtivers. This I eaſily complied with; but

I had hardly got rid of him, when a troop of beggars aſſailed me, and followed me quite to the inn. Here I met with another ſpecimen of the manners. The hoſteſs was bargaining with a dirty monk to ſay maſs for her. He aſked 14 ſtivers, and ſhe would give him only 12. At length, when they had ſtruck their bargain, and the prieſt was gone his way, there came another, who had overheard all that had paſſed, and offered the hoſteſs, if ſhe would be off, to ſay maſs for ten ſtivers. By the next poſt you ſhall hear more from this city, which has an extraordinary appearance throughout.

LETTER LXVII.

Cologne.

COLOGNE, brother, is in every reſpect the uglieſt town in all Germany; there is not a ſingle building worth ſeeing within its walls, which are nine miles in circumference: moſt of the houſes are falling to the ground; a great part of them ſtand quite empty; and as to the population, I cannot give you a better idea of it, than by aſſuring you, upon my honour, that my landlord, an officer of the city, with whom I have taken up my abode for two months, pays only 50 guilders a year for a very handſome, large houſe, with a court, ſtables, and a large garden, in one of the beſt ſtreets in the city. Round the walls, which encloſe the whole domain of the ſtate, there are ſome hundred farm houſes, which produce all the greens, together with as much butter, cheeſe, and milk, as is uſed in the city. In many ſtreets there is dung laying before the houſes on each ſide. Many are ſo empty, that you may walk in them for an hour, without ſeeing a ſingle human creature. The great ſquare or place, however, would, from its ſize and beautiful rows of lime trees in it, be one of the moſt magnificent in the world, if it was not darkened by the half-fallen buildings about it.

A third part of the inhabitants are privileged beggars, who form here a regular corporation: this is no ſatire, as you may think it, but the ſober truth; they ſit upon rows of ſtools placed in every church, and take precedence according to their ſeniority: when the eldeſt dies his next neighbour takes his place. The old people, who belong to the fraternity, conſider a place upon theſe ſtools as a proviſion for a ſon, or marriage portion for a daughter. Many of them have ſtools belonging to them in ſeveral churches, which they viſit alternately, on the days of the moſt brilliant feſtivals, and divide amongſt their heirs when they die. On the few days of the year on which there are no feſtivals they diſperſe about the city, and moleſt the paſſengers, with an inſolence and rudeneſs not to be conceived.

Another third of the inhabitants are eccleſiaſtics. There are thirty-nine nunneries in this place, above twenty convents for men, and more than twelve hoſpitals; beſides theſe, the place is crowded with a motley race of men, which are called Abbés; but theſe are not as they are with us, the powdered ſmirking eccleſiaſtical beaux, who make parties with the ladies, and attend at their levees; but rough dirty clowns, beſmeared all over with tobacco, who play for pence with the peaſants in public alehouſes; or, after having ſaid maſs in the morning, run of errands, clean ſhoes, or are porters for the reſt of the day. I have never ſeen the church in ſo contemptible a ſtate as it is here. There are ſeveral eccleſiaſtics who do not themſelves know what they are. I am acquainted with a canon who makes 2000 guilders a year of his ſtall; but has aſſured me himſelf that he has never ſaid maſs, nor ſeen his church, for a twelvemonth. I met another of them in a coffee-houſe, kept by a young woman, whom he loved, but who was likewiſe courted by a merchant's clerk. The rivals having engaged

gaged in a game of billiards, from words proceeded to blows, until the prebend was laid fairly under the table. When we had with ſome difficulty made peace, the clerk went his way, and now there followed another extraordinary ſcene. The canon had a pretty young man with him, whom he had lodged and boarded for ſome time. He took it ſo ill that this toad-eater had not taken his part, that after reproaching him with the favours he had conferred on him, he renounced his friendſhip before us all. The part of our abbés is played here by theſe regular canons, the Antonites, and the prieſts of the order of Malta. You ſee them about the ladies in all the great houſes. As to the nuns, there are four of them big with child at preſent, and ſix are immured, for not having underſtood the art of not being with child. In the firſt days of my abode here, the ſon of a gentleman, to whom I was recommended, took me with him to a nunnery to viſit his ſiſter. We found her with another friend in the ſick room, where they are allowed to receive viſits. In the firſt quarter of an hour of the viſit, I diſcovered that my friend was not come to ſee his ſiſter, and that her friend's diſorder was not very dangerous. I found the ſiſter agreeable enough, not to be tired with her, whilſt the brother was entertained by the friend. The next week the ſiſter was ill, and the friend attended her to the hoſpital; ſhe gratefully returned the favour the week after, and I ſoon found that, let me ſtay here as long as I pleaſed, we ſhould have viſits to make every week, till the whole circle of diſeaſes had been gone through by the nuns.

The want of proper government is the cauſe of the illimited freedom, which is enjoyed by the eccleſiaſtics of this place. They live in the greateſt anarchy; for though they are properly ſubject to the controul of the Archbiſhop of Cologne, the magiſtracy of the place is jealous of the Archbiſhop's power, and will ſuffer none of his orders relating to diſcipline to be carried into execution. Thus between the contention of the two powers, poor diſcipline goes to the ground.

The laſt third of the inhabitants conſiſts of ſome patrician families, and of the merchants and mechanics, on whom the other two parts live. Upon the whole, Cologne is at leaſt a century behind the reſt of Germany, Bavaria itſelf not excepted. Bigotry, ill-manners, clowniſhneſs, ſlothfulneſs, are viſible every where; and the ſpeech, dreſs, furniture of the houſes, every thing in ſhort is ſo different from what is ſeen in the reſt of Germany, that you conceive yourſelf in the middle of a colony of ſtrangers. I do not mean to ſay there are no exceptions, for I have been in ſome houſes, the maſters of which are diſtinguiſhed for their taſte and elegant manner of living; but the exceptions are indeed very few.

It is owing to the government of the country that this city is ſo far behind the other ſtates of Germany. Together with the hatred of innovation common to all republics, and uſual impatience and weakneſs of the magiſtrate, the abſurd corporation ſyſtem prevails here with more force than in any other of the free imperial cities. I will only give you one inſtance, by which you will ſee how impoſſible it is for this town ever to go on improving as the reſt of Germany has done. A few years ſince there ſettled here a baker from the Palatinate, who, from the circumſtance of the other bakers baking ſuch bread as only an inhabitant of Cologne could eat, ſoon drove a thriving trade. Jealouſy of his good fortune ſoon brought his brethren of the company to his houſe, and they pulled down his oven. The affair was carried into a court of juſtice. On the day it was to be determined, not only the company of bakers, but the other companies of barbers, taylors, ſhoemakers, &c. aſſembled round the court-houſe, and ſwore they would put an end to the magiſtrates and magiſtracy together, if, by their licentious decree, they allowed any man to bake better bread than the other gentlemen of the

corps.

corps. The magiſtracy knew its men, who on a former occaſion had huſtled ſome of them in the church-yard; and admoniſhed by the precedent, they made this ſpirited decree:——"That whereas the audacious baker had taken upon him to bake bread, ſuch as the reſt of the corporation did not bake, he ſhould build up his oven again at his own expence, and, for the future, be cautious only to bake ſuch bread as the town had been wont to feed upon."

The obſtinacy with which the ſeveral corporations of the place defend their privileges, the rudeneſs of the common people, which ſome love to decorate with the name of liberty, and the immoderate and unreſtrained licentiouſneſs which obtains univerſally, render Cologne very deſerving of the name of Little London, by which ſome of its inhabitants love to diſtinguiſh it. Like the great London, it is remarkable for the pride of the common people, and the inſolence with which they treat ſtrangers. Having behaved rather impertinently to their neighbours, the Elector of Cologne, and the Elector Palatine, an attempt was made to reform them in the moſt effectual way, by cutting off their proviſions. The magiſtracy immediately diſpatched meſſengers to the Emperor, to acquaint him that they were upon the point of being ſtarved to death; and in the mean time the burghers rubbed up their old ſwords, and aſſembling in crowds in the alehouſes, and other public places of the city, denounced death and vengeance on the Elector. The Emperor, out of pity, had the interdict taken off; and ever ſince, the populace have exclaimed,—"We have brought the Elector to reaſon: he was apprized of our intended march, and has acted very wiſely in not allowing matters to come to extremities!" Preciſely in the ſtyle of the *canaille* of London.

A governing burgomaſter of Cologne (there are ſix of them, two of which govern every year) holds nearly the ſame ſtate as the Lord Mayor of London. He wears a Roman toga, half black, half purple, a large Spaniſh hat, Spaniſh breeches, waiſtcoat, &c. He has alſo his lictors, who carry the faſces before him, when he appears in his public character. In the laſt war, one of our regiments deſired to march through the city; but it was oppoſed, on pretence that the King of Pruſſia was their liege lord, in his capacity of Duke of Cleves, and Count of the Mark; and they told the Colonel, who deſired to have the gate opened to him, that they were determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. It was in vain for him to remonſtrate that he was conducting auxiliary troops to the ſervice of the Emperor, their ſovereign lord. The gates were kept ſhut, and nothing leſs than the pleaſure of having their houſes burned about their ears would content the mob of the place. However, when the cannon was planted, and ready to fire, the council thought better of it, and, to the great mortification of the populace, determined to permit the paſſage. The Commandant, as ſoon as he had got in, immediately made the beſt of his way to the hall, to remonſtrate with the Mayor, whom he found, in all the inſignia of majeſty, on his throne, encompaſſed with his lictors. As theſe, however, did not prevent a few remarks from being made, the Magiſtrate immediately drew up, and ordering the lictors to raiſe the faſces, aſked the Colonel, "Whether he had a proper conception of the dignity of a Roman Burgomaſter? Or whether he knew that he repreſented the majeſty of the Roman Cæſars, and had only opened the door to him out of good will?" The officer, who had drawn up *his* troops, with their bayonets fixed and firelocks primed, in the grand ſquare, and was in full poſſeſſion of the city, could not abſtain from laughing; but as he already had the door in his hand, the only anſwer he made was, "You are not quite right in your head!"

The want of all police, a want which in this town conſtitutes the eſſence of liberty, brings hither from the Upper Rhine, Weſtphalia, the Imperial Netherlands, France, and Holland, vaſt numbers of people who chooſe to live incognito. There are very

good ſocieties to be met with, made up of the better ſort of theſe adventurers, numerous Pruſſian and Imperial officers, the canons belonging to the foundations of the place, ſome patricians, and Proteſtant merchants. The briſk navigation, particularly of the Dutch, for which this is the ſtaple, which they dare not paſs by, the low price of all the neceſſaries of life, the neighbourhood of Bonn, the total abſence of the inſupportable court airs and inſolence of the nobleſſe, which you meet with almoſt in every other city, the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and the cheerfulneſs of the inhabitants of the neighbouring electorate and duchy of Berg, renders this a very agreeable abode to thoſe who wiſh to mix ſomewhat of the country with the city life, notwithſtanding the diſagreeable manners of the majority. This ſerves the philoſophical obſerver for matter of perpetual remarks, which he cannot make ſo eaſily any where elſe. Indeed all the characters of middling life are here more ſtrongly marked than in any other place I have ever been in.

Theſe moroſe and heavy people are equally diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of Europe for their religious as well as for their political ſuperſtitions.

The republican pride gives a colouring to every thing done here, which cannot but highly intereſt a friend of humanity, were it only to make him laugh: which, you know was the uſe which Democritus of Abdera made of his fellow-citizens, to the no ſmall advantage of his lungs.

The ſuperſtition of this little London ſurpaſſes every thing of the kind you can imagine. They are not contented here with ſingle ſaints, but muſt have whole armies of them. A few days ſince I paid a viſit to the church of St. Urſula, where ſhe lays with her eleven thouſand virgins. The walls and floor of the church are filled with coffins and bones. Though, as this holy princeſs lived in the time of the heptarchy, it will be ſomewhat difficult to conceive how ſhe could get together eleven thouſand virgins in her father's dominions; a man who ſhould attempt here to ſubtract a ſingle one from the number, would run a very great chance of being knocked on the head. Wonderful as this ſtory is in itſelf, other wonders are brought in confirmation of it. Amongſt the reſt, there is a monument which has a ſmall coffin encloſed in it, and on which the following words are written:—"A natural child was buried in this church with the virgins; but, innocent as he was, they would not ſuffer him to mix his bones with theirs, but drove him out again, and there was a neceſſity of burying him above ground." If you are not thoroughly verſed in the hiſtory of theſe ladies, you will be, perhaps, glad to hear that authors do not quite agree in their accounts of them. The Italian legendaries, a jealous race of curs, where foreign miracles are concerned, think there is a zero too much in the inſcription; others, that the Princeſs had a maid of honour called Undecimilla, who by ſome blundering monks was changed into eleven thouſand. Here alſo lies interred in a church which bears his name, Saint Gereon, (not Geryon,) with twelve hundred or twelve thouſand (for they do not ſtand for a cypher here in reckoning up ſaints) of his ſoldiers. One of the three Hermans, who are the ſubjects of a wretched popular novel, alſo work wonders upon wonders here. Almoſt every one of the two hundred churches of this place has ſome male or female ſaint belonging to it, on which the monks and beggars live. What delighted me moſt in this way, were two wooden horſes painted white, which are looking out of a window in an old building of the new ſquare. The hiſtory of this monument was given me in the following terms: "A wealthy young woman was formerly buried from this houſe, with very rich ornaments, which the grave-digger having obſerved, he came in the night to rob the corpſe; hardly had the coffin been opened, when the woman ſtood up, and ſeizing the lantern, which the aſtoniſhed grave-digger dropped in his fright, walked

ed directly home with it; she knocked at the door; the maid came to the window, and asked who was there. Your mistress, answered the other. The girl immediately ran with the message to her master, who not being perhaps pleased to hear that his wife was come back again, cried out, 'It is as impossible for it to be my wife, as for the two horses to come out of the stables, run up into the garrets, and look out of the window.' No sooner said than done; the two nags immediately trotted up stairs, and have remained at the window to this day." The poor man had no remedy but to take back his wife, who lived seven years with him after that, and wove a great quantity of linen, which, together with a set of paintings, exhibiting the whole story, is still to be seen in the neighbouring church. Unfortunately for the story, it is told with precisely the same circumstances in two other parts of Germany; only the Cologneſe, who are in every thing distinguished from the rest of the sons of men, have added the visible and perpetual monument of the two horses; but this city is very rich in fables of this kind.

It is not here as in the other dark parts of Germany, where small tales only serve for the amusement of the idle; no, no, the Cologneſe are in downright serious earnest; they consider their country as the special habitation of saints, and the earth itself as holy, and are equally ready to become martyrs for the truth of the propositions, or to make martyrs of any who doubt them.

Their bilious humour leads them to defend the whole with a degree of heat that almost turns their heads: whereas, in the other parts of Germany, there is something romantic in all the stories of the saints, which corresponds with the jovial turn of the people; so every thing of the sort told here is melancholy, cruel, or nonsensical, like the relators.

The priests of the place, especially the monks, carry no better stories than these with them into their pulpits; nay, some of my friends have assured me, that the whole morality of the confessors rests upon them: thus, if a young man comes to confess an affair of gallantry, he is immediately told, "that the devil having caught a young man and a young woman in bed together, wrung off the neck of the one, and plunged the other into a lake nine times hotter than burning pitch." Of all the sermons I heard here, the certain medium by which to judge of the morals of a people, there was only one, by a Carmelite, that was not flat nonsense.

A necessary consequence of all this is, that the manners are more corrupted here than in any other place under the sun. The churches themselves are made places of rendezvous, where every kind of licentiousness is in part agreed upon, and in part carried into effect.

The evening services of the monks are like the evening walks in the suburbs of Vienna, and every alehouse round the place teems with adultery and fornication. If you happen to go into them on a holiday, you will commonly find the visitors in such a state of drunkenness, as exactly reminds you of the old Germans and Scythians.

LETTER LXVIII.

Cologne.

HERETOFORE Cologne counted thirty thousand men bearing arms, and in the twelfth century it stood a siege against the whole empire united. Her commerce was so flourishing, that she was at the head of the Hans cities of the third order. Indeed, when we consider the many circumstances favourable to it, such as the situation on one of the most navigable rivers in the world, the shores of which are covered with inhabitants; the staple, the republican form of government, the admirable roads which con-

nect it with all Germany, and various other circumſtances; the greateſt wonder of all the wonders of this wonderful city is, how it can poſſibly have contrived to fall ſo low: at preſent it does not contain more than twenty-five thouſand ſouls. Their manufactures are low. Save a ſingle one of tobacco, a few inſignificant laces, and the pins which are made by the wives and daughters of the poor people, all ſpirit of induſtry is effectually ſuppreſſed by monkery, and the diſſolution of manners inſeparable from it. Thoſe who paſs for merchants are only brokers and commiſſioners for thoſe of Francfort, Nurenburg, Augſburgh, Straſburgh, Switzerland, and other countries. Excepting a few ſmall bankers, there are hardly above ten or twelve houſes, that have any thing like a ſolid commerce; the object of theſe are drugs, from the ſale of which a great deal of money is annually brought into Germany: wine, wrought and unwrought iron from the mines of Naſſau, which are the moſt famous for the production of this metal, after thoſe of Styria and Carinthia; wood from the Upper Rhine, the Maine, and the Necker, and a few other leſs important articles. The greater part, too, of theſe very few merchants is made up of French and Italians, who far ſurpaſs the natives in underſtanding, induſtry, and frugality, and make up their fortunes on this never-failing capital. The moſt ſolid commerce of all is in the hands of ſome dozens of proteſtants, who can neither obtain the privileges of citizens, nor yet the liberty to ſerve God in their own way; they go to church at Muhlheim, a pretty town in the Palatinate, at ſix miles diſtance. Beſides the manufactures they are engaged in here, they have concerns in ſeveral others in the Pruſſian territory, and in the Palatinate.

When a ſtranger objects to the people of Cologne, their intolerance towards the moſt uſeful part of the inhabitants of their city; when he compares the ſtupidity, barbarity, debauchery, and poverty of the citizens of the place, with the knowledge, induſtry, frugality, and riches of the foreigners, they are not at all affected with the juſtice of theſe remarks, but turn them to their own advantage in the following manner: "Theſe heretics," ſay they, "are loſt ſouls; their hearts are wrapt up in worldly poſſeſſions, which God vouchſafes them in order to render their damnation the greater. God has evidently reprobated the rich in his holy writ, and their riches are the faggots which in another world will be piled up to burn them!" With opinions like theſe, which the monks hold forth from every pulpit, it is not to be wondered at, if the third part of the inhabitants of the city are beggars.

The numerous ſhips which are always to be found in the ports of this city, exhibit the moſt diſgraceful inſtance of the manners of the people. There is hardly a river in Europe which is navigated ſo high from its ſource as the Rhine is in this place; the quay, which is above a mile long, is almoſt always filled with ſhips; but the goods on board, which, according to the laws of the ſtaple, ſhould be loaded only on ſhips belonging to Cologne or Mentz, almoſt all belong to foreign merchants; of theſe the Dutch ſhips are moſt conſiderable; they are diſtinguiſhed by the kind of magnificence and cleanlineſs peculiar to this people: they are at leaſt one-third longer than our common merchant ſhips of two maſts, and carry from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty tons; they are drawn by horſes, and can alſo occaſionally uſe their ſails at the ſame time; nor, in proportion to their freight, do they want above half the number of horſes which are uſed in the navigation of the Danube from the Ulm to Vienna. The proprietors of theſe (for a river) immenſe veſſels commonly live on board, even when they are at Amſterdam or Rotterdam; to which laſt city, unfavourable as their veſſels are for a ſea navigation, on account of their length, ſmall height and breadth, they often ſail through the Texel when the wind is favourable. As long as they lie in this port, they treat their friends with all kinds of foreign wines, and a variety of refreſhments,

freſhments, after the Dutch manner. I have had many a jolly party in ſuch veſſels, where we have danced down the night. The ſhips of this place, and thoſe from Mentz, which take goods in here for the Upper Rhine, are much ſmaller than the Dutch ones. Many of theſe, however, are large enough to load one hundred and twenty tons, or as much as a common two-maſt ſhip. All theſe ſhips are built of oak, and according to the principles of ſhips which go to ſea, only with this difference, that their length is greater in proportion to their depth or breadth.

Nothing diſplays the conſtitution of the German empire in a better light, than the navigation of the Rhine. Every prince, ſo far as his domain on the banks reaches, conſiders the ſhips that go by as the veſſels of foreigners, and loads them, without diſtinction, with almoſt intolerable taxes. They do not in the leaſt conſider, whether the commodities which paſs by are the produce of Germany or other countries, and whether the empire will gain or loſe by them. On the contrary, ſome of the articles exported from Germany, ſuch as wine, wood, &c. have greater taxes laid upon them, in proportion to their intrinſic value, than any foreign ware. Flouriſhing as the banks of the Rhine now are, they would be ſtill much richer if they belonged only to one maſter, and were governed according to the principles of a ſound policy; as things now are, the exports of the country are viſibly cramped by the numerous cuſtom-houſe duties, ſo as to make it almoſt incredible how navigation can be ſo great as it is.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Germany was approaching near to the anarchy in which it in fact ſtill continues, the princes of the Rhine, particularly the eccleſiaſtical ones, either by force or flattery, compelled the Emperor to give them ſo many cuſtoms as to make every city a cuſtom-houſe: originally all the cuſtoms belonged to the Emperors; but their want of men, money, and other ſervices compelled them to part with moſt of them to purchaſe friends. Whilſt the anarchy laſted, every one took by force what was not given him by free will; and at the peace, they found means to preſerve themſelves in the poſſeſſion of what they had ſtole. The Emperor Albert had the idea of endeavouring to recover them, but he was not ſufficiently powerful for the undertaking.

In the ſmall diſtrict between Mentz and Coblentz, which, with the windings of the river, hardly make twenty-ſeven miles, you don't pay leſs than nine tolls. Between Holland and Coblentz there are at leaſt ſixteen. Every one of theſe ſeldom produces leſs than 25,000, and commonly 30,000 guilders a year. In this eſtimate I do not comprehend a number of articles which pay toll in ſpecie, and make a part of the pay of the toll-gatherers. An old Engliſh writer has qualified theſe tolls of the German princes, which evidently contribute to the ruin of their country, with the name of an incomprehenſible fury. It is, indeed, a very different method of proceeding from that of a government, which, inſtead of putting clogs on the exports of the commodities of the country, gives premiums for them. It likewiſe often happens, that the temporary revenge of the neighbouring princes, occaſioned theſe unpatriotic tributes to be carried much higher than the ſettled eſtimate. When the Elector Palatine made it difficult for the city of Mentz to export the corn of his country, the Archbiſhop endeavoured to revenge himſelf by raiſing the toll of the grape of the Palatinate, the tobacco, and the other productions. On the other hand the Elector Palatine had reprifals made by his toll on the Lower Rhine, and revenged himſelf on the Mentz wines which were carried to Holland. Every ſpecies of chicanery, which hoſtile powers can uſe towards each other, was made uſe of on this occaſion. The town of Treves poſſeſſes the ſtaple privilege on the Moſelle; there have been inſtances of this ſtaple being moved from one place to another, in the ſame principality, in order to hurt the ſtaples of Mentz and Cologne.

logne. The Elector of Treves took it into his head to move his ſtaple from Treves to Coblentz, where it was far more profitable to himſelf, but infinitely prejudicial to the navigation on the Rhine, and the exports from Holland. Fortunately the ſtrong oppoſition he met with from the court of Vienna did not allow him to carry his project into execution. The eternal diſputes between theſe princes has occaſioned ſeveral congreſſes, in which our court has been forced to take a part, on account of Alſatia, which ſuffers infinitely by them. Every thing, however, that was agreed upon, only ſerved for a new bone of contention; and they muſt be ſuffered to cuff each other, till ſome ſtronger power ariſe and cuff them all to pieces. A great revolution awaits theſe countries, when the Archduke Maximilian is come to the government of Cologne, and Munſter; a revolution by which, happen what may, it is hardly poſſible that the country ſhould loſe.

The preſent government of the archbiſhoprick of Cologne, and the biſhoprick of Munſter, is without a doubt, the moſt active, and moſt enlightened of all the eccleſiaſtical governments of Germany. The miniſtry of the court of Bonn is excellently compoſed; and the biſhoprick of Munſter, beſides the effect which their influence has on it, is happy in the patriotiſm of the ſeveral members who compoſe the aſſemblies of its ſtates. The eccleſiaſtics of both the countries are a moſt ſtriking contraſt to thoſe of the city of Cologne, for their great learning, and good manners. The cabinet of Bonn is ſingularly happy in the eſtabliſhment of ſeminaries of education, the improvement of agriculture, and induſtry, and the extirpation of every ſpecies of monkery. The electorate of Cologne is worth about 1,000,000 of Rheniſh guilders a year, or about 100,000 pounds, and that of Munſter about 1,200,000 guilders. With theſe two great principalities, the Archduke will alſo have the biſhoprick of Paderborne, worth about 600,000 guilders, or 6,000 pounds a year. Some perſons are of opinion that even this will not be thought ſufficient, but that the Emperor has ſo managed his matters, with the chapter of Liege, that, forgetful of its ancient jealouſies, it will likewiſe chooſe the Archduke for its archbiſhop, on the death of its preſent incumbent. This biſhoprick brings in at leaſt 1,200,000 guilders, the greateſt part of which, however, like that of Munſter, goes into the cheſt of the ſtates, the lock and keys of which, the Prince's fingers are not ſuffered to touch. The Prince with his income as maſter of the Teutonic order, which amounts to at leaſt 400,000 guilders, will have a revenue of 4,400,000 guilders, which will make him the moſt powerful eccleſiaſtical Prince in Germany. The ſenſe of this made the Pruſſian court, whoſe dominions in Weſtphalia will be in great jeopardy by this arrangement, make ſtrong remonſtrances at Bonn, and Munſter againſt the nomination of a coadjutor, but they were without effect. No doubt, but this elevation of a Prince of the Houſe of Auſtria will be of fatal conſequence to the balance of power of the empire. A branch of ſuch a houſe, propped as it will be with all the power of the Low Countries, and ſituated amidſt a number of ſmall principalities, partly occupied by the creatures of this houſe, would not only be very formidable to the greateſt part of the empire, but alſo, under peculiar circumſtances to Holland itſelf. It would be able, eſpecially if ſupported by ſome ſubſidies from Vienna, to keep on foot an army of 20,000 men, to which if the imperial troops in the Netherlands were to be joined, there would be army of near 60,000 ready to ſpread terror and deſolation far and near. In former times a biſhop of Munſter alone had it in his power to make Holland tremble.

LETTER

LETTER LXIX.

Amſterdam.

I HAD intended to go from Cologne to Holland by the Rhine, and promiſed myſelf great pleaſure from the journey, but the King of Pruſſia forbad the ſport; he ſuffers nobody to go by water through the territory of Cleves, in order not to hurt his poſts by land, which are formed. You are obliged to take the poſts on the frontiers, or at leaſt to pay certain taxes, if you have a carriage of your own. "This," ſaid I to ſome ſailors of Rotterdam who told me of it, "this," ſaid I, "is againſt the law of nature, againſt the law of nations, againſt the law of hoſpitality, and againſt all the laws in the world." "We have known that," anſwered they, "long ago."

As being prevented from going by water, I determined to ſee as much of the country as was poſſible by land, and for this purpoſe partly on horſeback, partly on foot, and partly in the carriages of the country, I wandered over the ſeveral parts of Weſtphalia, belonging to the King of Pruſſia and the elector Palatine, entirely indifferent where the viſit ſhall carry me, and following only the direction of my noſe.

The reward however was well worth the trouble I took for it, for the degree of cultivation and riches far exceeded all ideas I had formed of them, and quite aſtoniſhed me. All the cities and villages abounded in tradeſpeople. Muhlheim, Elberfeld, Solingen, Sorſt, Ham, Duiſburg, Meurs, Weſel, Cleve, and ſome other cities have capital manufactures in them. They make a great number of linens and woollens, ſupply almoſt all the country of the Upper Rhine, Suabia, and Franconia, with white threads: they have beſides manufactures of handkerchiefs, ſilks, and cottons; they prepare ſteel and iron at Solingen, better than in any other part of Europe, England alone excepted. Their commerce extends all over the Netherlands, part of Franconia, and the whole empire.

This wonderful induſtry, united to the natural fertility of the country, renders this one of the richeſt, and moſt remarkable parts of Germany; a gentle adminiſtration, and a ſecurity againſt deſpotiſm, derived from the ſtates of the country, contribute not a little to the happineſs which obtains. The inhabitants are cheerful, hoſpitable, and well mannered; they may be quoted as a new inſtance to be added to the numberleſs ones I have already given, of the little influence which religion has over the civil condition of men, when not attended with other local circumſtances. Though the proteſtants in this circle are far from being ſo enlightened, or ſo tolerant, as thoſe of their perſuaſions in other countries, and though they are much more addicted to ſenſual enjoyments than their brethren of other places, they are, notwithſtanding, the moſt induſtrious people, and the beſt ſubjects that can be found; nor does the bigotry of the catholics hurt the manufacture and agriculture of the country, their education only directing it to ſuch objects, as have no connection with manners, or civil ſociety. Every thing therefore in my opinion depends upon the habits amidſt the which men grow up. When once induſtry is habitual to a people, the moſt abject ſuperſtitions will have no influence on their temporal felicity; the prieſts themſelves will render their ſermons conformable to the manners of the country, nor will the monkiſh theoriſts themſelves be able to overturn them. There are as many legends in this country, as in Cologne, nor are the people leſs fond of proceſſions and pilgrimages, and yet they are infinitely more induſtrious, more frugal, and more wealthy than at Cologne. It is neither therefore the fault of the religion, or ſuperſtition, but of the government alone, that the people of Cologne are ſo debauched, and that the prieſts of the place openly recommend debauchery, as a looſe education has made their religion prejudical to them. The corporation ſyſtem, which

more

more activity and cleverneſs would have made a bleſſing to the country, is become the curſe of it. In a word, police, government, and executive juſtice are ſubject under a weak adminiſtration to the ſame abuſes as government, nor is it the religion itſelf, but the abuſes of it, which make it ever prejudicial to the ſtate.

The upper part of Weſtphalia, which lies at a greater diſtance from the Rhine, is not ſo well cultivated, and by nature much leſs productive, than the country I am now ſpeaking of: it is occupied by many heaths, and moraſſes, which for the moſt part produce only turf, and in the better places dyers wood. Some parts of the country, ſuch as part of the dutchy of Minden, and marquiſate of Tecklenburg, are remarkably well peopled, but this is compenſated by the ſtriking depopulation of ſome others; * many parts for inſtance, of the biſhopricks of Munſter, Oſnaburg, and Paderborn, the marquiſate of Beithlein, and ſome domains in the electorate of Hanover. With all this, this part of Weſtphalia is the proper country of hemp and flax, which are ſome of the richeſt products of this country. The greateſt part of the hemp and flax, which is manufactured in the parts of Weſtphalia about the Rhine, Holland, the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the French Netherlands, comes from this part of the country. Beſides this, there is a great part exported raw to England, Spain, Portugal, and America. Though theſe productions are found in great plenty in the other parts of Germany, particularly in the electorate of Hanover, the circle of Lower Saxony, Heſſe, Waldeck, and Fulde, I queſtion much, whether all the flax and hemp of the other parts of Germany, taken together, are equivalent to the quantity found here. According to the eſtimate of an intelligent friend of mine who lives at Munſter, the annual exports of raw and ſpun flax and hemp, out of the ſingle circle of Weſtphalia, amount to 5,000,000 of Rheniſh guilders. I do not take into this account, the numerous manufactories of theſe materials, which are conſumed in the parts of the circle of Weſtphalia, about the Rhine. All the flax and hemp, raw and worked, exported out of all Weſtphalia, taken together, muſt at leaſt be eſtimated at 7,000,000 of guilders, or 700,000 pounds.—The fineſt flax and hemp grows in the territory of Bielefed and Kerooſt. It almoſt reſembles ſilk.

When you go out of Weſtphalia, and enter the territory of Holland, it appears to you as going out of a pig-ſty into a fine garden. The country round Nimeguen eſpecially is a ſtriking contraſt to what you ſee in Weſtphalia. I ſhall ſay nothing to you of the magnificence, ſymmetry, and cleanlineſs of the Dutch cities, nor of the numerous and expenſive canals, the ſides of which are for the moſt part planted with fine rows of trees, nor of the numerous gardens. There are deſcriptions of all theſe things in abundance. This magnificence, however, and regularity is tireſome in the end. I at leaſt cannot ſtand the tedious uniformity of this country and its inhabitants. All the cities, villages, roads, and canals, are ſo ſimilar, that they appear copies of the ſelf-ſame individual picture. The country indeed is only made to take a walk through; and, without buſineſs, no man of taſte will ſtay in it long. With reſpect to real value alſo, it is only a frogged out beggar parading about in a rich gown which he has ſtolen. The Palatinate, which is not more than one-fifth of Holland, is of infinitely more natural value.

The inhabitants, likewiſe, taken in general, are only well dreſſed beggars; their riches do not belong to them, for they enjoy them not; they are only the guardians of their money. When you are invited to dinner by a man of middling rank, the magnificence of the diſhes, the cleanlineſs of the room you dine in, and the expenſiveneſs of the furniture, make you expect a princely meal; but when diſhes are ſet on, you find no more, nor leſs, than you would have at the table of a good Weſtphalia peaſant. All the merchants paſs the whole week in their counting-houſes, where they gorge themſelves

with

with tea. They are ſo intent upon their buſineſs, and ſo entirely taken up with their ſpeculations, that you may puſh their guts out almoſt without diſturbing them. On Saturdays they go to their expenſive gardens, where they ſpend the whole of the Sunday, and enjoy themſelves juſt as they do in their counting-houſes. I had occaſion to viſit one of them in his garden; he was taken up all the afternoon, in gathering ſallad for his ſupper. Another ſhut himſelf up, and ſpent the whole Sunday in killing flies in his ſummer-houſe. Theſe, and ſmoking tobacco, are their common amuſements in their hours of recreation. When they are in company, they ſit as if they were pinned to their chairs, gape at each other, and every quarter of an hour converſe on the news of the day, which, of all the news publiſhed in Europe, is the moſt piteous. This is the quinteſſence of *political* nonſenſe; and their eccleſiaſticks, who, to the ſhame of the reformation, are greater monks than the German capuchins, will give you the quinteſſence of the *ſpiritual*. Were it not for the ſtrangers, eſpecially the officers, and ſome of the nobility who have been poliſhed by their voyages, there would not be a tolerable ſociety to be met with throughout all Holland.

Their government, and police, is as extraordinary as the country and every thing bears a tint of the inconverſible melancholy and niggardly humour of the natives. It is received as a common opinion here, that no diſh of fiſh, which you know is the moſt ordinary produce of the country, is brought to table, which has not been paid for once to the ſeller, and ſix times to the ſtate. The ſpirit of the inhabitants, which revolts at every idea of ſacrifice to the public good, compels the magiſtrate to lay theſe heavy impoſts upon the firſt neceſſaries of life. It is theſe heavy charges, as well as the aſtoniſhing tranquillity of the inhabitants, which are the cauſes of the miſerable living of this country. I will only give you one ſpecimen of their police, which is extraordinary enough. A ſtranger, who knows nothing of laws, and the cuſtoms of the country, happens to ſend his ſervant to a wine-merchant to buy a bottle of wine; the merchant gives it the man, without telling him a word of his danger; the ſervant carries the bottle home in his open hand; he is met by a conſtable, and aſked where he bought it, which the other tells without difficulty; but no ſooner has he done ſo, than he is arreſted, and, in due proceſs of time, tried, and baniſhed the country. Thus the poor ſervant alone ſuffers, and neither the maſter who ſent him, nor the merchant who ſold the wine in retail, which, according to law, ought only to have been done by thoſe who keep taverns, are at all puniſhed.

LETTER LXX.

Amſterdam.

THIS, dear brother, according to the generally received opinion, frogs-ſtolen country is originally nothing more than ſand, brought down by the Rhine from Switzerland, and the upper parts of Germany; and ſea mud, which the north and weſt winds have cauſed the waves to bring up. There is in no part of it any ſolid earth; and as early as on the borders of the duchy of Cleves, you find the moſt evident marks of this country's having been formed like the Egyptian Delta, with this difference only, that the Nile yields a moſt fruitful ſoil; whereas the Rhine carries nothing with it but a hard ſand. Parts of Brabant and Flanders have been formed in like manner by the Scheld, the Maeſe, and ſome other rivers: there are notorious proofs of this. At a great diſtance from the coaſt, in Flanders, you find under the good earth, dry ſand, and under this again, large layers of good earth, as if the rivers and ſea had by turns depoſited their ſands and their mud. The whole coaſt of Germany is of the ſame kind, as far as

the Elbe; throughout all this district there is no solid ground; and as to the rocks and hills, nobody thinks of them.

The sea forms boundaries to herself, which she never passes, but in cases of extreme necessity. Her playful waves have made the downs which reach from Calais to the Texel, and which protect the land, which is in some case lower than the horizontal surface of the sea, from her devastations; but, when a north or north-west wind turns her from her natural good humour, into a fit of anger, she overthrows in an instant, what, with the help of the neighbouring rivers, she has been building for many centuries.

Even in the time of the Romans, the Y, which reaches from Amsterdam to the Texel, was still solid land, watered to the east by the Yssel, and to the west, as some imagine, by the Rhine. In some tempest, the sea demolished the downs, which extend from the northern coast of Friezeland, to the country of the Texel; the rivers, in the mean time, having extended their mouths in the sand, which was their works, there came at length an extraordinary flood, which raised the rivers, and united with them to destroy the whole country. Since that time, but particularly since the independance of the country, it has been the constant care to re-unite these small strips of land, which the flood left behind it, with the solid land. These strips are commonly only sand banks, some of which have been fenced with dykes, and joined to North Holland; others are embanking every day, as every strip of land, let it be ever so barren, is of infinite value to the inhabitants. A similar process has taken place betwixt Groningen and East Friezeland, by the mouth of the Ems. The great bay of Dollar was originally formed by a powerful flood, since which, a great part of the sea swamp has been dammed in, and wonderfully cultivated. But as fast as they recover land on one side, the sea revenges itself by spreading on the other. The sea of Haerlem grows wider every day, and threatens to break the dykes betwixt Leyden and Haerlem, and make a perfect island of North Holland. In the last century the sea demolished a great part of the island in which Dordrecht is situated, and sixty thousand men perished by this accident.

Dreadful as the sea is to the main land of the Republic, she is still a more formidable enemy to the islands which constitute the province of Zeeland; but what she executes on the continent by violent storms, she undertakes here by craft and cunning: most of these islands are lower than the surface of the sea; the inhabitants have in consequence attempted to secure themselves by very expensive dykes; these dykes consist of large trees, which are joined together with large needles to prevent the kakerlak.

The sea is perpetually undermining them, and washing the earth away from them by degrees; in many places they are already quite naked. This compels the inhabitants to build other walls behind their dams, which, expecting the same fate, must in time leave the whole at the mercy of their enemy.

Nor are the inhabitants of the middle of the country in a better situation. The territories about Nimeguen and Arnheim, the most beautiful and most fruitful in all Holland, will in time be subdued by the Rhine. As it deposits immense sand banks in the middle of the country, in time it will be restrained by them in its course, and compelled to open itself new ways. In many districts about Betuve, the sand is already so high, that at every swell the river is driven with a terrible hurricane to the opposite shore; this will happen till it has finally broke itself a new bed, and covered with its waters all that is now ploughed land, or the site of villages and hamlets.—*Nunc Rhenus est ubi Troja fuit*—The many canals which have been made to receive part of the waters of these rivers, are by no means sufficient to break their force. Their sand, particularly that of the Maese, accumulates at their mouths and stops them up; nor does the di-

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viſion of the waters ſerve for any other purpoſe, than to compel them the more, in proceſs of time, to overflow the middle of the country, for want of having ſufficient ſtrength to maintain their old mouths.

Theſe canals, and the abundant diggings of turf, entirely diveſt this country, which is the ſport of the Rhine, the Maeſe, and the ſea, of all ſecurity. In the direct line betwixt Rotterdam and Amſterdam, there is dyke upon dyke; all theſe hollows have been occaſioned by the digging of the turf; moſt of them are ſo deep, that it is impoſſible to draw the waters of them into the canals, which are on a level with the ſurface of the ſea. What a ruin will take place, if once the waters of the neighbouring rivers break in upon them, or endeavour to open a way through them! In ſhort, no Dutchman can promiſe his children a durable habitation, ſave only the inhabitants of Guelderland, which is nothing but ſand, and thoſe of Over-Yſſel and Drenthe, countries which are almoſt nothing but moraſſes and heaths, and throughout the habitations of colds, catarrhs, and fevers.

Turn we our eyes from the phyſical ſituation of the country to its preſent political one, which is much worſe.

Many ſuperficial writers of the hiſtory of Holland have obſerved, that the republic was too young, and its conſtitution not ſufficiently firm and ſolid; but this opinion has been controverted by a whole herd of Dutch writers, who have brought the brilliant parts of their hiſtory to ſhew, how little their conſtitution had ſtood in the way of their united exertions. The event, however, has contradicted all the nonſenſe hitherto written on the ſubject. The brilliant actions performed by the anceſtors of theſe men, were, in part, the effect of a patriotic enthuſiaſm, which neither is, nor, by the nature of things, can be, of long duration in a republic entirely commercial, and partly aroſe from the benevolent and perſonal influence of a demi-god of the houſe of Naſſau. Their operations were never the reſult of a ſolid conſtitution, which keeps bodies in a regular degree of heat, and makes them act with uniformity and alacrity. Even in the courſe of the war, in which the republic figured amongſt the firſt powers of Europe, it frequently experienced, that the different members of the body were not well compacted and connected together.

The enthuſiaſm of the inhabitants, the preſſure of circumſtances, and the aſtoniſhing activity of ſome princes of Holland, could do wonders, and raiſe the republic above itſelf, ſo long as the other powers of Europe were not entirely formed, and did not know the whole of their ſtrength; but ſince theſe times, the latter have taken uncommonly large ſtrides, and the republic has gone back, as it muſt continue to do, for want of a ſufficient degree of internal ſtrength. In thoſe wars, in which the force of the republic ſhone ſo bright at ſea, there was no naval power of Europe which poſſeſſed above thirty ſhips of the line; the greateſt force the Engliſh could oppoſe, conſiſted of twenty, and in the moſt bloody engagements betwixt the two nations, there were hardly ever more than twelve or ſixteen on a ſide; the fleets were, for the moſt part, made up of frigates, and other leſſer craft.

Theſe times are now long gone by; Great Britain has a hundred and four ſhips of the line, beſides frigates. If by exorbitant taxes, the republic could even build a formidable navy, it would be impoſſible for it ever to man them. According to the liſts of the admiralty, there are to be ſixty ſhips of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates, ready for the ſervice of the enſuing year; but at this very moment, that they have but ſixteen ſhips, there is a cry for ſailors in every corner. The pay, it is true, has been doubled, and projects have been given in to make uſe of part of the land troops in

the ſea ſervice; go, however, where you will, you meet with nothing but ſailors, who expreſs their abhorrence and deteſtation of the ſervice.

Far from its being able to ſhine as a firſt-rate power, it will be neceſſary for the republic to exert every nerve, if it means to hold rank even amongſt the ſecond order of naval powers in Europe. In order to do this, the inhabitants muſt become patriotic enough to contribute largely, even in time of peace, to the neceſſities of the ſtate, which is as poor as they are rich. The India Company, whoſe adminiſtration is ſtill more miſerable than that of the Engliſh, and which, incredible as it is, is loaded with debt by the robbery of its ſervants, and the intereſtedneſs of the proprietors, muſt be entirely ſuppreſſed, and its poſſeſſions governed by the republic; the land troops, a miſerable jeſt upon armies, and of which the Swiſs and Dutch alone deſerve the name of ſoldiers, muſt be entirely diſbanded, and their immenſe pay employed in the ſervice of the navy. When all this is done, poſſibly the ſtate may be in a ſituation to keep up a conſtant navy of fifty or ſixty ſhips of the line; but in the preſent ſtate of things, even if the fifty or ſixty ſhips that are promiſed could be got ready, the beſt thing that could be done with them, would be to ſell them directly to the neighbouring power of Europe, which would give moſt; the republic itſelf has neither ſtrength enough to keep them manned and in a ſtate of ſervice for a courſe of years, nor good will and power enough to preſerve them at the end of the war; they muſt of courſe rot again in a ſhort time. As the republic has made conqueſts abroad, the defence of which, in the preſent times, far ſurpaſſes her power, ſhe has the good will and jealouſy of her neighbours to thank for ſtill continuing in poſſeſſion of them.

But ſmall as the reſources of the republic appear to be, when conſidered with regard to the preſent political ſyſtem of Europe, the conſtitution of the country does not allow her to make all the uſe of them they might be put to. Not only abroad, but in Holland itſelf, the republic paſſes for a confederacy of ſeven, or, taking in the country of Drenthe, of eight ſovereigns. Nothing can be falſer than this eſtimate; there are a greater number of independent ſtates in Holland than in Switzerland, or the whole German empire; and whatever appearances may ſpeak the contrary, the bond of union is much ſtronger in theſe laſt countries than it is in Holland. Every city, every country of this republic is a free ſtate; the members of every province ſhould indeed be only the repreſentatives of the ſtates of a country, as they formerly were; but they are in fact become true ſtates, according to their titles. The States General are no repreſentatives of ſeven or eight ſovereigns, but only the reſults of the deliberations of many ſtates, which are united by a ſpecial bond, and call themſelves a province. The cities of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, and many others, have, during this war, not only very frequently forgot the provincial judicature, which, with the other ſtates of the province, they have erected as a *kind of congreſs*, but have behaved as if they were in every reſpect independent; I ſay, *as a kind of congreſs*, for that they are no ſuperior tribunal, but only the members of a congreſs, who, in particular caſes, poſſeſs the higheſt authority, is evident from ſeveral affairs having been removed from this judicature to the particular ones of each city. All the tribunals of Holland muſt be looked upon as congreſſes of different ſovereigns, who can diſunite at pleaſure. Even the council of war, pre-eminent and important as it is, is of the ſame kind. The diſtricts of Oſtergo, Weſtergo, the Seven Woods in Frieſland, &c. although only properly bailiwicks, are at this inſtant occupied in ſeparating entirely from the provincial aſſembly, and erecting their own tribunals, *en dernier reſort*, among themſelves. In ſeveral repreſentations which they have made to the Stadtholder in their own names, and without the participation or advice

vice of the other ſtates of the country they directly call themſelves ſovereigns. The aſſemblies of the States General themſelves are nothing leſs than a body repreſenting one independent ſovereign. The members of it, though conſtantly together, are no more than ambaſſadors for the moment, who muſt inform their reſpective provinces of every event that falls out, and direct their deliberations by the wiſdom of the multitude in theſe.

Immenſe as the anarchy appears in the contexture of the whole, it is ſtill greater in each ſingle ſtate and diſtrict. There the colliſion of oppoſite intereſts, the variety of ſpirits and humours, and the clowniſh ſtupidity of the common burghers, allow the demagogues to make their advantage of every thing that falls out. Each particular government is the theatre of ever-contending factions, the heads of which have no thought whatever but of their own private intereſt. This war has furniſhed innumerable inſtances of protection afforded by faction to the greateſt criminals. Here, in Amſterdam, there are four or five houſes, who can do exactly what they pleaſe; whilſt the public is deluded by falſe news, venal journaliſts, and every ſpecies of political deception. In proportion as the one city gets more from England, or the other more from France, they become entirely French or Engliſh, without any attention whatever to the well-being of the whole. The intereſt of thoſe cities which ſubſiſt by navigation is altogether different from that of thoſe on the main land, which depend only on agriculture and induſtry. As the nobility look entirely to the Stadtholder for advancement, for the ſame reaſon the burghers are conſtantly united againſt him, and ſo the war betwixt them is endleſs. The conſciouſneſs of the diſadvantages which the ſtate muſt ſuffer from theſe controverſies, in caſes where concord and activity are neceſſary, are the reaſons why the Dutch have never been able to do without the Stadtholderſhip, as they have frequently wiſhed to do; but though they have got it, the evil genius of the republic has always contrived to render it of no uſe in thoſe very caſes where it was calculated to do the moſt good. As in time of war the ſpirits of men are moſt heated, and people are apt to ſee things in the falſe lights in which their own paſſions or the gloſs of faction repreſent them; it has always happened, that the time pitched upon to curb the power of the Stadtholder, has been that in which alone the extenſion of the dictatorial power might have been of ſervice to the country; the conſequence is, that the republic bears all the burthen, without enjoying any of the conveniences of the office. It is abſolutely ridiculous to hear and to read all the reproaches which are made to the Stadtholderate, entirely ariſing from fooliſh ſuſpicions, or the falſe reports of intereſted demagogues. Were the people cool enough to ſee things in the right point of view, there are ſeveral phyſical and moral conſiderations fully ſufficient to make them eaſy, excluſive of the perſonal qualities of the preſent Stadtholder. At one time he is reproached with his ſecret underſtanding with the court of St. James's; at another, they ſuppoſe that he wants the abſolute dominion over his country. It is certain, that the Prince wiſhes to be upon good terms with England; but he is not therefore a traitor to the country from which he derives the greateſt part of his ſupport: his wiſhes in this reſpect were ſuch as the beſt intereſts of the republic dictated, and his object was to put it in a ſituation to preſerve the neutrality; but the people were deaf to all his repreſentations, and he has been compelled to expiate the ſins of others; the conſequences of which he would, had it been poſſible, have prevented. Long before the breach, he repreſented to the States General the urgent neceſſity there was for them to increaſe their forces by ſea and land; but his remonſtrances were vain, and the only effect produced by them has been, that now ill-diſpoſed perſons revenge themſelves on him and the Duke of Brunſwick, who has done the ungrateful republic ſpecial ſervice, for the good advice they gave. They

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are the martyrs of truth—and by what means can the prince poſſeſs himſelf of the government of the republic? With twenty-eight thouſand of the wretchedeſt ſoldiers in the world, who, if you except the nine thouſand Swiſs and Germans, are not equal to the taking of Amſterdam. And ſuppoſing him to get all Holland, what would he be the better for it when he had done? France, England, and even the Dutch Eaſt-India company, would take care to prevent him from poſſeſſing himſelf of any part of the foreign dominions. The rich, too, would leave a land in which there was no longer any liberty, according to their notions of it, and betake themſelves to England or America; the arts and induſtry would of courſe ſoon follow, and the prince would not have enough left to defend himſelf againſt the ſea, the rivers, and the frogs.

The jealouſy which the natives entertain for the numerous German princes and nobles, which were employed by the Prince and his right hand, the Duke of Brunſwick, in the army, contributed much, no doubt, to leſſen his authority; but without theſe ſtrangers the land ſervice could not have been put upon a reſpectable footing. As to the natives, the factions which eternally ſubſiſt among them ſtand in the way of all ſubordination, regularity, and military diſcipline; every ſtripling belonging to a demagogue of Amſterdam or Rotterdam conſiders himſelf as a particle of the ſovereignty: it would furniſh endleſs food for ſatire, to recount how many irregularities in the ſervice ariſe from this ſingle cauſe.—Even on the Swiſs, who are ſo averſe to any kind of nobility, this treatment of the Prince and the Duke has had no good effect.

The evil, however, which really undermines the Stadtholderſhip, lies much deeper. It is the ſame which brought Charles to the block and Cromwell to the protectorate; which raiſed the Whigs, and was ſo long the object of Swift's ſatire. It is generally imagined, that it was the American revolution which raiſed the republican ſpirit which ſo ſuddenly poſſeſſed the Dutch; but it had long been in them, and only ſlept till awakened by the preſent war. The reformed, whoſe opinions are ſo favourable to democracy, and the Memnonites, who publicly preach the equality of mankind, but treat all who ſtand in their way without pity, are the real inſtruments which oppreſs the Stadtholder. Theſe enthuſiaſts are without compariſon the richeſt people in the republic; they are alſo the moſt numerous part of the inhabitants of ſome of the greateſt cities, for inſtance, of Haerlem. The ſums which theſe advocates for the natural equality of mankind have lent out for many years paſt at ſix, eight, and even ten per cent. to the poor nobility, have made the latter entirely dependant upon them. The conſequence of this is, that though their religious opinions will not allow them to take any part in the government of the ſtate, their ſecret influence is inexpreſſibly great. Theſe hypocrites, who conſider it as a ſin to wear metal buckles or buttons, but will uſe every ſpecies of meanneſs to fill their purſes with the ducats of honeſt men, have uſurped ſuch a power, as to threaten the very near downfall of the Stadtholder, the only bond of union which ſubſiſts in the republic. The heads of the Dutch mob are filled with every kind of nonſenſe which theſe pretended ſaints can ſuggeſt.—As they knew that the Stadtholder was too forgiving, too good-hearted, and, if the truth be told, had too little experience to make head againſt a mob himſelf; the firſt thing they did was to procure the baniſhment of the acute, determined, and ſtubborn Duke of Brunſwick. His ruin was the prelude to the ruin of the Stadtholder, whom nothing can poſſibly ſave but a ſpeedy peace, which will reduce theſe republicans to their former inactivity.

It is enough; this war has ſhewn the republic to Europe in all her nakedneſs; it has been made evident, that ſhe has no ſolid conſtitution, nor, as the reſt of the European powers now ſtand, ſtrength enough to make her reſpectable as a friend, or formidable as an enemy. For four-ſcore years ſhe was entirely forgot. During this period, the ava-

rice

rice of individuals ſtifled every idea, both of her former power and the public good. Her neighbours, in the mean time, acquired great ſtrength; at length the Engliſh gave her a kick on the breech, and waked her out of her ſleep: when ſhe had opened her eyes and ſeen how far ſhe was gone backwards, ſhe ſtrove to make amends for her negligence; but all her efforts were little better than grimaces, and only expoſed her to the deriſion of the world.

LETTER LXXI.

Oſtend.

SINCE this town has been made a free port, the trade of it has very much increaſed; it is, however, much to be feared, that after the war it will relapſe into its former inſignificancy. All the Engliſh, who are here, cry out on the dangerous entrance into the haven, by ſtormy north north-weſt and weſterly winds, the narrow baſon, and the want of many other conveniencies.

The ſituation of Antwerp would have been much more advantageous for the advancement of trade, but the Dutch have locked up the mouth of the Scheld. Their forts not only govern the river, as they ſhould do according to treaty, but they have literally ſtopped up the mouth of it. Sunken ſhips filled with ſtones, immenſe dykes of ſtone, palliſadoes, and other things of the kind, barely leave room enough for ſmall boats to go by. Twenty millions of guilders would not be enough, in twenty years, to remove the impediments which the Dutch have laid in the way of the trade of Antwerp.

There is no want of gold in Brabant and Flanders. Antwerp, Bruſſels, Ghent, and Bruges, are ſtill filled with the treaſures which were amaſſed, when theſe towns were what England and Holland now are. The burgeſſes of theſe cities have a ſhare in all the great undertakings, and loans of the neighbouring nations. Their commerce of exchange is immenſe, probably inſurance is not ſo ſafe among the Dutch themſelves as it is here. Antwerp is one of the moſt famous places of inſurance in the world.—In the laſt Bavarian war, the court of Vienna, having determined to raiſe a loan in theſe countries, were aſtoniſhed at the quickneſs with which the money was raiſed; but the inhabitants of Ghent and Antwerp let the regency know, that if there was occaſion for three or four times as much, it would be as eaſily procured. Ever ſince that time the court ſeems to know the value of its poſſeſſions in the Netherlands.

Notwithſtanding this, the induſtry in theſe countries is upon the whole very different from what it was. The heirs of thoſe treaſures, which were accumulated between the twelfth and ſixteenth centuries, endeavour to make money of them in the eaſieſt way; nor is their way of living calculated to improve them to the utmoſt. They are the moſt extraordinary compound of ſlothfulneſs and induſtry, ſtupidity and acuteneſs, activity and cowardlineſs, goodneſs of heart and treachery, that can well be conceived. An Engliſhman once ſaid of them, "They have the impudence of the French, without their pleaſantry; the pride and bigotry of the Spaniards, without their ſenſe of honour; the ferocity and harſhneſs of the Dutch, without their punctuality; the debauchery of the Germans, without their integrity; and as to their bodies, they are blocks, from which the carver attempted to make Engliſhmen, but could not cut them out." The picture is in general juſt, as theſe inhabitants of the Netherlands are an aſſemblage of all theſe nations.—But what they are moſt conſpicuous for, is want of honour. You muſt have agreements in writing in all the common tranſactions of life. You are in danger of being firſt overcharged, and then carried into a court of juſtice by every

workman of whom you beſpeak a piece of work, if you do not put down your agreement in black and white.

With reſpect to their bodies, they, and the Saxons, are the moſt like the Germans deſcribed by Tacitus: their bodies are of a very unwieldy make, and *ad impetum valida*. What, too, Tacitus ſays of the old Germans, that they can bear neither hunger, nor thirſt, nor heat, nor cold, nor yet any long work, is true of them. In the imperial armies they are accounted good partiſans, but are never put to regular ſervice without extreme neceſſity. They have an extreme abhorrence of diſcipline, and look upon it as a ſevere puniſhment to be ſubject to the rules of the ſervice. If their robberies and maraudings are not overlooked they do not laſt a campaign. In ſhort, it is only in action that they ſhew themſelves at all ſoldiers.

Spain, Italy, and Portugal excepted, there is no country ſo overloaded with monks as the Auſtrian Netherlands: there are in many towns forty or fifty convents; ſeveral prelatures are worth 200,000 guilders, 20000l. per ann. If you divide the income of the country into four parts, one will be found to belong to the prieſthood, one to the nobility, one to the ſovereign, and one to the people. The bigotry and intolerance of the inhabitants is beyond all deſcription, and is a marvellous contraſt to the corruption of their manners.

The nobility of this country are extremely rich, and live in a very high ſtyle. Bruſſels is one of the moſt beautiful and moſt brilliant cities in Europe. It has loſt a great deal by the death of Prince Charles, who ſpent 700,000 guilders a year in the city, and whoſe loſs has not been made up for, by the œconomical Duke of Saxe-Teſchen. I have not ſeen any where a finer place than the large market-place of this city; all the houſes in it are built in a ſtyle and with a degree of magnificence that you hardly ſee any where out of Italy. You meet here with excellent company, who are not difficult of acceſs to a ſtranger. There are ſeveral clubs, after the manner of the Engliſh, where you find the greateſt freedom and good humour. One of the beſt of theſe conſiſts of the Duke of Arenberg, Mr. Hopp, the Dutch miniſter, (a man in general eſteem on account of his knowledge and good qualities) our miniſter, ſome of the nobility of the place, and ſome Engliſh. No man can become a member but by ballot. The room in which they meet commands a very fine view of the public walks, on one ſide of which it ſtands. The club meets twice a week: a member has the privilege of introducing ſtrangers, almoſt without any difficulty. Linguet was a member of this club. The ſubſcription is four louis-d'ors each member, for five months; for this they have a ſumptuous table; the wine is paid for ſeparate. There are ſeveral other leſſer aſſociations of this kind in Bruſſels; nor have I met with a place in which this appendage of refined life and manners was better underſtood than it is here. Since the Engliſh have come ſo much to Oſtend, and the court of Vienna has flattered them with the hopes of making a peace for them, every thing in Bruſſels is become Engliſh; they ride, play, hunt, and eat, *a l' Angloiſe*, and all the ſocieties are become clubs. The town at leaſt has loſt nothing by this.

The Duke of Saxe-Teſchen, the governor, lives very quietly with his wife; he ſhews himſelf not to be a lover of large companies or expence, notwithſtanding that he has an income of 4,000,000 imperial guilders, or 400000l. per annum. The Archdutcheſs ſeldom ſhews herſelf with the externals of imperial magnificence; her principles on this point are much the ſame as thoſe of her huſband; her favourite amuſement is hunting; there are few perſons that are better hands at ſhooting flying than ſhe is; ſhe has had a wonderful education, as well as her other ſiſters. Her huſband too does honour to the imperial court by his principles of government.

There is no province in the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, the ſtates of which have preſerved a degree of reſpect equal to that which thoſe of the Netherlands ſtill poſſeſs; I imagine that it is the affluence in which the burgeſſes live that has made them preſerve ſentiments of liberty, which you look for in vain in Hungary; then their intereſts have rendered nobility entirely dependant on the court; the want of large cities too muſt have very much lightened the trouble of the imperial court, when it found itſelf compelled to undermine the privileges of the ſtates of Hungary. Even in Lombardy, the power of the nobility proved a weak dam againſt the power of the court. But this power the common burghers are at all times intereſted in leſſening, as they have more to give and leſs to expect from the court than the other members of the ſtate. The diſtance of the imperial reſidence, and the example of Holland, which the court of Vienna has perpetually before its eyes, will no doubt have contributed ſomething towards keeping up the old conſtitution of this country.

Singular are the events which take place in this earth of ours. The revolution which made Holland a free commonwealth, broke out in the Auſtrian Netherlands. Whilſt every thing here was already in motion, the Dutch thought not in the leaſt of making themſelves free. Nor would they ever have been ſo by their own exertions, as even in the earlieſt times of the republic they announced the ſlothfulneſs which ſtill renders them remarkable. It was only ſuch a ſingular genius as the Prince of Orange, who could have ſecured them the freedom which they ſeemed to have no deſire of for themſelves. But ſee how matters have ended; religion took the preſent provinces of Auſtria from an undertaking to which they had firſt laid their hands, and now they are made uſe of to oppreſs Holland. What a contradiction!

LETTER LXXII.

Oſtend.

TO-MORROW, brother, I ſhall ſail for England; but before I go, permit me to take one general review of the whole.

Germany, taking in Sileſia, is at leaſt one fifth larger than France. It contains about twelve thouſand ſquare miles. The ſoil is different, in different parts. A great part of it however is productive to a degree which, France and Italy only excepted, is not to be found in any other country in our part of the world. The immenſe maſſes of rock in the ſouthern parts of the circles of Auſtria and Bavaria, and the ſands of the north, which almoſt comprehend the whole circles of Lower Saxony, Brandenburg, Pomerania, the Lauſitz, and the north of Weſtphalia, are not, it is true, capable of ſuch cultivation as the upper parts of Germany; but this would be a great advantage if once the intereſts of the whole were common. The mountains of the South contain almoſt every kind of metal in prodigious quantities, and in the greateſt perfection, and the ſandy places of the North, together with the beſt wood for building ſhips, furniſh hemp, flax, and wool, in great abundance.

Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, the archduchy of Auſtria, Bavaria, Suabia, the countries about the Rhine, the Auſtrian Netherlands, and thoſe parts of the circle of Upper Saxony, which are not in the poſſeſſion of the King of Pruſſia, produce corn, cattle, wine, and all the firſt neceſſaries of life, in ſuch plenty as not only to be ſufficient for the ſupply of all Germany, but even for great exportations.—In a word, Germany is the only country in Europe, which is independent of all the world, for a ſupply of all the neceſſaries and conveniences which a large and flouriſhing ſtate requires, or which a great power ſtands in need of for its defence. France is deficient in wood, cattle, (par-

ticularly horſes) the moſt neceſſary metals, and linen; and Ruſſia is obliged to import wine, wood, horſes for hard ſervice, and various other articles; but Germany has every thing which theſe two very rich, and in many reſpects very different countries produce, and a great ſuperfluity of what they want beſides.

The laſt mentioned and beſt provinces of Germany, contain about ſix thouſand four hundred ſquare miles. To judge of the population you muſt reckon two thouſand five hundred men for every ſquare mile; at leaſt a variety of different eſtimates agree in this; and if Bavaria, Heſſe, and ſome other countries fall ſomewhat below this calculation; others, as Auſtria, Wirtemberg, the Netherlands, and different parts of the circle of Upper Saxony, go beyond it. This part of Germany contains alſo about ſixteen millions of inhabitants.

The other part contains about five thouſand ſix hundred ſquare miles. It is difficult to eſtimate the population of this part. Some countries, as for inſtance Upper Auſtria, have two thouſand ſouls in every ſquare mile. Magdeburgh, Halberſtadt, Minden, Brunſwick, Hildeſheim, and many others have two thouſand five hundred. On the other hand, the Hanoverian dominions, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, and many others, have not more than one thouſand men in every ſquare mile. It is my opinion that in order to eſtimate the population of this part of Germany, you muſt reckon one thouſand ſeven hundred men, for every ſquare mile, which will give nine millions five hundred thouſand for this part, and make the whole twenty-five millions five hundred thouſand. In his treatiſe *de la Litterature Alemande*, the King of Pruſſia reckons twenty-ſix millions for the whole country, an eſtimate which appears to me to come neareſt to the truth. The manifeſto which the Empreſs of Ruſſia preſented to the court of Vienna, on account of the laſt diſturbances about Bavaria, contains theſe remarkable words. "It is the the buſineſs of all the powers of Europe to ſee that the balance of Germany be not diſturbed, for if it be, the ſtrength of the country and its ſituation will enable it to diſturb the peace of all Europe." This is an undeniable truth; France and Italy are the only countries which can vie with Germany in population.

This extenſive country has not yet nearly arrived at the degree of cultivation of which it is capable, not even at that of France. The peace of Hubertſburg, is the æra of its cultivation; agriculture and induſtry have been univerſal every ſince that period.

Germany has taken much larger and quicker ſtrides to cultivation than any other European power. It at once exerted all its ſtrength to fill up the gaps which had been made in it by the deſtructive war of thirty years. The very partition of the country into ſo many ſtates, prejudicial as it is to the exertion of power for the purpoſe of foreign conqueſts, has been of advantage to the internal cultivation. At preſent the firſt princes in Germany contend with each other who ſhall make the beſt improvements in the adminiſtration of juſtice, in education, and police, and who ſhall do moſt for the promotion of induſtry and commerce, with as much eagerneſs, as they formerly contended who ſhould be foremoſt in pomp and idle magnificence. No where is there ſo thorough a conviction of the value of men and their different occupations, and no where is there ſo great a ſtir made to improve them for the advantage of the whole as in Germany. With reſpect to legiſlation and the true intereſts of a country, there has been a benevolent light ſpread in moſt parts of this empire, which does not only, as in France, point out the gaps, but encourages the princes and their ſervants to fill them up. Without a doubt, Germany, as well as the reſt of Europe, is much indebted to the King of Pruſſia, the firſt practical philoſopher, who, in modern times, has been ſeen on the throne. It was he who began the glorious revolution, which has made ſuch changes in Germany during the laſt twenty years; he taught his neigh-

bours that the intereſt of princes and their ſubjects are the ſame; he began to take off the veil which was thrown over adminiſtration; finally, he ſubdued the little tyrants amongſt the prieſts and nobility, who fattened on the ſubſtance of the citizen and peaſant. Military as his government may appear to you ſuperficial obſervers, it is to this military government, and the imitations of it in other countries, that Germany is indebted for a peace of twenty years, which ſhe had not known for many centuries before, and in the courſe of which ſhe firſt began to feel what ſhe really was. Perfect legiſlation, without a doubt, is the ſummit of all human attainments; ſhe alone can make us happy; ſhe alone produces ſociable men, and eſtimates the value of them; and how proud ought not Germany to be of Frederick, Joſeph and Catharine, three legiſlative geniuſes exiſting together at the ſame period, the like to whom many centuries ſeldom produce one.

The peculiar turn of the Germans ſeems to be for philoſophy; they are diſtinguiſhed from all the nations in Europe, for cool and juſt judgments, united with extreme induſtry; they were the firſt who threw a light on mathematics and general phyſics; next they darted through theology, then hiſtory, and finally legiſlation, with the ſame philoſophical ſpirit.—They will do well to leave to other nations the prize of wit, for which they will always contend in vain.

If Germany could make itſelf one great people; if it was united under one governor; if the intereſts of a ſingle prince were not often in oppoſition to the good of the whole; if all the members were ſo well compacted into one body, that the ſuperfluous ſap of the one could circulate and invigorate the reſt, what much greater ſteps towards cultivation would the empire then make! But then Germany would give laws to all Europe. How powerful, as things even now are, are the two houſes of Auſtria and Brandenburg, the greatneſs of whoſe ſtrength conſiſts in their German poſſeſſions, and who yet neither poſſeſs the half nor even the beſt parts of the country. Conceive this country in ſuch a ſituation as that no burthenſome exciſe ſhould oppreſs the internal commerce of the different provinces; no cuſtoms ſhould prohibit exports all over the world; in ſuch a ſituation as that the immenſe ſums that it gives for outlandiſh commodities, which itſelf can furniſh, ſhould be ſpared—or that it could become a naval power, for which it has ſuch ports and ſuch plenty of proviſions, that it could itſelf employ the numerous colonies it ſends out to the reſt of Europe;—conceive this—what country in the world could then cope with Germany?

The character of men depends for the moſt part on their government. The character of the Germans has in general as little brilliancy in it as the conſtitution of the empire; they have none of the national pride and patriotiſm by which the Britons, Spaniards, and our own countrymen are diſtinguiſhed, fond as their poets have been, for ſome time paſt, of aſcribing theſe qualities to them. Their pride and patriotic ſentiments only extend to the part of Germany in which they are born; to the reſt of their countrymen they are ſtrange as to any ſtrangers, nay, in ſeveral parts of Germany, they are much fonder of ſtrangers than they are of their own countrymen. It is the ſenſe of weakneſs of the leſſer powers of Germany which damps their national pride; it is only becauſe Germany cannot uſe its power altogether, and that other nations feel their ſtrength, that it has been deſpiſed by the inhabitants of other countries, who yet have nothing to boaſt above it, ſave a faſter bond of union among themſelves, or a ridiculous pride. We ſeldom judge of men from their inner worth, ſo much as from the external appearance they make in the world. We eſtimate the Ruſſians, Engliſh, &c. according to the idea we have taken up of the whole nation; and though the in-

dividual may happen to be, as he often is, ten times more barbarous than a German, we give him credit for the fame and worth of his illuſtrious countrymen.

Though the character of the Germans be not ſo brilliant as that of other nations, ſtill it is not deſtitute of its peculiar excellencies. The German is the man of the world. He lives under every ſky, and conquers every natural obſtacle to his happineſs. His induſtry is inexhauſtible. Poland, Hungary, Ruſſia, the Engliſh and Dutch colonies, are much indebted to German emigrants. Even the firſt ſtates in Europe owe to Germany great part of their knowledge. Rectitude is alſo an almoſt univerſal characteriſtic of the people of this country; nor are the manners of the peaſants and thoſe of the inhabitants of the leſſer cities, by any means ſo corrupt as thoſe of France and other countries; it is owing to this, that, notwithſtanding the great emigrations, the country is ſtill ſo well peopled. To conclude, frugality on the ſide of the Proteſtants, and frankneſs and goodheartedneſs on the ſide of the Catholics, are brilliant national characteriſtics.

TRAVELS IN DENMARK.

By W. COXE*.

CHAP. I.—*Paſſage of the Sound.—Entrance into Denmark.—Elſinore.—Toll of the Sound.—Cronborg Caſtle and Palace.—Anecdote of Queen Matilda.—Hamlet's Garden.—Hiſtory of Hamlet from Saxo-Grammaticus.—Copenhagen.—Iſle of Amak.*

MARCH 22. We embarked at Helſingborg, and croſſed the Sound, which ſeparates Denmark from Sweden. The wind blew freſh and was directly contrary; but by tacking we reached Elſinore in an hour and a half: the direct diſtance between the neareſt points of the two coaſts is about three miles. Midway we had a fine view of the oppoſite ſhores, with the towns of Helſingborg and Elſinore; the former crowned by an ancient tower; the latter diſtinguiſhed by the palace of Cronborg, a leſs romantic, but no leſs beautiful object. The ſhores of Sweden to the north of Helſingborg are ſteep and rocky; but decreaſe in height towards the ſouth, and become low and flat. Thoſe of Zealand conſiſt partly of ridges of ſand, and partly of ſloping ſhores covered with wood.

Elſinore is a well-built town, and makes a better appearance than thoſe to which we had lately been accuſtomed; the houſes are of brick. It was a ſmall village, containing a few fiſhermen's huts, until 1445, when it was made a ſtaple town by Eric of Pomerania, who conferred on the new ſettlers conſiderable immunities, and built a caſtle for their defence†. From that period it gradually increaſed in ſize and wealth, and is now, next to Copenhagen, the moſt commercial place in Denmark. It contains five thouſand inhabitants, among whom are a conſiderable number of foreign merchants, and the conſuls of the principal nations trading to the Baltic.

The paſſage of the Sound is guarded by the fortreſs of Cronborg, which is ſituated on the edge of a peninſular promontory, the neareſt point of land to the oppoſite coaſt of Sweden. It is ſtrongly fortified towards the ſhore by baſtions, and regular entrenchments; and towards the ſea by ſeveral batteries, mounted with ſixty cannon, the largeſt forty-eight pounders. Every veſſel in paſſing lowers her top-ſails, and pays a toll at Elſinore. It is generally aſſerted that this fortreſs guards the Sound; and that all ſhips muſt, on account of ſhoal waters and currents, ſteer ſo near the batteries, as to be expoſed to their fire, in caſe of refuſal. This however is a miſtaken notion. On account, indeed, of numerous and oppoſite currents in the Sound, the ſafeſt paſſage lies near the fortreſs; but the water in any part is of ſufficient depth for veſſels to keep at a diſtance from the batteries, and the largeſt ſhips can even ſail cloſe to the coaſt of Sweden‡. The conſtant diſcharge, however, of the toll, is not ſo much owing to the

* From his Travels in Poland, &c. Fifth Edition, 1802.

† Meſſenii Scandia Illuſtrata, Lib. III. p. 50.

‡ The aſſertion was fully verified by the memorable paſſage of the Britiſh fleet, with inconſiderable damage, in March 1801.

ſtrength

ſtrength of the fortreſs, as to a compliance with the public law of Europe. Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the right which the crown of Denmark has to impoſe this duty. The Kings of Sweden, in particular, claiming an equal title to the free paſſage of the Strait, were for ſome time exempted by treaty; but in 1720, Frederic I. agreed, that Swediſh veſſels ſhould be ſubject to the uſual impoſts. All veſſels, beſide a ſmall duty, are rated at 1¼ per cent. of their cargoes, except the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Swediſh, which pay only one per cent.; in return, the crown takes the charge of conſtructing light-houſes, and erecting ſignals to mark the ſhoals and rocks, from the Categate to the entrance of the Baltic. The tolls of the Sound, and of the two Belts, ſupply an annual revenue of above 100,000l.

The palace of Cronborg, which ſtands in the fortreſs, is a ſquare Gothic building of free-ſtone. From an inſcription over the gate, it was begun by Frederic II., and has been repaired and augmented by ſucceeding ſovereigns. It contains nothing worthy of particular deſcription, excepting two good portraits of Frederic II. and Chriſtian IV., and ſeveral battle-pieces, repreſenting the wars of Chriſtian V.

In this palace was impriſoned the late unfortunate Queen Matilda. During her confinement ſhe inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permiſſion to walk on the ſide-batteries, or on the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her, and had great reaſon to apprehend, that the party which occaſioned her arreſt meditated more violent meaſures. When the Engliſh miniſter * at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his ſpirited conduct, ſhe was ſurprized with the unexpected intelligence, inſtantly burſt into a flood of tears, embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a ſhort conference, he propoſed that her majeſty ſhould immediately embark on board a ſhip that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom in which ſhe had experienced ſuch a train of misfortunes. But, however anxious ſhe was to depart, one circumſtance checked the exceſs of her joy: a few months before her impriſonment ſhe was delivered of a princeſs, whom ſhe ſuckled herſelf. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort, and ſhe conceived a more than parental attachment to it, as the conſtant companion of her miſery. The infant was afflicted with the meaſles; and, having nurſed it with unceaſing ſolicitude, ſhe was deſirous of continuing her attention and care. Theſe circumſtances had ſo endeared the child to her, rendered more ſuſceptible of tenderneſs in a priſon than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princeſs was intimated, ſhe teſtified the ſtrongeſt emotions of grief, and could not, for ſome time, be prevailed on to bid a final adieu. At length, after beſtowing repeated careſſes on this darling object of her affection, ſhe retired to the veſſel in an agony of deſpair, and remained on deck, her eyes fixed on the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child, until darkneſs intercepted the view. The veſſel having made little way during night, at day-break ſhe obſerved with fond ſatisfaction that the palace was ſtill viſible, and could not be perſuaded to enter the cabin as long as ſhe could diſcover the fainteſt glimpſe of the battlements. Matilda afterwards reſided at Zell, where ſhe died of a ſcarlet fever.

Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively diſpoſition, until her misfortunes brought on a ſettled melancholy. In ſociety ſhe endeavoured to diſſemble her ſorrows, and aſſume a cheerfulneſs to which her heart was a ſtranger. She became extremely fond of ſolitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the moſt bitter lamentations. She retained, to her laſt moments, the moſt unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent ſhe made repeated enquiries after them, and was

* Mr. afterwards Sir Robert Murray Keith.

delighted

delighted with receiving the minuteſt accounts of their health, amuſements, and education. Having obtained their portraits, ſhe placed them in her moſt retired apartment; often apoſtrophized them as if preſent *, and addreſſed them in the tendereſt manner.

Adjoining to the royal palace, which ſtands about half a mile from Cronborg, is a garden which curioſity led us to viſit; it is called Hamlet's Garden, and is ſaid, by tradition, to be the very ſpot where the murder of his father was perpetrated. The houſe is of modern date, and ſituated at the foot of a ſandy ridge near the ſea; the garden occupies the ſide of the hill, and is laid out in terraces riſing one above another. Elſinore is the ſcene of Shakeſpeare's Hamlet; and the original hiſtory from which that divine bard derived the principal incidents of his play is founded on facts, but ſo deeply buried in remote antiquity, as render it difficult to diſcriminate truth from fable. Saxo-Grammaticus, who flouriſhed in the twelfth century, is the earlieſt hiſtorian of Denmark who relates the adventures of Hamlet. His account is extracted, and much altered, by Belleforeſt, a French author; an Engliſh tranſlation of whoſe romance was publiſhed under the title of the "Hiſtorye of Hamblet†," and from this tranſlation Shakeſpeare formed the ground-work of his play, though with many alterations and additions.

As Saxo-Grammaticus is an author whoſe works are in the hands of but few perſons, and as I never met with an Engliſh tranſlation, it cannot be unacceptable to give a ſhort ſketch of Hamlet's hiſtory, as recorded in the Daniſh Annals ‡, that the reader may compare the original character with that delineated by Shakeſpeare.

Long before the introduction of chriſtianity into Denmark, Horwendillus, prefect, or King of Jutland, was married to Geruthra, or Gertrude, daughter of Ruric King of Denmark, by whom he had a ſon, called Amlettus, or Hamlet. Fengo murders his brother Horwendillus, marries Gertrude, and aſcends the throne. Hamlet, to avoid his uncle's jealouſy, counterfeits folly; and is repreſented as ſuch an abhorrer of falſehood, that, though he conſtantly frames the moſt evaſive and even abſurd anſwers, yet artfully contrives never to deviate from truth. Fengo, ſuſpecting the reality of his madneſs, endeavours, by various methods §, to diſcover the real ſtate of his mind: amongſt others, he departs from Elſinore, concerts a meeting between Hamlet and Gertrude, concluding that he would not withhold his ſentiments from his own mother, and orders

* I received this anecdote from a perſon at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting addreſs.

† The only copy I ever ſaw of this work is in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge, in the curious collection relative to the School of Shakeſpeare, given by the late Mr. Capell to that ſociety. It is in black letter, entitled, the Hiſtory of Hamblet; imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier.—The heads of the chapters are given in Mr. Capell's poſthumous work, the School of Shakeſpeare, vol. iii. p. 90; and a few extracts in Malone's Supplement to Johnſon's and Stevenſon's Shakeſpeare.

‡ Sax. Gram. lib. iii. and iv.

§ Among other attempts, Fengo ordered his companions to leave him in a retired ſpot, and a young woman was placed in his way, with a view to extort from him a confeſſion that his folly was counterfeited. Hamlet would have fallen into the ſnare, if a friend had not ſecretly conveyed to him intelligence of this treachery: he carried the woman to a more ſecret place, and obtained her promiſe not to betray him, which ſhe readily gave, as ſhe had been brought up with him from her infancy. Being aſked, on his return home, if he had indulged his paſſion, he anſwered in the affirmative; but rendered himſelf not believed by the moſt artful ſubterfuges, which, though true, ſeemed evidently to mark a diſordered underſtanding, and by the poſitive denial of the woman. "Upon this woman," as Capell obſerves, "is grounded Shakeſpeare's Ophelia; and his deliverance from this ſnare by a friend, ſuggeſted his Horatio:"—"The rude outlines," as Mr. Malone remarks, "of thoſe characters." "But in this piece there are no traits of the character of Polonius: there is, indeed, a counſellor, and he places himſelf in the Queen's chamber behind the arras; but this is the whole. The ghoſt of the old Hamlet is likewiſe the offspring of our author's creative imagination." See Capell's School of Shakeſpeare, vol. iii. p. 20; and Malone's Supplement, p. 353.

a courtier

a courtier to conceal himſelf, unknown to both, for the purpoſe of overhearing their converſation.

The courtier repairs to the Queen's apartment, and hides himſelf under a heap of ſtraw *. Hamlet, on entering the cabinet, ſuſpecting the preſence of ſome ſpy, imitates, after his uſual affectation of folly, the crowing of a cock, and ſhaking his arms like wings, jumps † upon the heap of ſtraw, till feeling the courtier, he draws his ſword, kills him, cuts the body to pieces, boils it, and gives it to the hogs. He then avows to his mother, that he only perſonated a fool; reproaches her for her inceſtuous marriage with the murderer of her huſband, and concludes his remonſtrances by ſaying, "Inſtead, therefore, of condoling my inſanity, deplore your own infamy, and learn to lament the deformity of your own mind."

The Queen is ſilent, but is recalled to virtue by theſe admonitions. Fengo returns to Elſinore, ſends Hamlet to England under the care of two courtiers, and requeſts the King, by a letter, to put him to death. Hamlet diſcovers and alters the letter; and on their arrival in England, the King orders the two courtiers to immediate execution, and betroths his daughter to Hamlet, who gives many aſtoniſhing proofs, of a tranſcendent underſtanding.

At the end of the year he returns to Denmark, and alarms the court by his unexpected appearance; as a report of his death had been ſpread, and preparations were making for his funeral.

Having re-aſſumed his affected inſanity, he purpoſely wounds his fingers in drawing his ſword, which the by-ſtanders immediately faſten to the ſcabbard. He afterwards invites the principal nobles to an entertainment, makes them intoxicated, and in that ſtate covers them with a large curtain, which he faſtens to the ground with wooden pegs; he then ſets fire to the palace, and the nobles, enveloped in the curtain, periſh in the flames. During this tranſaction he repairs to Fengo's apartment, and taking the ſword which lay by the ſide of his bed, puts his own in its place; he inſtantly awakens and informs him, that Hamlet is come to revenge the murder of his father. Fengo ſtarts from his bed, ſeizes the ſword, but unable to draw it, falls by the hand of Hamlet. The next morning, when the populace were aſſembled to view the ruins of the palace, Hamlet ſummons the remaining nobles, and in a maſterly ſpeech, lays open the motives of his own conduct; proves his uncle the aſſaſſin of his father, and concludes in the following words:

"Tread upon the aſhes of the monſter, who, polluting the wife of his murdered brother, joined inceſt to parricide, and ruled over you with the moſt oppreſſive tyranny. Receive me as the miniſter of a juſt revenge, as one who felt for the ſufferings of his father and his people. Conſider me as the perſon who has purged the diſgrace of his country, extinguiſhed the infamy of his mother, freed you from the deſpotiſm of a mon-

* Straw was formerly ſpread over the floors as an article of luxury.

† This part ſtands thus in the Engliſh account: "The counſellor entered ſecretly into the Queene's chamber, and there hid himſelfe behind the arras, and long before the Queene and Hamlet came thither; who being craftie and politique, as ſoone as he was within the chamber, doubting ſome treaſon, and fearing, if he ſhould ſpeake ſeverely and wiſely to his mother, touching his ſecret practices, hee ſhould be underſtood and by that means intercepted, uſed his ordinary manner of diſſimulation, and began to come (r. crow) like a cocke, beating with his arms (in ſuch manner as cockes uſed to ſtrike with their wings,) upon the hangings of the chambers, whereby, feeling ſomething ſtirring under them, he cried, *a rat! a rat!* and preſently drawing his ſworde, thruſt it into the hangings, which done, he pulled the counſellor (half deade) out by the heels, made an end of killing him, and being ſlain, cut his body in pieces, which he cauſed to be boiled, and then caſt it into an open vault or privie." Malone's Supplement, vol. i. p. 357.

ſter, whoſe crimes, if he had lived, would have daily increaſed, and terminated in your deſtruction. Acknowledge my ſervices, and if I have deſerved it, preſent me with the crown: behold in me the author of theſe advantages, no degenerate perſon, no parricide, but the rightful ſucceſſor to the throne, and the pious avenger of a father's murder. I have reſcued you from ſlavery, reſtored you to liberty, and re-eſtabliſhed your glory; I have deſtroyed a tyrant, and triumphed over an aſſaſſin. The recompence is in your hands; you can eſtimate the value of my ſervices, and in your virtue I reſt my hopes of reward." This ſpeech had the deſired effect; the greater part of the aſſembly ſhed tears, and all who are preſent unanimouſly proclaim him King amid repeated acclamations.

Hamlet, ſoon after his elevation, ſails to England, and orders a ſhield to be made, on which the principal actions of his life are repreſented. The King receives him with feigned demonſtrations of joy; falſely aſſures him that his daughter is dead, and recommends him to repair to Scotland as his ambaſſador, and pay his addreſſes to Queen Hermetrudra. He gives this inſidious advice with the hopes that Hamlet may periſh in the attempt; as the Queen, who was remarkable for her chaſtity and cruelty, had ſuch an averſion to all propoſals of marriage, that not one of her ſuitors had eſcaped falling a ſacrifice to her vengeance. Hamlet, in oppoſition to all difficulties, performs the embaſſy, and by the aſſiſtance of his ſhield, which inſpires the lady with a favourable opinion of his wiſdom and courage, obtains her in marriage, and returns with her to England. Informed, by the Princeſs to whom he is betrothed, that her father meditates his aſſaſſination, Hamlet avoids his fate by wearing armour under his robe, puts to death the King of England, and ſails to Denmark with his two wives, where he is ſoon afterwards killed in a combat with Vigletus, ſon of Ruric. Hamlet, adds the hiſtorian, was a Prince, who, if his good fortune had been equal to his deſerts, would have rivalled the Gods in ſplendour; and in his actions would have exceeded even the labours of Hercules *.

The diſtance from Elſinore to Copenhagen is twenty miles; our route lay occaſionally by the ſide of the ſea, ſometimes through ſmall woods of beech and oak, and at other times through an open country riſing into acclivities; the ſoil is ſandy, mixed with loam, well cultivated, and yields all ſorts of grain. The cottages are numerous and neat, built with brick, and many of them white-waſhed. We had an excellent road, for which convenience we paid ſeveral tolls; a tax from which we had been exempted in Poland, Ruſſia, and Sweden. We reached the metropolis towards the cloſe of the evening.

Copenhagen ſtands on a ſmall promontory on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſle of Zealand, in a flat and marſhy ſituation. It formerly belonged to the biſhop of Roſkild, and was not diſtinguiſhed by the royal reſidence until 1443, during the reign of Chriſtopher of Bavaria; ſince which period it has been gradually enlarged and beautified, and is become the capital of Denmark.

The annual liſt of births in Copenhagen being, on an average of ſeveral years, eſtimated at two thouſand eight hundred and thirty, and of deaths at two thouſand nine hundred and fifty-five, we may eſtimate the population at eighty thouſand ſouls.

Copenhagen is the beſt-built city of the north, although excelled by Peterſburgh in ſuperb edifices; yet as it contains no wooden houſes, it does not diſplay that ſtriking contraſt of meanneſs and magnificence, but in general exhibits a more uniform appear-

* Hic Amlethi exitus fuit; qui ſi parem naturæ atque fortunæ indulgentiam expertus fuiſſet, æquaſſet fulgore ſuperos; Herculea virtutibus opera tranſcendiſſet.

ance. The city is ſurrounded towards the land with ramparts and baſtions, a wet ditch, and a few out-works; the circumference meaſures between four and five miles. The ſtreets are well paved, with a footway on each ſide, which is narrow and inconvenient. The greater part of the buildings are of brick, and a few of free-ſtone brought from Germany: the houſes of the nobility are in general ſplendid, and conſtructed in the Italian ſtyle of architecture.

The royal palace is a magnificent pile of hewn ſtone, the wings and ſtables of brick ſtuccoed. It was built by Chriſtian the Sixth in ſeven years, as the inſcription informed me, without laying a ſingle tax on his ſubjects. The enormous expence may be in ſome meaſure eſtimated by the dimenſions. The front is three hundred and ſixty-ſeven feet in length, the ſides three hundred and eighty-nine, and the height one hundred and fourteen; it has ſix ſtories, of which three are mezzonines. In the fourth ſtory are the grandeſt ſuit of apartments, both as to ſize and decoration. The concert-room is one hundred and twenty-eight feet by thirty-eight. The *Ritter Saal*, or Knight's ſaloon, is remarkable for the grandeur and elegance of the proportions; it is one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, ſixty-two broad, and forty-eight high; it is lighted by ſeveral chryſtal chandeliers, and many gilded urns placed on the baluſtrades of a gallery *.

Among numerous pictures of the Kings and Queens of Denmark, I was ſtruck with a portrait of Chriſtian the Fourth on board a ſhip engaged with the Swediſh fleet. In the middle of the engagement the King was ſtruck by a ſplinter; two of his teeth were beat out, his ear torn, his right eye forced from the ſocket, and he was thrown on the deck with great violence. His attendants, ſuppoſing him dead, made bitter lamentations; when the King, ſuddenly recovering from the ſwoon into which he had been thrown by the agony of pain, ſtarted up, bound his wounds with his handkerchief, and continued giving his orders with great compoſure until the Swediſh fleet retired. The painter has choſen the point of time in which the King, having recovered from his ſwoon and bound his wound, is exerting himſelf in the midſt of the action, and has happily ſucceeded in throwing great animation over the whole figure.

The royal ſtables are perhaps the moſt magnificent in Europe. The racks of one, which contains ſtalls for forty-eight horſes, are of copper, and the columns that divide the ſtalls are of brick ſtuccoed white. Another contains one hundred and forty-eight ſtalls; and the racks and pillars which ſupport the roof and ſeparate the ſtalls are of Norwegian marble.

The buſy ſpirit of commerce is viſible in Copenhagen. The haven is always crowded with merchant-ſhips, and the ſtreets are interſected by broad canals, which bring the merchandize cloſe to the warehouſes that line the quays. This city owes its principal beauty to a dreadful fire in 1728, that deſtroyed five churches and ſixty-ſeven ſtreets, which were rebuilt in the modern ſtyle. The new part of the town raiſed by the late King Frederic V. is extremely beautiful; it conſiſts of an octagon, containing four uniform and elegant buildings of hewn ſtone, and of four broad ſtreets leading to it in oppoſite directions. In the middle of the area ſtands an equeſtrian ſtatue of Frederic in bronze, as large as life, which is juſtly admired; it was caſt at the expence of the Eaſt India Company by Saly, and coſt 80,000l. ſterling.

On the 25th of March we accompanied Mr. Delaval, our miniſter, to court, and were honoured with private audiences by Chriſtian VII., the Queen-dowager Juliana Maria, her ſon Prince Frederic, and his conſort the Princeſs Sophia-Frederica. We

* This magnificent palace was burnt in 1793.

were

were deprived of the honour of paying our reſpects to the Prince Royal, as he was at that time indiſpoſed. During our ſtay at Copenhagen there were only two public meetings at court: the company aſſembled at ſix in the evening. At one of theſe meetings was a concert, in which a Daniſh tranſlation of Pergoleſi's *Stabat Mater*, with the original muſic, was performed. The King afterwards ſat down to Loo with the Queen Dowager, Prince Frederic, Princeſs Sophia, Count Bernſdorff the prime miniſter, and the Pruſſian ambaſſador.

As our ſtay at Copenhagen was ſhort, and principally during paſſion week, which the natives obſerve with great ſtrictneſs, we had not many opportunities of experiencing the hoſpitality of the Daniſh nobility; though they were much inclined to honour us with all thoſe marks of attention and civility which are uſually paid to ſtrangers. Among other inſtances of politeneſs, we received an invitation to an aſſembly and ſupper from Count Molck, who was favourite and prime miniſter to Frederic V. The Count's houſe, which ſtands in the octagon, is a magnificent building ſuperbly finiſhed. He poſſeſſes ſeveral fine pictures; his collection of foſſils, ſhells, minerals, and petrifactions, deſerves the notice of the naturaliſt: it is particularly rich in native productions of Denmark, exhibiting many fine ſpecimens of the gold, ſilver and copper mines, from Norway, and of lava from Mount Hecla in Iceland.

Among the moſt curious collections in Copenhagen, the Royal Muſeum, or Cabinet of Rarities, merits the firſt place. This collection, which was begun by Frederic III. is depoſited in eight apartments, and ranged in the following order: animals, ſhells, minerals, paintings, antiquities, medals, dreſſes, arms and implements of the Laplanders. The ſhort time which I employed in examining theſe apartments did not permit me to take a minute and accurate account of the principal curioſities, which the reader will find deſcribed in *Muſeum Regium Jacobæi*.

Part of Copenhagen, which is called Chriſtianſhafen, is built on the Iſle of Amak, which generally attracts the curioſity of foreigners. Amak is four miles long, and two broad, and is chiefly peopled by the deſcendants of a colony from Eaſt Frieſland, to whom the iſland was conſigned by Chriſtian II. at the requeſt of his wife Elizabeth, ſiſter of Charles V. for the purpoſe of ſupplying her with vegetables, cheeſe, and butter. From the intermarriages of theſe coloniſts with the Danes, the preſent inhabitants are chiefly deſcended; but as they wear their own dreſs, and enjoy peculiar privileges, they appear a diſtinct race from the natives. The iſland contains ſix villages, and between three and four thouſand ſouls; it has two churches, in which the miniſters preach occaſionally in Dutch and Daniſh. The inhabitants have their own inferior tribunals; but in capital offences are amenable to the King's court of juſtice at Copenhagen. The old national habit, brought by the original colony when they firſt migrated to the iſland, is ſtill in uſe among them; it reſembles the dreſs of the ancient quakers, as repreſented in the pictures of the Dutch and Flemiſh painters. The men wear broad-brimmed hats, black jackets, full glazed breeches of the ſame colour, looſe at the knees, and tied round the waiſt. The women were dreſſed chiefly in black jackets and red petticoats, with a piece of blue glazed cloth bound on their heads. The iſland is laid out in gardens and paſtures, and, according to the original deſign, ſupplies Copenhagen with milk, butter and vegetables.

During our ſecond viſit to Copenhagen, in July 1784, we experienced great civility and repeated inſtances of hoſpitality from the Daniſh nobility. Among others we had the honour of dining ſeveral times with the prime miniſter, Count Bernſdorf *, at his

* Since deceaſed.

villa, about four miles from Copenhagen. The houſe, built by the late Count, ſtands in a delightful ſituation on a gentle riſe, ſloping towards the ſea, backed by a ridge of hills prettily wooded, and commanding a cheerful view of the Sound, the coaſt of Sweden, Copenhagen, and the numerous veſſels ſailing to and from the capital.

In our way to the village we paſſed a column of Norwegian marble, erected to the memory of the late Count Bernſdorf by the peaſants of his eſtate, in gratitude for having received the gift of freedom from their beloved maſter. The pillar is ornamented with a wheat-ſheaf, a ſpade, and a pick-axe, the emblems of agriculture. It contains a Latin and Daniſh inſcription, atteſting the Count's liberality, and their gratitude *.

The ſlavery of the peaſants is part of the remains of the feudal ſyſtem, which, however modified and changed in the other parts of the Daniſh conſtitution, leaves behind it that indelible mark of its former preponderancy and injuſtice. Hitherto all the attempts to aboliſh it, which have ſucceeded in Sweden, Norway, and ſeveral parts of Germany, have contributed only to rivet ſtill more ſtrongly a ſervitude, no leſs diſgraceful to the government, than prejudicial to the community. I enjoyed, however, great ſatisfaction in finding that the ſpirit of juſtice and humanity, and I may add, the ſuggeſtions of ſelf-intereſt, have lately ſpread themſelves among the nobility; and that a few of them were on the point of emancipating their peaſants. And as the prince royal has turned his humanity and attention to this ſubject †, and ſeems inclined to favour any well-planned ſyſtem, which may give new life and vigour to an order of men, the moſt uſeful in the community; it is to be preſumed, that in time the prejudices againſt ſuch a ſyſtem will be removed; and that ſuch effective and prudent meaſures will be adopted by government, as may, without convulſion, reſtore to the peaſants the common rights of mankind.

We were preſent at an entertainment given by Admiral Molcke, on board the Princeſs Sophia Frederica, carrying ſeventy-four guns, and ſix hundred men, going on a cruiſe to the Baltic, with three other ſhips of the line. We embarked at the port, and were rowed in the Captain's boat to the ſhip, where we found Count Molcke, and a large company, conſiſting of perſons of the firſt condition. From the cabin we had a delightful view of the town and dock-yard of Copenhagen; of the Daniſh navy laid up in two lines in the harbour; of ſeveral men of war and frigates lying at anchor near us in the road; of numerous veſſels ſailing and covering the ſurface of the ſea, which was curled by a gentle breeze; of the diſtant coaſts of Sweden, and the adjacent ſhores of Zealand, richly clothed with wood. Dinner was ſerved on deck, under a canopy of ſails and pendants; and forty perſons ſat down to a ſuperb and elegant repaſt. After drinking the healths of the King and Royal Family, each health accompanied with a ſalute of fifteen guns, Admiral Molcke gave, in compliment to Mr. Elliott, the Engliſh envoy, who was preſent, The navy of England; and Mr. Elliott in return gave, The navy of Denmark.

Several Daniſh ſongs were ſung to the accompaniment of violins and tambours de baſque, which had a pleaſing effect. Theſe ſongs related to naval engagements, and to the honour of the Daniſh marine; the chorus was repeated by the company, and re-echoed by the whole ſhip's crew. Books containing the words were handed round,

* Pijs manibus Joh. Hartvici Erneſti, Comitis de Bernſtorff, qui arva diſcreta immunia hereditaria largiendo induſtriam opes omnia impertit in exemplum poſteritati 1767. P. S. S. grati coloni 1783.

† Since my departure from Copenhagen, the example ſet by Count Bernſtorff has been followed by the crown. "The bonds of ſervitude," to uſe the words of an intelligent Dane, "are now relaxed, and bond ſervice is limited in every part of the kingdom."—The pleaſing reſult is viſible in almoſt every place you ſee and in every countenance you meet." Bygge's Travels in the French Republic, Tranſlation p. 27.

with the Daniſh on one ſide, and the Engliſh on the other. One ſong recorded the gallant behaviour of Admiral Huitfield, who, in an engagement with the Swediſh fleet, finding his own ſhip on fire, grappled with two of the enemy's men of war, and blew them up with his own ſhip. Another ſong in honour of their favourite hero Chriſtian the Fourth, is as popular in Denmark as "Rule, Britannia," in England. I recollect the following lines of a doggrel tranſlation in the beginning of the ſong:

King Chriſtian ſtood high near the maſt,
In clouds of ſmoke:
His ſhining ſword was working faſt,
Cleft brains and helmets firſt and laſt,
Then ſunk each Gothic hulk and maſt,
In clouds of ſmoke, &c.

In viſiting the citadel, I enquired for the cells in which Struenſee and Brandt were confined. The dungeon which ſerved as a priſon for Struenſee is on the ground-floor, fourteen feet long and twelve broad. The barrack bedſtead on which he lay is ſtill there, and the chain to which he was faſtened riveted to the wall. During his confinement he was treated with the greateſt inhumanity, and frequently deprived of common neceſſaries; he was chained ſo cloſely to the wall as ſcarcely to be able to turn himſelf; and occaſionally threatened with the torture, if he would not confeſs what his enemies dictated.

I viſited likewiſe the ſpot where Struenſee and Brandt were executed, on the 28th of March 1772. The ſcaffold was conſtructed in the middle of a field, near the eaſt gate of the town; and they were conducted to the ſpot in two ſeparate carriages, through an immenſe concourſe of people. They arrived at the place of execution at eleven. Brandt firſt alighted, and mounted the ſcaffold with a ſlow ſtep and undaunted mien; heard his ſentence read, and ſaw his coat of arms torn, without expreſſing the leaſt emotion; he then prayed for a few minutes, and ſpoke a few words to the people. When the executioner approached to aſſiſt him, he ſaid to him with firmneſs, yet not without mildneſs, "Stand off, and do not preſume to touch me." Without any aſſiſtance he pulled off his peliſſe, and prepared for his fate. He firſt ſtretched out his hand, and bade the executioner do his duty, without ſhrinking from the blow, it was ſtruck off, and his head ſevered from his body almoſt in the ſame inſtant. His body was then quartered.

During this dreadful ſcene Struenſee remained at the bottom of the ſcaffold, anxiouſly expecting and dreading his own fate. His whole frame trembled when Brandt's blood guſhed from the ſcaffold; and he was ſo agitated, that he could not walk up the ſteps without help. He ſaid nothing, and permitted the executioner to aſſiſt him in taking off his cloak. Inſtead of imitating the courage and ſerenity of his fellow ſufferer, he ſtarted up ſeveral times from the block, before he gave the ſignal, drew back his hand, was ſhockingly maimed before it was cut off, and was at laſt held down by force while the executioner beheaded him.

The environs of Copenhagen are exceedingly beautiful. The country is gently undulating, produces much corn and paſture, and is finally interſperſed with ſmall foreſts of beech and oak. The ſea views are enchanting, and the villas and country ſeats delightfully ſituated on the ſhores of the Sound.

The royal park, about four miles from the capital, is perhaps the fineſt ſpot for the natural beauty of the gently waving ſurface, and richneſs of the wood; and proves, that

that the nobles might lay out their grounds equal to ours in England, if they would truſt more to nature and leſs to art.

In the midſt of the park St. Helen's ſpring is a favourite ſpot, to which the nobility and gentry, and the lower claſs of people reſort, in July, as to a kind of fair. Many tents and booths are erected for the reception of the company; ſometimes the royal family make their appearance; and the common people eſteem themſelves very unfortunate, if they do not taſte the waters of the ſpring every year. The weather being fine, and the ſeaſon delightful, we roved with pleaſure about the woods, enjoying the beauties of unadulterated nature, and walked to the hermitage, a building ſtanding in the moſt elevated part, and commanding an extenſive view over the Baltic, the iſle of Huen, and the coaſt of Sweden.

CHAP. II.—*Antient form of Government in Denmark.—Revolution of* 1660.—*Change of the Conſtitution from an elected and limited, to an hereditary and abſolute Monarchy.*

UNTIL the middle of the laſt century the crown of Denmark was elective. The ſupreme legiſlative authority reſided in the three eſtates of the realm, the nobles, clergy, and commons, aſſembled in a diet by means of repreſentatives; the executive power was veſted in the King, and ſenate, compoſed of the principal nobles. The King was little more than preſident of the ſenate, and commander of the army; the regal prerogative being circumſcribed by a capitulation, or charter of privileges, ratified by the ſovereign at his acceſſion. Although the crown was always continued in the ſame family, and uniformly conferred on the eldeſt ſon; yet the new prince was conſtrained to purchaſe his ſucceſſion to the throne by farther immunities.

Such was the ſtate of affairs until the ſingular revolution of 1660 eſtabliſhed, almoſt without the concurrence of the ſovereign, an hereditary and abſolute monarchy: exhibiting an inſtance, which ſtands unparalleled in the annals of hiſtory, of a people, who ſpontaneouſly renounced their freedom, and inveſted their limited governor with unbounded authority.

Frederic III. who, on the death of his father Chriſtian IV. aſcended the throne by the free election of the ſtates, ſigned a charter of rights, conſiſting of fifty-four articles; among which ſeveral new privileges were confirmed to the ſenate, whereby they were enabled to engroſs the whole adminiſtration of affairs. Frederic poſſeſſed in the ordinary occurrences of life a mild and equitable temper of mind, and was apparently indifferent to ambition or glory. If his dominions had not been invaded by a powerful rival, he would have ſcarcely been noticed by his contemporaries. But as, during his reign, the very being of Denmark, as a kingdom, was at ſtake, and he was called to action by the moſt imminent danger which a ſovereign could experience, he ſuddenly ſurmounted his natural apathy: his mind acquired unuſual vigour; and he exhibited proofs of courage, prudence, and perſeverance, not inferior to the moſt conſummate heroes of his time. Theſe circumſtances placed his character in an exalted point of view; while his gentleneſs and moderation prevented the umbrage which is apt to be conceived by a free people againſt their ſovereign. Thus, from being thought incapable of intereſted deſigns, and yet equal to the taſk of carrying the moſt adventurous into execution, he became, from the accidental ſituation of his affairs, the inſtrument of accompliſhing an important revolution, which totally changed the form of the Daniſh government.

When

When Charles Guſtavus, King of Sweden, broke the treaty of Roſkild, which he had ſigned, and in 1658 appeared ſuddenly before Copenhagen at the head of a powerful army, he eſteemed himſelf ſecure of ſucceſs, and made a preſent of Zealand to Admiral Wrangel. He even publicly boaſted that he would re-unite the three crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, and would then, like another Alaric, march into Italy, at the head of the Gothic nations. The internal weakneſs and civil commotions of Denmark ſeemed almoſt to juſtify theſe vaunts: the fate of the whole kingdom depended on the ſafety of Copenhagen; and yet, ſuch was the deplorable condition of the capital, that Frederic was adviſed to retire from a place which ſeemed untenable, and to eſcape either to Holland or Norway. The fortifications had been long neglected; it contained a garriſon of only a thouſand regular troops; had not ſufficient proviſions to ſtand a ſiege; almoſt deſtitute of every means of reſiſtance, and crouded with inhabitants and fugitives.

But Frederic, rouſed by this dangerous criſis of affairs, diſcovered at once the moſt undaunted courage; he declared his reſolution of defending his capital to the laſt extremity, and of burying himſelf under its ruins. His conduct during the ſiege anſwered theſe profeſſions; he gave his orders with calmneſs and intrepidity; he was foremoſt in all places of danger, and among the laſt who retreated.

His zeal was ſeconded by the undaunted ſpirit of his queen, Sophia Amelia, Princeſs of Brunſwick Lunenburgh *, who, during the whole conteſt, was indefatigable in animating the beſieged: ſhe partook of their fatigues, rode night and day round the ramparts, and obſerved every occurrence with the vigilance of a centinel, and the coolneſs of a veteran. The preſence and activity of both ſovereigns, gave freſh vigour to the garriſon and citizens of Copenhagen; they braved every danger, and even bound themſelves, by an oath, to periſh, rather than to ſurrender. Their zeal was ſtill further excited by the policy of Frederic, who extorted from the nobles an increaſe of the immunities of the citizens, and paſſed an edict, ſigned by himſelf and the principal ſenators, permitting them to poſſeſs lands, and enjoy all the rights of nobility. Thus animated and encouraged, the burghers formed themſelves into companies, and vied with the regular ſoldiers in ſubmitting to the rigour of military diſcipline. In a word, by their invincible ſpirit, Copenhagen held out from the 8th of Auguſt 1658, to the concluſion of the peace, on the 27th of May 1660, when the Swediſh army evacuated Zealand.

The imminent danger which had threatened the ruin of Denmark no ſooner ſubſided, than Frederic relapſed into his conſtitutional indolence; and ſeems, (if we may judge from the moſt authentic accounts) to have had but a ſmall ſhare in the ſubſequent revolution. It appears indeed to have been as caſual as it was ſudden: the effect only of the imperious conduct of the nobles, of the jealouſies and reſentment of the other orders, and of the high opinion which the people conceived of their king, to whom they juſtly attributed the preſervation of Copenhagen, and the ſafety of the kingdom; while they imputed to the factions of the nobles the evils which they had lately experienced.

On the ſignature of the peace a diet was ſummoned at Copenhagen, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, exhauſted with debts, and deſolated by the miſeries of war.

This diet, the laſt ever convened in Denmark, aſſembled at Copenhagen on the 8th of September 1660. The nobles, inſtead of endeavouring to conciliate the other orders by a moderate conduct, increaſed the public diſcontents by the moſt arrogant behaviour. The deputies of the clergy and commons united againſt them; and the

* Memoires de Terlon, p. 333.

citizens of Copenhagen (who, having acquired great credit by the glorious defence of the capital, formed a conſiderable party) were highly diſguſted at their remonſtrance againſt the immunities granted by the King during the ſiege. In this temper of parties, when the neceſſary ſupplies were brought forward, the nobles propoſed an exciſe on all articles of conſumption, and expreſſed themſelves willing to ſubmit to it, though their order was by law exempted from all taxes: they accompanied this offer with a remonſtrance to the King, in which they endeavoured, not only to reclaim many obſolete privileges, but to gain freſh immunities, and introduce many other regulations, which tended to diminiſh the royal prerogative, and check the riſing influence of the commons and clergy.

The propoſal of ſuch a tax, and this imprudent remonſtrance, excited great heats in the diet; the clergy and commons contended that the offer was inſidious, as the nobles would only pay the exciſe during their continuance in the towns, but refuſe to ſubmit to it while they reſided on their eſtates. On this ground they objected to the tax on any other condition, but that of being levied equally on all ranks without reſerve or reſtriction. The nobles not only perſiſted in the plea of exemption, but even refuſed to be ſubject to it for more than three years, under pretence that every impoſt was an infringement of their privileges. Being, however, intimidated by the deciſive refuſal of the other deputies, they ſhifted their ground, propoſed new duties on ſtamped paper and leather, and offered, inſtead of the exciſe on conſumption, to pay a poll-tax for their peaſants. The clergy and commons at firſt approved theſe additional impoſts; but afterwards retracted, under pretence that they would not produce a ſum adequate to the exigencies of the nation. It is not certain from what cauſe this alteration of their ſentiments was derived *; whether the taxes would really have been inadequate, or were to be granted for too ſhort a time; or whether, urged by other motives, they were ſecretly deſirous of obtaining more eſſential and durable advantages over the nobles. Probably all theſe motives operated on different perſons; the latter eſpecially ſeems to have had great influence; becauſe, in lieu of the above-mentioned duties, the deputies propoſed that the royal fiefs and domains, which the nobles excluſively poſſeſſed at a moderate rent, ſhould be farmed to the higheſt bidders. This propoſal irritated the nobles who juſtly deemed it an infraction of their deareſt privileges; as, by the forty-ſixth article of the coronation oath taken by Frederic, the poſſeſſion of the royal fiefs was guaranteed to their order. In the heat of the conteſt on this article, one of the chief ſenators imprudently threw out reproachful expreſſions againſt the Commons, which raiſed a general ferment in the aſſembly; and the deputies of the clergy and commons broke up the meeting.

In this ſtruggle the friends of the court began to interpoſe. It was eaſily ſeen, that the deputies, diſguſted with the nobles, would eagerly embrace that occaſion of humbling the whole order; and no way ſeemed more likely to inſure ſucceſs than by rendering the crown hereditary, and exalting the regal prerogative on the ruin of the nobility. They never could expect that ſo favourable an opportunity ſhould again occur; the diet was aſſembled in a fortified town, the citizens were ſtill in arms, and all of them, as well as the garriſon, devoted to the King.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to trace, at this diſtance of time, all the ſecret ſprings which actuated the deputies on this extraordinary occaſion. It only appears, from good authority, that the two perſons who had the principal ſhare in the revolution were the creatures of the court, and had, before the meeting of the diet, concerted a plan of hum-

* Mallet, p. 447.

bling

bling the nobility, with a confidential ſervant* of the crown: theſe perſons were Svane, biſhop of Zealand and preſident of the order of the clergy, and Nanſen, Burgomaſter of Copenhagen and Speaker of the Commons. We have no reaſon, however, to conclude, that they intended to proceed further than to humble the ariſtocratical party, and make ſome neceſſary changes in the conſtitution; but the obſtinacy of the nobles enlarged their views, and induced the deputies not only to render the crown hereditary, but to veſt the whole power in the hands of the King.

While the deſign was in agitation, Frederic felt, or affected to feel, an almoſt total indifference to the event; and though he expreſſed himſelf inclined to accept the offer of hereditary ſucceſſion, if obtained by the unanimous conſent of all the eſtates, yet he refuſed to take any active part in the whole proceeding. The Queen endeavoured to rouſe him from this ſupineneſs; but her influence, which was never before exerted in vain, proved now ineffectual: being not inclined, however, to follow his example, ſhe caballed with the leaders of the clergy and commons, and diſplayed that ſpirit of intrigue and daring enterprize which had ſo long marked her character, in contraſt with the mild and paſſive acquieſcence of the King.

On the receſſion of the deputies, which the obſtinacy of the nobles had provoked, the hint of rendering the crown hereditary was ſuggeſted by the biſhop of Zealand; and ſeveral partizans being gained, a numerous meeting was held at his palace on the 6th of October, in which the ſcheme was laid open and approved. An act for declaring the crown hereditary was drawn up; and the mode of proceeding was concerted between the chiefs of the party and Gabel, the favourite of the King, who held a ſeparate conference with the biſhop and Nanſen that afternoon. During the whole night and the following day, repeated meſſages paſſed between ſome of the deputies and the emiſſaries of the Queen.

On the morning of the 8th of October †, the biſhop of Zealand, having obtained the conſent and ſignature of the eccleſiaſtical deputies to the declaration of hereditary ſucceſſion, delivered it to Nanſen. The latter, in a moſt perſuaſive ſpeech, expatiated on the wretched ſtate of the kingdom, oppreſſive power of the nobles, and virtues of the the King, and concluded with exhorting the Commons to ſubſcribe the act as the only means of ſaving their country. Having firſt ſigned it himſelf, his example was followed by each deputy without one diſſenting voice.

During theſe intrigues the nobles remained in full ſecurity, and without the leaſt ſuſpicion; as the Commons had, the ſame day in which they ſigned the declaration, debated on the taxes, and drawn up a remonſtrance againſt the nobles, without alluding to the ſecret tranſaction. On the 9th this remonſtrance was preſented to Frederic in form by the biſhop and Nanſen; and the Commons, on returning from the palace, had a violent altercation with the ſame chief ſenator who had before offended them, and who then threatened them with impriſonment for preſuming to approach the King without acquainting the order of nobles; a threat which ſerved only to ſtrengthen their reſolution.

Rumours of the project had by this time reached the nobles; but they had ſcarcely aſſembled to conſider the moſt efficacious methods of defeating it ‡, before the deputies of the clergy and burghers entered the hall. Having taken their ſeats, Nanſen, after a ſhort ſpeech, delivered to them the declaration for rendering the crown hereditary in

* Moleſworth ſays, with Hannibal Sehеſted, and Holberg, with Gabel the King's favourite. Probably they were both in the right, as it is eaſy to ſuppoſe that both were conſulted on the occaſion.

† Holberg, iii. p. 479.

‡ Probably on the 10th of October, as Mallet conjectures.

the family of the King. The nobles were thrown into general conſternation by ſo ſudden and deciſive a communication. Conceiving it, however, imprudent to negative the propoſal, they endeavoured to gain time; and replied accordingly, that declaration; yet a matter of ſuch conſequence deſerved the moſt mature diſcuſſion. Nanſen, perceiving the drift of this delay, anſwered, they came not to deliberate but to act; they had already taken their reſolution; they would loſe no time in debate; if the nobles refuſed to concur, they would themſelves repair to the palace, not doubting that the King would graciouſly accept their proffered declaration. During theſe proceedings, the nobles ſecretly diſpatched a meſſage to the King, that they were willing to render the crown hereditary in the male line of his iſſue, provided it was done with the accuſtomed formalities; a propoſal his majeſty rejected as a circumſtance not deſirable, unleſs the right of ſucceſſion was extended to the females alſo. He added, with great appearance of moderation, that he by no means wiſhed to preſcribe rules for their conduct; they were to follow the dictates of their own judgment; as for his part, he would owe every thing to their free conſent, but could not accept the offer with the limitation propoſed.

The nobles, who waited with anxiety for the return of the meſſenger, kept the buſineſs in ſuſpenſe by declining their direct aſſent to the declaration, and propoſing a further conſideration of the ſubject. The other deputies then quitted the aſſembly, and repaired in ſolemn proceſſion to the court; leaving the nobles in a ſtate of irreſolution and diſtraction.

The deputies being admitted, the biſhop of Zealand addreſſed the King on the reſolution taken by the clergy and commons; offering, in their name, to render the crown hereditary, and inveſt him with abſolute authority; adding, they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of an eſtabliſhment ſo ſalutary to their country. Frederic, in reply, thanked them for their favourable intentions; but mentioned the approbation of the nobles as a neceſſary condition, though he had no doubt of their concurrence when they ſhould have had time to accompany the declaration with the neceſſary formalities: he aſſured them of his protection, promiſed a redreſs of all grievances, and diſmiſſed them with an exhortation to continue their ſittings, until they ſhould have brought their deſign to perfection, and he could receive their voluntary ſubmiſſion with due ſolemnity.

The reader will obſerve, with much ſurprize, that in all the public occurrences before this audience, the only affair apparently in agitation, was to change the form of government from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; no mention was made of enlarging the powers of the crown, or of the ſtill more extraordinary ſcheme of rendering the King abſolute. It is probable, if the nobles had immediately conſented to the declaration, that this ceſſion might not have taken place. Was there no medium between hereditary right and arbitrary power? Or can we ſuppoſe that, according to the ſyſtem of the Daniſh law, arbitrary power was neceſſarily implied in hereditary right? Something like this was probably the caſe; as it is hardly poſſible to conceive that, when the deputies of the commons and clergy had voted only for the declaration, the biſhop, of his own accord, ſhould add the gift of unlimited authority. It often happens, that people are more affected by appearances than realities. The bare mention of arbitrary power would have revolted the deputies; while the ſubſtance, being included in the popular expreſſion of hereditary right, was paſſed without reſerve.

On the abrupt departure of the deputies, the nobles could not agree what plan to purſue in this alarming criſis. They were not, indeed, unanimous in their motives of oppoſition,

oppoſition, being divided into three principal parties *: the firſt conſiſted of thoſe who were devoted to the court, and favoured the declaration of the Commons; the ſecond, of thoſe who were conſcious that ſome change in the conſtitution was requiſite, but uncertain how far to proceed; the third, the moſt conſiderable in number, was compoſed of thoſe who were determined to aſſert their own privileges to the laſt extremity, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the leaſt alteration. It was no wonder, therefore, that they came to no reſolution, but poſtponed their final determination to the meeting in the afternoon. While they were thus wavering, the court and the popular party took the neceſſary precautions to force them to a concurrence. It was feared that the enterprize might fail of ſucceſs, ſhould the nobles quit Copenhagen and break up the diet, on the juſt pretence that it was held in a fortified town, under awe of a garriſon devoted to the court. Indeed, ſeveral had already made their eſcape, and others ſeemed inclined to follow their example. In conſequence of theſe apprehenſions, the King iſſued orders to ſhut the gates; and this ſpirited meaſure had ſuch an inſtant effect on the nobles, that, abandoning all further reſiſtance, they diſpatched deputies to the court, announcing their willingneſs to concur with the Commons †.

Accordingly, on the 16th of October, the eſtates annulled, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the capitulation or charter ſigned by the King at his acceſſion, abſolved him from his engagements, and cancelled all the limitations impoſed on his ſovereignty. The whole was finally cloſed by the public ceremony of doing homage and taking the new oath, which was performed on the 18th. On that day ſeveral ſcaffolds were erected before the palace, adorned with ſcarlet cloth and tapeſtry, and furniſhed with rows of benches; on an elevated platform were placed two chairs of ſtate, under a canopy of velvet, for the King and Queen; theſe ſcaffolds communicated with the palace by an open gallery. At the appointed time, the citizens of Copenhagen, forming twelve companies, were drawn up on each ſide of the gallery; the garriſon ſurrounded the platform, and the avenues leading to it; while the regiment of guards ſecured the rear. At mid-day the King and Queen, attended by the royal family, preceded by the nobles, and accompanied by the officers of ſtate, repaired in ſolemn proceſſion, amid drums and trumpets, to the platform; and when the nobles, the deputies of the clergy and commons, had taken their places, the chancellor proclaimed ‡:

"Since it has pleaſed the Almighty, by the unanimous and voluntary reſolution of the ſtates, that this kingdom ſhould be rendered hereditary in the perſon of his Majeſty our Lord the King, and of his poſterity male and female; his Majeſty, after thanking the ſtates for this proof of their affection and zeal, not only promiſes to all his good and faithful ſubject, to govern them as a chriſtian and merciful prince ought to do, but alſo to eſtabliſh a form of government, under which they ſhall be ſecure of enjoying the ſame advantages under his ſucceſſors; and as this unanimous reſolution of the ſtates requires a new oath of allegiance, his Majeſty diſcharges the ſtates from all thoſe oaths which they had formerly taken, aſſuring each perſon in particular of his royal favour and protection." After which all perſons who were preſent took the new oath of allegiance.

The revolution being thus accompliſhed, a new form of government was promulgated, under the title of the Royal Law of Denmark. It conſiſts of forty articles; the moſt remarkable are the following §:

"The hereditary Kings of Denmark and Norway ſhall be in effect, and ought to be eſteemed by their ſubjects, the only ſupreme head on earth; they ſhall be above all

* Holberg. † Ibid. ‡ Mallet. § Lettres ſur le Dannemarck. Mallet.

human

human laws, and ſhall acknowledge, in all eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, no higher power than God alone. The King ſhall enjoy the right of making and interpreting the laws, of abrogating, adding to, and diſpenſing with them. He may alſo annul all the laws which either he or his predeceſſors ſhall have made, excepting this royal law, which muſt remain irrevocable, and be conſidered as the fundamental law of the ſtate. He has the power of declaring war, making peace, impoſing taxes, and levying contributions of all ſorts, &c. &c.

Then follow the regulations for the order of ſucceſſion, the regency in caſe of minority, for the majority of the King, for the maintenance of the royal family; and, after enumerating all the poſſible prerogatives of regal uncircumſcribed authority, as if ſufficient had not yet been laid down, it is added in the twenty-ſixth article: "All that we have hitherto ſaid of power and eminence, and ſovereignty, and if there is any thing further which has not been expreſsly ſpecified, ſhall all be compriſed in the following words: The King of Denmark and Norway ſhall be the hereditary monarch, and endued with the higheſt authority, inſomuch that all that can be ſaid and written to the advantage of a chriſtian, hereditary, and abſolute King, ſhall be extended under the moſt favourable interpretation, to the hereditary King or Queen of Denmark and Norway," &c. &c. *.

On reviewing the principal circumſtances which led to this revolution, we cannot but remark, that the nobles were the victims of their own imprudence and obſtinacy. Had they yielded in due time, they might have ſecured many of their privileges; but not complying until their concurrence was ſcarcely neceſſary, they could not command any compenſation for what they could not retain, and ſurrendered with the moſt evident reluctance. The deputies of the clergy and of the towns were hurried away by their reſentment againſt that order, whoſe tyranny they had long experienced, and whoſe future aſcendancy they dreaded; and they were ſo warmly animated by their admiration of the King, that they thought no ſacrifice too great which could aſſure him of their confidence, and teſtify their gratitude. Strange infatuation! that they ſhould diſcover no means of humbling their oppreſſors, and ſecuring their own immunities, without the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute government! Might they not have looſened the King's ſhackles without tearing them off? The reſerve of the legiſlative power, and right of taxation in the three eſtates, would ſufficiently have ſecured the freedom of the people, as well againſt the encroachments of the crown, as againſt the inſolence of a proud nobility. But the voice of reaſon is ſeldom heard amid the tumult of public animoſities and the uproar of faction.

"Thus this great affair," concludes Lord Moleſworth, "was finiſhed; and the kingdom of Denmark, in four days' time, changed from an eſtate little differing from ariſtocracy, to as abſolute a monarchy as any is at preſent in the world." But theſe expreſſions have been conſidered as too ſtrong by ſeveral of the native hiſtorians; and an Engliſh author †, who wrote againſt his account of Denmark by deſire of the Daniſh miniſter, has contradicted his concluſion; becauſe Frederic III. did not abuſe his power, and becauſe he confirmed the privileges of the different orders. But ſurely when the ſovereign, according to the expreſſions of the royal law, is declared "independent upon earth, acknowledging no higher power than God; when he has an unlimited

* The reader will find an abridged extract of the ſeveral articles in Moleſworth, p. 186; and a French tranſlation in Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, p. 118; which tranſlation is alſo inſerted in Mallet's Hiſt. de Dannemarc, vol. iii. p. 475.

† King's Animadverſions on a pretended Account of Denmark, in which the author animadverts upon ſeveral miſrepreſentations of Lord Moleſworth.

authority

authority to make, alter, repeal, and dispense with laws; when he alone can make peace and declare war; form alliances and levy taxes; when, in a word, he enjoys all the rights and prerogatives which an hereditary, absolute, despotic King can enjoy;" what signify privileges which he can annul at pleasure? of what force are laws which he can repeal with a word? Allowing, what is true, that the Kings of Denmark have seldom abused their authority; and without pretending to deny that the tyranny of the nobles had risen to an excessive height; yet we surely may conclude, that it would have been happier for the kingdom, had the power of the crown been duly circumscribed, while the rights of the nobles were qualified, not abolished; and the people continued subjects of a limited monarchy, not enslaved to arbitrary dominion.

CHAP. III.—*Remarks on the Population.—Finances.—Army.—Navy.—Church Establishment in Denmark.*

THE following table exhibits the population in the Danish dominions:

			No. of Inhabitants.	
Denmark.	Diocese of Zealand, including the isles of Zealand, Moen, and Bornholm	Islands.	283,466	785,590
	Diocese of Funen, including the isles of Funen, Langeland, Lolland, and Falster	Islands.	143,988	
	Diocese of Aarhuus	Jutland	117,942	
	Ditto Riber	Jutland	99,923	
	Ditto Aalborg	Jutland	80,872	
	Ditto Viborg	Jutland	59,399	
Isles of Feroe				4,754
Norway.	Diocese of Agerhuus		215,043	623,141
	Ditto Christianſand		113,024	
	Ditto Berghen		130,352	
	Ditto Drontheim		164,722	
Iceland.	Diocese of Scalholt		34,216	46,201
	Ditto Holun		11,985	
Duchy of Sleswick				243,605
Duchy of Holstein belonging to the King				134,665
Duchy of Gluckſburgh				10,072
District of Kiel				75,000
Number of ſouls in the Daniſh dominions				*1,923,028

The revenues of Denmark are principally derived from the cuſtoms, duties on exports and imports, exciſe on proviſions and liquors, poll-tax †, tax on ranks, on places,

* Since this was written, the population has increaſed, and may now be eſtimated at two millions three hundred thouſand.

† The poll-tax takes place only in Denmark; it was at firſt laid on the inhabitants of Norway, but has been aboliſhed, and another impoſt ſubſtituted in its room; the peaſants, who are all free in that kingdom, having conſidered it as a badge of ſlavery. The towns of Altona and Bornholm are alſo exempted from it, on the payment of an annual compenſation.

penſions,

penſions, and perquiſites, on marriages*, land-tax, exciſe, quit-rents of the royal demeſnes, licences of public-houſes, privilege of diſtilling ſpirits, for hunting and ſhooting in the royal manors, leaſes on farms and ſaw-mills, profits of the mines, ſtamped paper, duty on ſnuff, on cards, &c. &c.

Revenues.

Land-tax	£.800,000
Sound duties†	100,000
Poll-tax and other taxes	300,000
Extraordinary contributions‡	200,000
	£.1,400,000

Expenditure in 1784.

Civil liſt	£.400,000
Army	400,000
Navy	200,000
Payment of debts	200,000
Penſions	160,000
Jointure of the Queen-dowager	16,000
Income of Prince Frederice	8000
	§£.1,384,000

* The tax on marriages, as I am informed, has been aboliſhed ſince my departure from Denmark; a tax which no wiſe legiſlature would ever impoſe; and if impoſed by inadvertence, would take the firſt opportunity of repealing, as highly detrimental to the real intereſts of the community. This tax was as equitably laid on in Denmark as ſo injudicious an impoſt was capable of being diſtributed, the peaſants and lower claſs of people being exempted.—"La portion la plus nombreuſe," ſays the author of Les Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, "et la plus pauvre de la ſocieté, les payſans, les matelots, et les ſoldats, n'y ſont pas aſſujettis: mais ſi le mariage doit être encouragé par toutes les voies poſſibles, à plus forte raiſon mérite-t-il d'être libre de toute charge. Celle qui ſi paye ici eſt ſi modique, qu'elle ne forme pas un grand obſtacle à la population." p. 165.

† The importance of the Sound duties to the government of Denmark, may be inferred from the number of veſſels which paſſed the Sound in 1782:

Engliſh	1264	From Dantzic	328
Daniſh	1634	Lubec	112
Swediſh	2121	Bremen	240
Ruſſian	158	Hamburgh	50
Dutch	16	Roſtock	89
Portugueſe	38	Venice	3
Pruſſian	1907	Auſtrian Netherlands	505
			8465

In 1800, nine thouſand and forty-eight veſſels entered the Sound; and in ſome years even twelve thouſand.

‡ Among the extraordinary contributions is the tax on honours and rank, laid in the following proportion:—Perſons of the firſt rank pay annually 80 rix-dollar, or 16l.; of the ſecond 14l.; of the third 8l.; fourth 6l.; fifth 3l 4s.; ſixth 3l.; ſeventh 2l. 8s.; eighth 1l. 12s.; and ninth 1l. 4s. All the places and penſions are rated in the following proportion:—Penſions not leſs than 400 rix-dollars, or 80l. and upwards, pay ten per cent.; from 70l. to 80l. 8 per cent.; from 60l. to 70l. 7 per cent; from 50l. to 60l. 5 per cent.; from 40l. to 50l. 4 per cent.; from 30l. to 40l. 3 per cent.; and from 20l. to 30l. 2 per cent.

§ Since this was written, the revenue and expenditure have been ſomewhat augmented, and the debt conſiderably decreaſed.

The

The public debt in 1785 amounted to 3,600,000l., of which in time of peace about 200,000l. is annually liquidated. Lately, however, the liquidation of the debt owing to the ſubjects has been made in bank-notes. Although this meaſure ſaves to the nation the payment of the intereſt of four per cent in money, yet it too much promotes the increaſe of paper currency. The bank-notes are not exchanged at Hamburgh, except under a diſcount from 16 to 20 per cent. There is but little ſpecie in the country; that collected from the Sound duties being chiefly appropriated to the intereſt of the foreign debt, and the appointments of perſons employed in Holſtein; and the produce of the ſilver mines at Kongſberg ſcarcely exceeds 50,000l. per annum.

The army of Denmark is compoſed, 1. of the troops of Denmark and Holſtein; and, 2. of Norway.

1. The forces of Denmark and Holſtein are divided into, 1. Regulars; 2. National or militia. Theſe forces (the foot and horſe guards excepted, who are all regulars) are not ſeparated, as in our army, into diſtinct regiments.

Before the late augmentation, every regiment of infantry, when complete, conſiſted of twenty-ſix officers, and one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two privates, divided into ten companies of fuſileers, and two of grenadiers. Of theſe one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two privates, four hundred and eighty, who are chiefly foreigners enliſted in Germany, are regulars. The remaining one thouſand one hundred and fifty-two are the national militia, or peaſants, who reſide on the eſtates of the landholders, each eſtate furniſhing a certain number in proportion to its value. Theſe national troops are occaſionally exerciſed in ſmall corps on Sundays and holidays; and are embodied once every year, for about ſeventeen days, in their reſpective diſtricts. By an addition of ten men to each company, a regiment of infantry was increaſed to one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight, including officers.

The cavalry is on the ſame footing; each regiment conſiſting of ſeventeen officers, including ſerjeants and corporals, five hundred and ſixty-five privates, divided into five ſquadrons. Of theſe about two hundred and ſixty are regular, and the remainder national troops. The regiments of foot and horſe guards are regulars; the former is compoſed of twenty-one officers, and four hundred and ſixty-five men, in five companies, and the latter of ſeven officers, and one hundred and fifty four men, in two ſquadrons.

2. The forces of Norway are all national troops or militia, excepting the two regiments of Sudenfield and Nodenfield; and as the peaſants are free, the forces are levied in a different manner from thoſe of Denmark. Norway is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, each of which furniſhes a ſoldier. All the peaſants are, at their birth, regiſtered for the militia; and the firſt on the liſt ſupplies the vacancy for the diſtrict to which he belongs. After ſerving from ten to fourteen years, they are admitted among the invalids; and, when they have attained the ſeniority of that corps, receive their diſmiſſion. Theſe troops are not continually under arms, but are occaſionally exerciſed, like the national forces of Denmark. A fixed ſtipend is aſſigned to the officers, nearly equal to that of the officers in the regulars; but the common ſoldiers do not receive pay, except when in actual ſervice, or performing their annual manœuvres.

The army is ſupplied with officers by the Academy of Land Cadets, inſtituted by Frederic IV. where ſeventy-four cadets are inſtructed in the military ſciences at the royal expence. According to a liſt of the Daniſh army printed in the appendix, the total number of troops conſiſted, in 1785, of ſixty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and nine.

Navy. From their inſular ſituation, the Danes have always excelled as a maritime people. In the earlier ages, when piracy was an honourable profeſſion, they were a race of pirates, and iſſued from the Baltic to the conqueſt of England and Normandy. And though, ſince the improvement of navigation by the invention of the compaſs, other nations have riſen to a greater degree of naval eminence, ſtill, however, the Danes, inhabiting a cluſter of iſlands, and poſſeſſing a large tract of ſea-coaſt, are well verſed in maritime affairs, and are the moſt numerous, as well as the moſt experienced ſailors of the North. During my ſtay at Copenhagen I viſited the dock, and inſpected, with great attention, the fleet at anchor in the harbour.

The expence of building the hulk of each ſhip amounted to 200l. per gun, and to 1000l. when the veſſel is completely rigged, and ready to ſail, with four months' proviſions. The greater part of the oak is procured from Germany by contract with the King of Pruſſia *. All the cannon, ſhot, anchors and iron-work, are caſt in Norway. The Danes procure flax, hemp, and maſts from Ruſſia, and pitch and tar from Sweden; they have manufactories of cordage and ſails, but not ſufficient for the uſe of the fleet: the remainder is obtained from Ruſſia and Holland.

The greater part of the Daniſh navy is ſtationed in the harbour of Copenhagen, which lies within the fortifications: the depth of water being only twenty-feet, the ſhips have not their lower tier of guns on board, but take them in when they get out of port. Beſides large magazines, each veſſel has a ſeparate ſtorehouſe on the water's edge, oppoſite to which ſhe is moored when in harbour, and may by this means be inſtantly equipped. The number of regiſtered ſeamen is fourteen thouſand ſix hundred, divided into two claſſes; the firſt compriſes thoſe inhabiting the coaſts, who are allowed to engage in the ſervice of merchant-ſhips trading to any part of the world. Each receives 8s. annually from the crown as long as he ſends a certificate of his being alive; but is ſubject to recal in caſe of war. The ſecond comprehends the fixed ſailors, who are conſtantly in the employ of the crown, and amount to about four thouſand, ranged in four diviſions, or forty companies: they are ſtationed at Copenhagen for the ordinary ſervice of the navy, and work in the dock-yard. Each, when not at ſea, receives 12s. per month, beſide a quantity of flour and other proviſions; every two years a complete ſuit of clothes, and every year breeches, ſtockings, ſhoes, and a cap. Some are lodged in barracks. When they ſail their pay is augmented to 20s. per month. The marine artillery conſiſts of eight hundred men, in four diviſions.

In 1779 the navy conſiſted of thirty-eight ſhips of the line, including nine of fifty guns and one of forty-four, and twenty frigates; but if we except thoſe which are condemned, and thoſe which are allotted only for parade, we cannot eſtimate the fleet ſo high as twenty-four ſhips of the line, and fifteen frigates, fit for ſervice: a number, however, fully adequate to the ſituation of Denmark; and, if we include the excellence of the ſailors, it muſt be eſteemed as complete a navy as any in the North †.

A ſhip of ninety guns, with its full complement, carries eight hundred and fifty men, of ſeventy guns ſeven hundred, of ſixty four guns ſix hundred, of fifty guns four hundred and fifty, and a frigate of thirty-ſix guns two hundred and fifty. Moſt part of this

* Holſtein produces oaks, but not a ſufficient quantity; aud they are preſerved in caſe of extreme neceſſity.

† The author of the Voyage de Deux François, gives the ſtate of the Daniſh navy in 1791. It differs little, as to number, from the liſt in the Appendix to this volume; and conſiſts of one ſhip of ninety guns; two of eighty: ten of ſeventy-four; five of ſeventy; ſix of ſixty-four; three of ſixty; and three of fifty; beſides five old men of war, with eighteen frigates from forty two to twenty guns. Of this number twelve ſhips of the line, and ſeven frigates were built ſince 1774.—Voyage de Deux François, vol. i. p. 84.

fleet is generally moored at Copenhagen, except four or five ſhips of the line in the ports of Norway, a frigate ſtationed off Elſinore, another lying off the iſle of Funen, and a ſmaller veſſel on the Elbe, beſide a frigate or two which annually make a cruize.

In 1779, the year of the armed neutrality, the northern powers ſent out different armaments; that of Denmark, which was fitting out in the ſpring, conſiſted of ten ſhips of the line, four frigates, and two ſloops of twenty guns; and the expence of the equipment was chiefly ſupplied by an additional duty of one per cent. laid on all imports, and half per cent. on exports. For manning this fleet one thouſand fixed ſailors were ſelected, three thouſand five hundred regiſtered from the country, and one thouſand marines.

The chief nurſery * for naval officers is the Academy of Marine Cadets, inſtituted by Frederic IV. in 1701. The foundation is for ſixty cadets, who are maintained and inſtructed in the theory of navigation at the expence of the crown. Every year they make a cruize on board a frigate. Beſide the original number, other youths are admitted, under the name of volunteers, at their own expence.

The eſtabliſhed religion of Denmark is the Lutheran. The hierarchy conſiſts of twelve biſhops, or ſuperintendants; ſix in Denmark, four in Norway, and two in Iceland. There is no archbiſhop; but the biſhop of Zealand, who is firſt in rank, and the biſhop of Aggerhuus, are metropolitans.

The annual revenues of the ſees are: In Denmark: Zealand 1000l.; Funen 760l.; Aarhuus 600l.; Aalborg 400l.; and Ripan 400l. In Norway: Chriſtiana or Aggerhuus, 400l.; Chriſtianſand 600l.; Berghen 400l.; and Drontheim 400l. In Iceland: Skalholt 150l.; and Holun 150l. Theſe two laſt biſhoprics, although far inferior in nominal value to the former, are, if we take into conſideration the cheapneſs of living in Iceland, perhaps equal in real profits to the largeſt of the others.

The inferior clergy are provoſts or archdeacons, pariſh-prieſts and chaplains. Each dioceſe is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, of which the provoſts have the inſpection, and each diſtrict into parts. A large pariſh, beſide the principal church, has one or more chapels of eaſe. The pariſh-prieſts receive their ſalaries principally in glebe, tithes, and ſurplice fees, and in ſome places from the voluntary contributions of the pariſhioners. The profits vary in the different parts, according to the cheapneſs of proviſions and other incidental circumſtances. In Denmark the livings ſeldom exceed 400l., or fall ſhort of 60l. per annum, Jutland excepted, in which peninſula there are a few ſcarcely worth 20l. In Norway the higheſt may be rated at 200l., and the loweſt at 60l. In Iceland ſome pariſhes ſcarcely bring in 3l. or 4l. a year. A clergyman's widow uſually receives the whole profit of her huſband's cure for the year immediately following his deceaſe, and a penſion from his ſucceſſor, amounting to the eighth of the annual income.

CHAP. IV.—*Univerſity of Copenhagen.—Royal Academy of Sciences.—Royal Society for the Improvement of Northern Hiſtory and Languages.—Latin Schools in the Daniſh Dominions.—Reſearches into the Origin and Progreſs of Icelandic Literature.—Flora Danica.—Oeder and Muller.—Regenfuſs on Shells, &c. &c.*

COPENHAGEN contains, among other literary inſtitutions, an univerſity, and an academy of ſciences. The univerſity was founded in 1479, by Chriſtian I. and has been augmented and amply endowed by his ſucceſſors; amongſt whom Chriſtian VI.

* Lettres ſur le Dannemark, p. 19.

was the greateſt benefactor. Under that monarch the univerſity was newly modelled, and ſeveral regulations eſtabliſhed, which were calculated for the encouragement and diffuſion of learning. It has a conſiderable fund; the profeſſors have liberal ſalaries, and many ſtudents are inſtructed gratis.

The Royal Academy of Sciences* owes its inſtitution to the zeal of ſix literati, whom Chriſtian VI. in 1742, ordered to arrange his cabinet of medals. Theſe perſons, occaſionally meeting for that purpoſe, extended their deſigns; aſſociated others who were eminent in ſeveral branches of ſcience, and forming a literary ſociety, employed themſelves in examining and explaining the hiſtory and antiquities of their country. The Count of Holſtein warmly patroniſed the ſociety, and at his recommendation Chriſtian VI. took it under his protection, called it the Royal Academy of Sciences, endowed it with a fund, and ordered the members to join to their former purſuits, natural hiſtory, phyſics, and mathematics. In conſequence of the royal favour, the members engaged with freſh zeal in their purſuits; and the academy publiſhed many volumes of tranſactions in the Daniſh language, ſome of which have been tranſlated into Latin.

About the ſame period a ſociety for the improvement of northern hiſtory and languages was inſtituted by a few perſons, at the head of whom was Langebek, ſince greatly diſtinguiſhed for his hiſtorical publications. Theſe perſons contributed to a collection of manuſcripts, books, coins, and other literary curioſities; and even advanced a ſum of money to ſupport the expence of the eſtabliſhment. Many new members being admitted, Chriſtian VI. with his uſual zeal for letters, conſtituted it, in 1746, a Royal Society, and aſſigned an apartment in the palace of Charlottenburgh for the place of meeting. This ſociety has proved itſelf not unworthy of the royal protection; having given to the world ſeveral publications, containing hiſtorical details, titles, documents, diplomas, rare manuſcripts, and charts, which tend to throw conſiderable light on the annals of Denmark.

Beſide the univerſities of Copenhagen and Kiel, there is an academy at Soroe, two gymnaſia at Odenſee and Altona, and a ſeminary for Laplanders at Berghen in Norway. There are various Latin ſchools maintained at the expence of the crown; nineteen in Denmark Proper, four in Norway, eleven in Schleſwick, ſixteen in Holſtein, and two in Iceland. The largeſt ſchools have a *rector*, or upper-maſter, a *corrector*, or lower-maſter, and two or three *collegæ ſcholæ*, or aſſiſtants: the ſmalleſt have only a rector. The ſalaries of the maſters vary from 60l. to 200l. a year. Each pariſh is alſo provided with two or three ſchools for the Daniſh tongue: where children are inſtructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Theſe country ſchool-maſters have in general a ſalary of about 12l. per annum, a houſe, and a few other advantages.

I muſt alſo mention two ſchools at Copenhagen for the children of the nobility and gentry, who are unable to bear the expence of a liberal education; one for boys, and the other for females. The ſchool for boys is under the direction of Profeſſor Treſchow, Chaplain of the garriſon-church at Copenhagen, a gentleman of conſiderable erudition, who, conſidering it as an act of charity, receives no recompence for his trouble. An inſpector has 60l. per annum. The day ſcholars pay only 6l. a year, and the boarders 20l.: they learn hiſtory, geography, and arithmetic, are inſtructed in

* Lettres ſur le Dannemark, vol. ii. p. 53. The Count of Holſtein was the firſt preſident; and the ſix perſons who firſt formed the deſign, were John Gram, Joachim Frederic Ramus, Chriſtian Louis Scheid, Marc Woldikey, Eric Pontopidan, and Bernhard Moelman. See Scripta a Soc. Haf. Edita. Vol. i.

the

the articles of religion, and have maſters for the German, French, and Engliſh languages.

In general the Daniſh literati have particularly turned their reſearches to the hiſtory and antiquities of the north; on which ſubjects many curious works have been printed, and more are preparing for public inſpection. Among thoſe who have greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this branch of learning, muſt be mentioned the names of Meurſius, Holberg, Olaus Wormius, Pontopidan; and lately thoſe of Langebek, Schoening *, and Suhm.

Among the performances lately printed on theſe topics, thoſe in the Icelandic tongue deſerve particular notice; as they tend to throw conſiderable light on the antiquities, hiſtory and mythology of the northern nations: Iceland being in the remote ages, while Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were in a ſtate of perpetual warfare, the repoſitory of northern literature. On obſerving ſuch a number of Icelandic manuſcripts as are contained in the Daniſh libraries, I was greatly aſtoniſhed to find that Iceland, conſidered by the antients as the *Ultima Thule*, or the extremity of the world, and by us as ſcarcely habitable, abounded in learning and ſcience, at a time when great part of Europe was involved in darkneſs.

Hiſtory does not aſcertain the firſt population of Iceland; when occupied by a colony of Norwegians in the latter end of the ninth century, it contained but few inhabitants, whoſe anceſtors were ſuppoſed to have emigrated from England or Ireland; but whoſe number was inadequate to reſiſt the invaders. Afterwards other emigrants landing from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the original inhabitants were loſt amid the ſwarm of new ſettlers, who introduced the worſhip of Thor and Odin, and all the rites and cuſtoms which prevailed among the nations of the neighbouring continent. Their language was the old Gothic or Teutonic, the vernacular tongue of the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, which, on account of their inſular ſituation, was preſerved pure for a conſiderable time. The alphabet was compoſed of the Runic characters, only ſixteen in number; yet to theſe Icelanders we are indebted for almoſt all the hiſtorical monuments of the northern nations now remaining. From them ſprung the Scalds, thoſe antient bards who have tranſmitted, in their hiſtorical poems, the principal events which happened in theſe remote quarters of the world, from the arrival of Odin to the introduction of chriſtianity; a period of barbariſm and ignorance, which, without their labours, had been totally unknown to poſterity. Although theſe Scaldic odes blend occaſionally improbable narratives with hiſtorical events; yet, as the intelligent critics may ſeparate facts from fable, and truth from fiction; and being the only ſources of information relative to the early affairs of the north, they muſt be conſidered as valuable monuments of antiquity. The recital alſo of theſe compoſitions, at public entertainments, before the princes whoſe deeds they celebrated, and who, as well as many other perſons preſent, were well acquainted with the ſubject of the poem, affords a collateral proof of their authenticity †.

Some

* Langebek, who, among other learned publications, has put forth "Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi," printed at the King's expence, was a native of Jutland, and born in 1710; and, after a life devoted to the purſuits of learning, died about 1776.

Schoening, the learned editor of Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſtoria, and many other intereſting works, was born at Schatnas in Norway, in 1722, and died in 1778. The curious reader, who is deſirous of further information on this ſubject, will find an ample detail of the lives and writings of theſe two indefatigable antiquaries, in the prefaces to the fourth and fifth volumes of the Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, which publication is continued by Mr. Suhm, with the ſame diligence and accuracy that diſtinguiſhed the judicious Langebek.

† Snorro Sturleſon, who drew from theſe Scaldic odes many materials for his Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, thus ſpeaks of them:

"Præcipue

Some of theſe odes were written in Runic characters *, the far greater part, however, were only conſigned to memory; but on the introduction of chriſtianity into Iceland, in the latter end of the ninth century †, the Runic letters were exchanged for the Roman alphabet: ſchools were founded; the love of ſcience, which had in ſome degree maintained itſelf, even when the inhabitants were in a ſtate of paganiſm, revived with freſh vigour, antient poems were collected, many chronicles digeſted into a regular form, and the traditions of pagan theology reſcued from oblivion. The Icelanders poſſeſſed ſeveral hiſtorians, long before a ſingle annaliſt appeared among the nations from whom they were deſcended. Their authors Iſlief, Are, and Sæmund, who flouriſhed in the eleventh century, preceded Saxo-Grammaticus and Sueno, the earlieſt of the Daniſh, Swediſh, or Norwegian writers.

It would be an intereſting ſpeculation in the theory of mankind, to aſcertain, "how it came to paſs that a people diſjoined from the reſt of the world, few in number, depreſſed by poverty, and ſituated in ſo unfavourable a climate, ſhould be capable, in thoſe dark ages, of manifeſting ſuch a taſte for literature. Were we better informed of certain particulars relating to the ſtate of the north during thoſe remote ages, we might poſſibly find the cauſe of this phænomenon, either in the poverty of the inhabitants of Iceland, which drove them to ſeek their fortunes in the neighbouring countries, or in the ſucceſs of their firſt bards at foreign courts, which excited their emulation, and at the ſame time prepoſſeſſed ſtrangers in their favour; or laſtly, in the nature of their republican government, in which the talent of oratory, and the reputation of ſuperior ſenſe and capacity, are the direct roads to dignity, reſpect, and preferment ‡." To theſe cauſes may perhaps be joined the political tranquillity of Iceland; amid the civil commotions that convulſed the neighbouring nations, the inhabitants had ſufficient leiſure for literary occupations; and ſome may be induced to add the nature of their climate, which obliged them to ſeek for ſome relief againſt the tedioufneſs of long nights and continued darkneſs ¶.

But to return to the Icelandic authors. The moſt antient hiſtorian was Iſlief, biſhop of Skalholt: he was ſon of Giſſur Albus, a perſon of great diſtinction in Iceland, and deſcended from the antient kings of Denmark, who conſiderably promoted the eſtab-

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"Præcipue carmina ſumus ſecuti, quæ coram ipſis principibus aut eorum filiis ſunt decantata, vera reputantes omnia, quæ iſtis in carminibus de eorum geſtis aut bellis memoriæ ſunt prodita. More quidem Skaldis eſt receptum, præcipue laudare, cui miniſtrant. Aſt nemo facile auderet, coram ipſo principe, laudes et facta cantare, quæ tam ipſe quam alii præſentes ſcirent mera eſſe figmenta. Hoc dedecori non laudi eſſet." See Preface to Schoening's edition of Snorro Sturlenſis, p. 12. note.

* "Though we have no reaſon to believe they were cut upon ſtones, as was practiſed among us, (no Runic ſtones having been found there, whoſe age reaches to the times of paganiſm) they uſed, however, to ſcratch them on their bucklers, and ſometimes on their ceilings and walls; and the *Laxdaela Saga* makes mention of one Olof of Hiardarhult, who had a large houſe built, on the beams and rafters of which remarkable ſtories are ſaid to have been marked, in the ſame manner as Thorkil Hake cut an account of his own deeds on his bedſtead and chair." Letters on Iceland, p. 158.

† In the Kriſtni Saga, the introduction of chriſtianity into Iceland is thus related: "Thorwaldus, a perſon of ſome diſtinction in Iceland, the inhabitants of which were all idolaters, happening to travel through Saxony, commenced acquaintance with a certain biſhop, whoſe name was Frederic; and being inſtructed by him in the Chriſtian doctrines, was baptized. He then prevailed upon the biſhop to return with him to Iceland, in order to convert the natives to chriſtianity. And as the biſhop was ignorant of the language, Thorwaldus, receiving inſtruction, preached to the people, and many were baptized. This event, which laid the firſt foundation of the Goſpel in Iceland, happened in the year 980." See Kriſtni Saga, p. 3, &c.

‡ Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 392.

¶ Ipſi in defoſſis ſpecubus ſecura ſub altâ
Otia agunt terrâ ——
Hic noctem ludo ducunt. Virg. Georg. III. 376.

liſhment

liſhment of chriſtianity. Iſlief was born in 1006; and, having received the firſt rudiments of learning from his father, was ſent, in the ſixteenth year of his age, into Saxony, for the purpoſe of completing his education, and made rapid advances in ſeveral branches of knowledge *. Being ordained prieſt, he returned to Iceland; fixed his reſidence at Skalholt, where his father had erected a church, and preached the Goſpel with fervent and perſuaſive eloquence. Iſlief was the firſt native biſhop of Iceland: he was raiſed to that dignity in the fiftieth year of his age, at the requeſt of the inhabitants, by particular deſire of the Emperor Henry III. and during the pontificate of Leo IX. He was conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of Bremen, on the ſixth of January 1056; and returning the ſame year to Iceland, fixed the ſee at Skalholt, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1080, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age. Iſlief is deſcribed as a perſon of a dignified aſpect, affable, juſt, and upright in all his actions, liberal and beneficent, though, from the ſcantineſs of his income, frequently expoſed to extreme penury. The fame of his learning and piety being widely diffuſed, many foreign biſhops viſited Iceland, for the purpoſe of receiving his inſtructions; and his memory was ſo highly revered among his countrymen, that his name was eſteemed ſynonimous to ſanctity and erudition. He married Dalla, daughter of Thorwal, by whom he had three ſons, all celebrated for their talents and knowledge; but particularly Giſſur, who ſucceeded his father in the biſhopric, and inherited his zeal for the propagation of the Goſpel, and the promotion of learning. Iſlief guarded againſt the decline of literature in Iceland, by aſſiduouſly inſtructing many pupils, ſome of whom became eminently diſtinguiſhed, and two were advanced to the epiſcopal dignity. He was well verſed in the hiſtory of the north, and compiled ſeveral annals, which, though now loſt, furniſhed materials for the chronicles of the earlieſt Icelandic authors, whoſe works are extant. I allude to Are, ſurnamed the Sage, who was educated by Teitus, ſon of Iſlief; Sæmund Sigfurſon, for his great erudition denominated Polyhiſtor, and Snorro Sturleſon, ſtyled by his learned editor, the Herodotus of the north; all of whom immediately ſucceeded Iſlief, and wrote on the hiſtory of Norway.

Many ſubſequent annaliſts made their appearance, of whom it would be ſuperfluous to give an account. Several of their writings, compoſed in the Icelandic tongue, have been given to the public, ſome printed in Iceland †, others in Sweden; but the greater part in Denmark, accompanied with Swediſh, Daniſh, or Latin tranſlations ‡. The moſt important of theſe publications is a folio edition of the chronicle of Snorro, printed at Copenhagen in 1778, accompanied with a life of the author. He was born in 1178, received his education, and completed his ſtudies in Iceland; became chief magiſtrate of the country, and was killed in an inſurrection in 1241, in the ſixty-third year of his age. According to his biographer, he was an excellent poet, an accurate hiſtorian, a ſkilful lawyer, a proficient in the Greek and Latin tongues, and not ignorant of mathematics and mechanics §. From his chronicle, Torfæus, the late annaliſt of the north,

* This account of Iſlief I have extracted from Kriſtni Saga, p. 106 to 109, 130 to 141. Hungervaka Saka, p. 13 to 25.

† Von Troil informs us, that printing was introduced into Iceland by John (or Jonas) Areſon, biſhop of Holun; that John Mathieſſon, a Swede, was the firſt printer; and that the firſt book was the Breviarium Nidaroſienſe, printed in 1531 at Holun. He adds, that new types were brought thither in 1574; and that the Icelandic bible was printed in 1584. See Letters on Iceland, p. 182.

‡ For a liſt of the Icelandic authors, ſee Preface to Annales Biornonis de Skardſa, p. 5. North. Ant. i. p. 52, et paſſim. Letters on Iceland, letter xiv. The library of the Britiſh Muſeum contains about one hundred and eighty Icelandic manuſcripts. See Ayſcough's catalogue of the manuſcripts of the Britiſh Muſeum, p. 890.

§ Preface, p ix.

chiefly drew the materials for his Hiſtory of Norway, and he acknowledges himſelf more indebted to Snorro than to any other writer.

From the fourteenth century, hiſtory and letters gradually declined in Iceland, and it was involved in the ſame darkneſs which had overſpread Europe. The reformation, which was introduced in the middle of the ſixteenth century, occaſioned the revival of ſcience. Although there never have been wanting among the inhabitants men of conſiderable learning, yet, as knowledge has widely diffuſed itſelf in Sweden and Denmark under the protection of their ſovereigns, theſe kingdoms have become greatly enlightened, and Iceland is no longer the ſole repoſitory of northern genius *.

Although the Daniſh literati have directed their chief attention to hiſtory and antiquities; yet they have by no means been deficient in the ſtudy of nature.

Frederic V., the late King of Denmark, a munificent patron of the ſciences, founded, in 1753, a botanical garden, intended principally to facilitate a liberal deſign of giving a complete hiſtory, and engravings of all the native plants in the Daniſh dominions †. The ſuperintendance of this garden, (with a ſtipend,) and afterwards the profeſſorſhip of botany in the Royal Academy of Copenhagen, were conferred on Mr. Oeder, who was choſen to conduct the work. In proſecution of this deſign, he viſited at the King's expence various parts of Denmark and Norway, and began the publication in 1762.

The Flora Danica was intended to contain, in the folio form, figures of all the indigenous plants of Denmark, Norway, thoſe of the duchies of Sleſwick and Holſtein, and of many from Iceland; a tract of country extending more than ſixteen degrees, between the fifty-fourth degree of latitude and the North Cape. A hiſtory of all theſe plants, in octavo, was alſo promiſed; but this part of the plan has not yet been completed.

Of this Flora Danica, a number, or *faſciculus*, containing ſixty plates, was intended to be annually publiſhed; the firſt came forth in 1762, but, according to the uſual fate of periodical undertakings of ſuch conſiderable extent, ſeveral cauſes have retarded its regular progreſs, and the fifteenth *faſciculus* only, completing the number of nine hundred plates, or five volumes, made its appearance in 1782. This work may be purchaſed either coloured or plain. The names of the plants are not engraved on the plates; neither from the nature of the ſubject could any regular method or ſyſtem be obſerved. The plants are ſeparately figured; each engraving contains one plant only, except in thoſe of the claſs Cryptogamia, where, in ſome inſtances, ſeveral are given in the ſame plate. Prefixed to each *faſciculus* is a nomenclature, with the Linnæan names, a few ſelect ſynonyms, and an account of the places of growth. As often as the ſize will admit, the plant is exhibited in the natural magnitude; in others, a branch only, and in moſt inſtances, the parts of fructification are ſeparately delineated; an article indiſpenſable to botanical accuracy. In ſome of the larger plants, beſide the branch of the natural ſize, the whole is given on a reduced ſcale; but it muſt be confeſſed, that this part of the deſign is the leaſt meritorious; happily it does not often occur.

The twelfth *faſciculus*, in 1777, was accompanied with an index of all the plants already engraved, or intended to be contained in this work; by which it appears, that

* I am chiefly indebted for information upon the literary hiſtory of Iceland to Mallet's North. Antiq. tranſlated by Dr. Percy, Biſhop of Dromore; Von Troil's Letters on Iceland, tranſlated by Forſter; Torfæi Hiſt. Norw.; Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſt. Regum Norw.; and the ſeveral publications of the Icelandic writers printed at Copenhagen.

† This account of the Flora Danica, and of Meſſrs. Oeder and Muller, was chiefly communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, to whom I have been ſo repeatedly obliged.

the whole number will nearly amount to one thouſand eight hundred ſpecies; of which more than five hundred and ſeventy are of the claſs Cryptogamia, or that which contains the ferns, moſſes, algæ, and fungi. That any curious perſons, yet unacquainted with this work, may judge how far it might be ſubſervient to their knowledge of Engliſh botany, it may be added, that out of nine hundred and eighty ſpecies already figured in the fifteen firſt *faſciculi*, more than ſeven hundred are ſpontaneouſly produced in Britain.

Magnificent and accurate as this work is, and though conducted at the King's expence, truth will not be offended by aſſerting, that the execution of it is ſtill inferior to a performance of the ſame kind now publiſhing in England, at the riſk of an individual. I allude to Curtis's *Flora Londinenſis*; which, for the magnitude of the plates, the nice diſcrimination and figures of the fructification, has not been paralleled by any other publication of ſuch ſcope and deſign: nor is the merit of the *Flora Londinenſis* confined to the accurate elegance of the plates; it contains a minute deſcription of each plant, and is enriched by ſcientific, uſeful, and œconomical obſervations, either extracted from the beſt writers, or derived from the extenſive knowledge of its author. It is but juſtice to add, that the minute plants of the claſs Cryptogamia, in the delineation of which the *Flora Danica* is extremely deficient, are figured with the utmoſt exactneſs by Mr. Curtis, who introduced to the Engliſh botaniſt five new ſpecies of *agarici**.

Chriſtian Oeder, to whom, through the liberality of his monarch, we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, was the pupil and friend of the celebrated Haller, under whom he was educated at Gottingen. According to Dr. Nugent's account of Oeder †, he viſited England in his younger days, and acquired a great knowledge of the language. Whilſt ſtudent at Gottingen, he tranſlated all the Engliſh treatiſes for a Latin edition of Dr. Mead's works, which Haller publiſhed in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1748. The ſucceeding year he took his doctor's degree in phyſic, and wrote, on that occaſion, a theſis, which Haller calls "*Docta Diſſertatio contra Revulſionem & Derivationem*." In 1752, at which period he was ſettled at Copenhagen, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Gottingen named him a correſpondent member; and ſoon after he was made ſuperintendant of the botanincal garden at Copenhagen, and profeſſor of botany. In 1752, Oeder preſided at the public diſputation of Dr. Peter Aſcanius, and took that occaſion to write on irritability; a ſubject on which the experiments and obſervations of his great maſter had drawn the attention of anatomiſts and phyſicians.

Having performed many journies into the different provinces of Denmark, accompanied by a draughtſman, and collected great materials for the intended *Flora*, he publiſhed, in 1762, the firſt *faſciculus*; and in 1764, as a part of his plan, his Elements of Botany, in 8vo. This work exhibits a profound knowledge of the ſubject; and the author has given the outlines of a new method of arrangement, adapted only to the plants of Europe. The ſecond volume of the Elements was printed in 1766; and is embelliſhed with fourteen excellent plates, explanatory of the techinal part of his ſubject. His ſyſtem was intended to compriſe eight claſſes: 1. *Cryptantheræ*; 2. *Monocotyledones*; 3. *Amentaceæ*; 4. *Incompletæ*; 5. *Calycarpæ*; 6. *Calycanthemæ*; 7. *Monopetalæ*; 8. *Polypetalæ*. Of this ſyſtem the author has only exemplified the firſt claſs, which he publiſhed in a ſeparate volume in 1770, in 8vo.; and in which are methodically ar-

* A. Oſtreatus; Plycatalis; Glutinoſus; Floccoſus; Velutipes.—Mr. Curtis publiſhed only two volumes of this ſplendid work, which has been interrupted by his death, which happened in 1799.

† See Nugent's Travels through Germany, vol. i.

ranged

ranged one thouſand two hundred and thirty-nine ſpecies, with the ſpecific names, from Dillenius, Haller, and Linnæus.

It is greatly to be regretted, that this ingenious naturaliſt has been called from the paths of ſcience by an appointment to an office in the treaſury, where he has ſhewn himſelf no leſs qualified to excel in the civil line.

After the publication of the eleventh *faſciculus* in 1775, the further proſecution of the work was committed to the care of Dr. Otto Frederic Muller, a gentleman who afterwards gave to the public ſeveral valuable ſpecimens of his knowledge in natural hiſtory; particularly a curious work under the title of *Hiſtoria Vermium*; another under that of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Prodromus*; and engaged, under the higheſt patronage, in publiſhing the figures of all the rarer animals of the kingdom of Denmark, under the title of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Icones*, of which two *faſciculi* made their appearance *.

In ſpeaking of the publications on natural hiſtory, it would be unpardonable to omit the moſt ſplendid work of the kind ever produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare ſhells, in 2 vols. folio, engraved and coloured by Francis Michael Regenfuſs at the royal expence. The firſt volume contains a ſhort account of the collections of natural hiſtory, and particularly of ſhells, in Denmark; a preliminary diſcourſe on conchology, with a detail of the authors who have written on the ſubject, and their different ſyſtems, and ſeventy-eight complete and delicately coloured figures, in twelve plates, accompanied with ſcientific deſcriptions in the Latin, French, and German languages †.

The Kings of Denmark have occaſionally deputed, and ſtill continue to ſend, at their expence, men of learning not only through their own territories, but to various parts of the globe, for the purpoſe of extending the bounds of knowledge.

Langebek travelled through the Daniſh dominions and Sweden, with a view to collect documents, charters, and other ſtate papers, relative to the ancient hiſtory of the North; and Schoening for the ſame purpoſe, at the expence of Prince Frederic. Among others employed in the execution of the ſame plan, Dr. Moldenhauer, a gentleman of various and profound erudition, viſited England, France, and Spain, where he examined the libraries for oriental and claſſical manuſcripts.

But the literary expedition which reflects the higheſt honour on the crown of Denmark, and holds up an example to other ſovereigns, was begun in 1761, under the auſpices of Frederic V. who, at the ſuggeſtion of the late Count Bernſdorf, diſpatched four perſons ‡, eminently verſed in different branches of ſcience, to Arabia; of which curious and intereſting journey Niebuhr, the only ſurvivor, has publiſhed a much eſteemed account §.

There are two libraries at Copenhagen belonging to the King, a private and a public, both in the apartments of the palace. The private library contains twenty thouſand volumes; the public one hundred and ten thouſand, and ſeven thouſand manu-

* Since the death of Dr. Muller, who completed only the fifteenth *faſciculus*, the *Flora Danica* has been continued by profeſſor Vahl, well known from his *Symbolæ Botanicæ*, or deſcription of plants collected by Forſkal during his journey into the Eaſt, to which are added others ſeen by the profeſſor himſelf in the ſouth of Europe, and in Africa. The ſame author has enriched botanical ſcience by a deſcription of American plants not before known, in a work entitled *Eclogæ Americanæ*.

† Choix de Coquillages Gravées.

‡ Frederic Chriſtian Haven for oriental languages; Forſkal and Dr. Cramer for natural hiſtory; Niebuhr for hiſtory and geography: they were accompanied by a draughtſman.

§ Beſchreibung von Arabien; Reiſe Beſchreibung nach Arabien, &c. in 3 vols. This work has been tranſlated into the French language. Deſcription de l'Arabie. They departed from Copenhagen in 1761.

ſcripts.

ſcripts. Among the manuſcripts are many Perſian and Arabic, brought from Arabia by Niebuhr. Among thoſe of the claſſics, I obſerved a beautiful Cicero's Rhetoric on vellum, and a no leſs beautiful Virgil on vellum, of the eleventh century, which has been collated by the learned Heyne of Gottingen for his excellent edition of the Roman poet.

This collection is extremely rich in Icelandic books, and in all publications relative to the antiquities and hiſtory of the three northern kingdoms. The art of typography muſt have been introduced late into Denmark; as the earlieſt book printed at Copenhagen is Skanſky Logh, or King Waldemar's Law of Scania, which bears the date of 1505.

The library of Count Thott, probably the largeſt private collection in Europe, contains one hundred and ten thouſand volumes, and above five thouſand manuſcripts. It is as remarkable for the rarity as for the number of the books, and is particularly rich in the palæographia, or early printed books, of which there are above two thouſand of the fifteenth century *.

Mr. Suhm's collection deſerves alſo to be viſited by the lover of letters. It contained, 1785, fifty thouſand volumes collected by himſelf; it abounds with hiſtorical and topographical publications in all languages, particularly thoſe which relate to the antiquities and hiſtory of northern Europe, the favourite object of his reſearches. He poſſeſſes alſo many curious manuſcripts in the Greek and Oriental languages, particularly thoſe which belonged to the celebrated Reiſkius, for the purchaſe of which he gave the widow an annuity of 40l. This library is open every morning from nine to eleven, for the uſe and inſpection of men of letters, and the ſtudents of the univerſity.

Suhm is juſtly conſidered one of the moſt learned men in Denmark, in regard to the hiſtory and antiquities of the north. He has given to the public ſeveral works on theſe ſubjects, much eſteemed for profoundneſs and accuracy of reſearch: among others, on the Origin of Nations in general; on the Origin of the Northern Nations; concerning Odin, and the Mythology of the Northern Nations; on the Emigrations of the Northern Nations, 2 vols.; Critical Hiſtory of Denmark, 2 vols.; Hiſtory of Denmark.

CHAP. V.—*Preſentation to the Prince Royal.—Revolution in the Adminiſtration effected by His Royal Highneſs.*

JULY 16th, 1784. In a private audience of the Prince Royal, I had the honour of preſenting the firſt edition of my Travels in Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark. His Royal Highneſs converſed with me for a conſiderable time; and by his queſtions and remarks, gave ſtrong ſigns of a comprehenſive mind, and of a diſpoſition formed for government. I could not avoid admiring a Prince, who, at the age of ſixteen, acted with ſo much firmneſs, ſecrecy, and diſcretion; and who lately effected a change in the adminiſtration of this kingdom, no leſs by his own prudence and courage, than by the advice and aſſiſtance of his friends.

Since the impriſonment and exile of Matilda, the whole power was veſted in the Queen-dowager Juliana-Maria; and the adminiſtration, which oſtenſibly carried on the public affairs, was ſubſervient to her views, and to thoſe of her ſon Prince Frederic.

* This curious and valuable collection, ſince the death of Count Thott, has been ſold by auction; the catalogue conſiſts of ſeveral volumes, and is a deſirable acquiſition to the literati.

By means of his couſin, the Queen-dowager, the King of Pruſſia * gradually acquired an almoſt abſolute ſway in the cabinet of Denmark; and directed the foreign affairs in ſubſerviency to the views of the French court, and in oppoſition to the intereſts of England. Count Bernſdorf, prime-miniſter, being the only perſon in the Daniſh miniſtry who ventured to oppoſe the French and Pruſſian party, his diſmiſſion was reſolved in the cabinets of Verſailles and Berlin; and his conduct, with regard to the armed neutrality, furniſhed an opportunity to effect their purpoſe.

The King of Pruſſia having prevailed on the reigning party to accede to the armed neutrality, a meaſure ſo hoſtile to the intereſts of England, Count Bernſdorf, though unable to prevent the meaſure, had yet ſufficient addreſs to inſert an article in the treaty, that Denmark ſhould maintain its former alliances.

This conduct gave great diſguſt to the King of Pruſſia; and Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick was ſent to offer Bernſdorf, that he ſhould be continued in the office of prime-miniſter, if he would agree to the armed neutrality without the aforeſaid ſtipulation; but to threaten him with inſtant diſmiſſion if he perſevered in maintaining that point. Bernſdorf, nobly diſdaining to hold his office on ſuch diſhonourable terms, was diſmiſſed from his employments, and retired into Germany; and his removal gave unlimited ſcope to the Pruſſian party, which governed the Queen-dowager.

Guldberg, formerly profeſſor of the academy of Soroe, and preceptor to Prince Frederic, was the perſon in whom the Queen-dowager confided; and in the capacity of private ſecretary to the King, was the ſecret, though not the oſtenſible miniſter. A change was alſo introduced in the uſual mode of iſſuing the royal mandates, which ſecured to the Queen-dowager and her party the moſt abſolute ſway.

Previous to this change, the general affairs of government were tranſacted in the privy-council, conſiſting of as many members as the King choſe to appoint; all particular buſineſs was carried through the different boards of finance, marine, and commerce, and the King always ſigned the decrees and edicts ſeparately from each board.

To extend their influence and authority, the reigning party introduced a kind of private cabinet, in which the royal orders were iſſued excluſively of the ſeveral boards. By this means the privy-council became little more than a cypher; the reſpective boards were only employed in fulfilling the King's orders; and, as the King himſelf was incapable of governing, the Queen-dowager, who had poſſeſſion of his perſon, could obtain his ſignature on all occaſions, and was, in effect, ſovereign without controul.

Nothing could alter this ſtate of affairs, but the admiſſion of the Prince into the privy-council; and as, according to the laws of Denmark, he could not be ſworn a member until he had been confirmed and taken the ſacrament; and as, in order to be confirmed, he was to undergo a public examination, the governing party contrived to delay that ceremony, under the pretence that he was not ſufficiently inſtructed in the articles of religion. Reports were induſtriouſly circulated, and as readily believed, by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to believe them, that the Prince's abilities were extremely moderate. And, although it was uſual for the Prince-royal to be confirmed, and take his ſeat in the privy-council at thirteen, yet this ceremony was repeatedly poſtponed long after he had reached that age.

When the Prince had nearly attained his ſixteenth year, they could not venture to delay his confirmation, but as the fatal hour approached, every precaution which prudence or art could ſuggeſt was taken to gain the Prince, and continue the power in the ſame

* Frederic the Second.

hands.

hands. For this purpoſe, his governor, General Eikſted, who was not beloved by his royal pupil, was diſmiſſed; and Sporen, his preceptor, and ſuppoſed to be his favourite, appointed ſecretary of the cabinet. A new privy-council was nominated, conſiſting almoſt entirely of the queen-dowager's creatures, in which Guldberg had the principal ſway. Every thing ſeemed to bend before the Queen-dowager, the Prince effected a revolution as ſingular as it was unexpected.

On the 4th of April 1784, the Prince was confirmed in the royal chapel of Copenhagen, in the preſence of the King and court. According to the cuſtom of the Lutheran church, he underwent a previous examination by the King's chaplain, which continued above an hour; and the Prince replied to every queſtion in a ſenſible manner; ſufficiently proving, from the readineſs and perſpicuity of his anſwers, that the reports of his incapacity were malicious and unfounded. He ſpoke in a loud, clear, manly tone of voice, with a dignity and propriety which aſtoniſhed the aſſembly; and repeated the oath, to continue true to the eſtabliſhed church, in ſo feeling a manner, as drew tears from the eyes of many who were preſent.

Having, on a ſubſequent occaſion, received the ſacrament, he was admitted into the privy-council; and on the morning of the 14th of April, took the accuſtomed oath. About five in the afternoon, the Prince and members of the new privy-council aſſembled for the firſt time in the King's preſence. Steman, who was at the head of the treaſury, was going to propoſe the ordinary buſineſs of the day, but was interrupted by the Prince; turning to the King, His Royal Highneſs thanked his majeſty for his education, and remonſtrated againſt many abuſes in the late adminiſtration of affairs, particularly on the irregular mode of iſſuing orders from the cabinet, and not from the different boards of government. He then ſaid, "Conſcious of my own inexperience, I cannot adviſe your majeſty for the glory of the crown, or the advantage of the nation, unleſs the privy-council conſiſts of thoſe perſons who poſſeſs my confidence, and the confidence of the people. But, in the preſent inſtance, neither myſelf nor the nation can place any confidence in the perſons now in power; I therefore requeſt your majeſty to diſſolve the preſent privy-council, and to appoint in their place Count Bernſdorf, and ſuch other perſons as I take the liberty of recommending. I hope and truſt that your majeſty will iſſue an order, that no edict ſhall be valid unleſs counterſigned by me." At the concluſion of theſe words, which he uttered with great firmneſs and moderation, he laid the appointment of the new privy-council before the King, and entreated him to ſign it.

All the members (except Baron Schach Rathlow, who alone was acquainted with the Prince's determination) were ſo petrified with aſtoniſhment, as to be incapable of making any reſiſtance. But when the King appeared to heſitate, one of the members roſe, and ſaid, "Sir, His Majeſty cannot ſign ſuch papers without due conſideration," and endeavoured at the ſame time to ſnatch them from the Prince's hand. The Prince replied with ſome warmth, but with great dignity, "Sir, it is not your buſineſs to adviſe His Majeſty on ſuch occaſions, but mine, who am heir apparent, and reſponſible to the nation for my conduct;" and again tendering the papers to the King, His Majeſty inſtantly ſigned them. The papers were ſent by a confidential meſſenger to the chancery, and regiſtered accordingly.

The privy-council being thus diſſolved on the firſt time of their aſſembling in the King's preſence, the Prince himſelf announced the change to the Queen-dowager in terms of high reſpect.

Throughout the whole tranſaction, the conduct of the young Prince was remarkable for a diſcretion and ſecrecy extremely uncommon in a perſon of his age. Being diſcon-

tented with the Queen-dowager, he had firſt entered into a ſecret correſpondence with Count Bernſdorf, continued his intercourſe near two years, ſometimes by letters, and ſometimes by meſſages, and received from him inſtructions in what manner to proceed. While engaged in this buſineſs, he entered into another correſpondence with Schach Rathlow, who had the principal ſhare in procuring the diſmiſſion of Count Bernſdorf, but was now diſpleaſed with the perſons in power, and made private offers to the Prince, without being acquainted with his ſecret correſpondence with Bernſdorf. The Prince carried on this double intrigue under the direction of Count Bernſdorf, in whom he implicitly confided, without being ſuſpected by his preceptor Sporen, or by his governor, General Eikſted, and even lulled the ſuſpicions of the Queen-dowager: her Majeſty, in a converſation which ſhe held with him about a week before the event, taxed him with holding a ſecret correſpondence; to which he returned an evaſive anſwer with ſuch unconcern and ſerenity, that he entirely removed her ſuſpicions.

Thus a boy, not ſixteen years of age, duped veterans in court-intrigues, by pretending to be entirely friendly to the Queen-dowager's party, and to acquieſce in the nomination of the new privy-council, at the moment he was determined to remove them. And although the project was entruſted to above ten perſons, yet not one of them betrayed the ſmalleſt ſymptom which could create ſuſpicion.

Every meaſure which prudence dictated was adopted on this important occaſion. General Hut had aſſembled the guards in order to force the privy-council to compliance, ſhould the members make any oppoſition; and the governor of the citadel was prepared to admit the Prince within the fortreſs, if affairs had not turned out to his wiſhes. Fortunately the courage and addreſs of the Prince, and the popularity of his cauſe, rendered theſe precautions unneceſſary.

The Prince treated with great mildneſs all thoſe perſons whom he removed from their places. He conferred on the ex-miniſter Guldberg, a penſion of 5000 * rix-dollars, and appointed him governor of Aarhus, a ſpecies of honourable baniſhment. He nominated Steman governor of Haderſleben; aſſured him, he was convinced of the fidelity with which he had diſcharged his office of treaſurer, adding, that if he could not ſufficiently reward him, he would amply provide for his children.

The chief perſons who acted as the Prince's confidants, and who have ſince filled the principal offices in court and ſtate, were M. de Schach Rathlow, Count Bernſdorf, Count Shimmelman, General Hut, and M. de Bulow, then gentleman of the bed-chamber, and now marſhal of the Prince's court.

The only foreigner who is ſuppoſed to have had any knowledge of the tranſaction, was Mr. Elliot, who had repaired to Copenhagen from Berlin in the capacity of Britiſh envoy; and the King of Great Britain was the firſt ſovereign to whom the Prince-royal communicated his ſucceſs.

CHAP. VI.—*Excurſion to Hirſholm, Fredericſborg, Friedenſberg, and Fredericſwerk.*

THE ſhortneſs of my ſtay at Copenhagen during my firſt tour, and the earlineſs of the ſeaſon, prevented me from making excurſions in the environs of Copenhagen. My ſecond tour in 1784, having afforded me an opportunity of gratifying my curioſity, I made an agreeable expedition to the palaces of Hirſholm, Fredericſborg, Friedenſberg, and to the iron founderies of Fredericſwerk.

* 1000l.

Hirſholm,

Hirſholm, a royal palace begun by Chriſtian the Sixth, and finiſhed by his queen, Chriſtina Sophia, is a large quadrangular building of brick, ſtuccoed white, ſurrounded by a moat, and placed in a low and marſhy ſituation. The ſuite of apartments is princely, but almoſt without furniture, as they have not been inhabited ſince the impriſonment and exile of Queen Matilda, who made it her favourite reſidence. The dining-room is a large apartment, and remarkable for a *jet d'eau*, and twelve fountains, ſpouting from the ſides. The gardens are formal, and full of *jets d'eau*. The place is ſo entirely neglected, that the court-yard is over-run with weeds, and the moat is a green mantled pool. Orders were lately received to put the palace in repair for the reſidence of the Prince-royal, who diſplays an affectionate attachment to the memory of his mother.

In the gardens is a ſummer-houſe, which ſerved as a temporary theatre for the diverſion of Queen Matilda, and her company; and in another part is a wooden building called a Norway-houſe, containing landſcapes of Norway in relief, and imitations of rocks, with wooden cottages perched on them, and wooden roads. Near this building the walks are not unpleaſantly carried through the grounds in the Engliſh ſtyle.

The road from Hirſholm to Fredericſborg winds agreeably, through a beautiful and undulating country, richly clothed with foreſts of beech, birch, and oak, and enlivened by ſmall lakes in the receſſes of the wood.

Fredericſborg was built by Chriſtian the Fourth, and was ſo called in honour of his father Frederic the Second. It is an enormous and motley pile of building, partly of red brick, and partly of ſtone, partly Gothic, and partly in the Grecian ſtyle of architecture. It is built round three courts, each of which is ſurrounded by moats, and joined by bridges. The principal façade is full of niches, containing bad ſtatues. In the inner court are two ſtories of ſeven arches, conſtructed with ſtone painted black, and pillars of dark Norwegian marble. This appendage contraſting with the red brick produces a ſtrange effect; while a profuſion of gilding and maſſy ſculpture diſfigures rather than adorns the building.

The ſituation, on the banks of a ſmall lake, is not unpleaſant. The palace contains a large collection of pictures, in great confuſion, among which I obſerved a few not unworthy of notice. The crucifixion of our Saviour, by Andreas Peters, a Daniſh painter, in the reign of Chriſtian the Fourth; three brought from Italy, by Frederic the Fourth; Saul and David, after the death of Goliath, by an unknown hand; Abraham and Melchiſedec, by Caravaggio, diſplaying the long contraſt of light and ſhade, and that vulgar nature which characterizes the works of that capricious painter; Jonas preaching to the Ninevites, by Salvator Roſa, the figures as large as life, and in the grand ſtyle of that great maſter; ſeveral tolerable paintings of the Flemiſh ſchool, chiefly ſcriptural ſubjects.

One of the apartments contains a ſuite of the imaginary portraits of the kings of Denmark, before the converſion of the Danes to the chriſtian religion. In another I obſerved the whole length figures of the kings of Denmark of the houſe of Oldenburgh beginning with Chriſtian the Firſt, and ending with Chriſtian the Fifth, all originals. Of theſe the portrait of Chriſtian the Second is the moſt ſtriking, as it exhibits a fine expreſſion of that melancholy, ſeverity, and cruelty, which formed a prominent feature in the character of that deteſtable tyrant. A head of his queen Iſabella, ſiſter of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, reminded me of her mild and amiable qualities; of the meekneſs and patience, and yet dignity, with which ſhe ſupported the harſhneſs and infidelities of her obdurate huſband in the time of his proſperity; of her extreme attachment to him in the hour of his diſgrace; of her unwearied attentions to ſoothe his diſap-

pointment, and rouſe him from his deſpondency; of her refuſal to accept an honourable ſettlement offered by the ſtates of Denmark, and of her noble anſwer, "that ſhe had rather live with her huſband in baniſhment, than reign without him*." She ſurvived his depoſition only three years, and died in the palace of Ghent, in 1526. Anne of Denmark, ſiſter of Chriſtian the Fourth, and queen of James the Firſt. Several of Charles the Firſt, one in his princely robes, when a boy of fifteen, and another by Vandyke, when a young man.

The chapel is a handſome apartment, but more remarkable for coſtlineſs than taſte. The walls are hung with the eſcutcheons of the knights of the Elephant, the firſt order in Denmark; as is the gallery with the eſcutcheons of the knights of the order of Danebrog.

The palace of Friedenſberg, four miles from Fredericſborg, is delightfully placed at a ſmall diſtance from the lake of Efferom, a piece of water fifteen miles in circumference. I ſcarcely ever beheld a ſituation more capable of improvement, and wiſhed for a diſciple of Brown to lay out the ground. But this beautiful ſpot is ſpoiled (if it can be ſpoiled) by cut yews, ſtraight walks, a profuſion of ſtatues and triumphal arches, where nature and ſimplicity are expelled; for in thoſe parts, on the oppoſite ſide of the lake, where the grounds are covered with natural foreſts, the ſcenery is extremely beautiful and picturesque.

The palace is a brick building ſtuccoed white, conſiſting of a front, and two wings. It was built by Frederic the Fourth, and called Friedenſberg, or the manſion of *Peace*, becauſe it was finiſhed in 1720, when the peace was concluded with Sweden, after a long war which had deſolated both countries. As a memorial of this event, a wooden pillar, painted like marble, and a ſmall ſtatue of Peace, are erected in the area before the palace, more expreſſive of the ſatisfaction with which Frederic gave peace to his ſubjects, than of his taſte in ſculpture. It bears this inſcription: *Pāci ſtatuam, arcem, quodque reliquum fuit vitæ, dedicavit Fredericus Quartus*, 1720†; a promiſe which the monarch inviolably maintained during the remainder of his reign, and which reflects high honour on his memory, as he poſſeſſed a ſpirit of enterpriſe and undaunted courage. From this period he had leiſure to attend to the internal regulations of his kingdom, and to form uſeful eſtabliſhments, particularly the foundation of ſeveral country ſchools, which endears his memory to his countrymen.

Nothing more is wanting to render Friedenſberg a moſt delightful ſpot, than to remove the cut hedges, level the terraces, to permit the foreſt trees to expand and grow; in a word, to leave nature to herſelf. In the garden is a curious aſſemblage of ſtatues, placed regularly on circular terraces of earth, which are of ſtone painted white, and repreſent the Norway peaſants habited in their various dreſſes.

We did not attempt to requeſt the permiſſion of ſeeing the palace, as it is inhabited by the Queen-dowager, Juliana Maria‡; the place of her retirement, ſince the Prince-royal has taken into his hands the adminiſtration of affairs.

Early the next morning we quitted the village of Friedenſberg, where we found a neat inn, with comfortable accommodations, and returning by the palace of Fredericſborg, paſſed on to Fredericſwerk, near the Iſe-fiord, a bay of the ſea, on the northern ſhore of Zealand, where General Clauſſen has eſtabliſhed various manufactories, a foundery for cannon, and other works, for ſupplying the Daniſh army and navy with

* Mallet, Hiſt. des Dan. vol. ii. p. 277, 4to.

† To peace, this ſtatue, palace, and the remainder of his life, were dedicated by Frederic the Fourth, 1720.

‡ The Queen dowager is ſince deceaſed.

ſtores.

ſtores. The General, to whom we had a letter of recommendation, received us with great cordiality and politeneſs, and accompanied us over the works.

General Clauſſen eſtabliſhed theſe works in 1756, on the expectation of a Ruſſian war, when the government was ſcantily ſupplied with military ſtores. He fixed on this ſpot as the moſt convenient for water to turn the mills; gave in his propoſals to government, which were inſtantly accepted, and completed his plan notwithſtanding numerous obſtacles.

We embarked with the General on a canal, which forms the communication between a ſmall lake, and the Iſe-fiord. This cut was begun in 1717, by command of Frederic the Fourth, to prevent the inundations of the lake from overflowing the royal eſtates; and from thence the place was called Fredericſwerk. It was finiſhed in 1720, but the ſoil being a light-ſand, and the banks cut perpendicularly, they fell down and choaked the canal for a ſpace of 500 feet. The General found it therefore neceſſary to new form the canal. He cut through ſeveral parts above 70 feet in depth, ſloped the banks, covered them with earth, and in ſome places with ſea-weed, faſtened by branches of fir, to prevent the ſand from being drifted away. He then planted the ſlopes with willows, alders, elm, and oak, which he was obliged to water every day for a year. By theſe means the plants throve, and now clothe the high banks to the edge of the water.

In the ſame manner he planted the adjacent country for the ſpace of ſeveral miles, which was either a moraſs, or covered with drifted ſand. Frederic the Fourth in vain endeavoured to fertilize this waſte; for when he thought he had ſucceeded, the ſand in one year covered many miles, in ſome places, to the aſtoniſhing height of eighty feet. General Clauſſen however has ſucceeded, and has ſhewn that ingenuity is of more avail than abſolute power. By fixing the ſea-weed into the ground with fir branches, he rendered the ſoil ſtable, and fertilized, at great labour and expence, a deſert of ſeveral miles. Thus a tract of country, which before only fed two-and-thirty cows, now yields, beſides a large quantity of fire-wood, in a favourable ſeaſon, above five hundred loads of hay.

At the extremity of this cut, we turned into another canal, formed entirely by the General; it was made through quickſands, and the banks likewiſe ſloped and planted. He employs at preſent only three hundred and forty men. All the workmen are his own peaſants, who of courſe labour at a reduced price. He has built for their habitation rows of houſes, with rude ſtones waſhed with ſtucco, made from equal quantities of the pounded ſcoria of iron, quicklime, and chalk, and has found from experience that it is extremely durable. His works conſiſt of a foundery for cannon and balls, and for making ſalt-petre and gunpowder, with bake-houſes and breweries. He boaſted, that in 1772 he furniſhed the army of Norway with artillery in three months; and at two months notice he could ſupply a fifty gun ſhip with all her artillery, ammunition, and military ſtores. In ſhewing us his works, he laid claim to many new inventions. He ſaws and poliſhes cannon, by a mill ſo contrived as to anſwer various purpoſes; he ſaws off the waſte pieces of copper from the caſt cannon, which operation was the work of ſixteen men for three days, and is now performed in an hour. By means of the ſame mill, and a kind of turning machine, he poliſhes the cannon in the manner of turning, which uſed to be done by the tedious operation of filing. He has invented a ſimple machine to twiſt the hot iron bars for anchors; a mode which he prefers as ſtronger and better than the uſual method of hammering the bars together. In his powder-mills he uſes copper mortars, as much ſafer than thoſe of wood, which are apt to become dry, and harbour the powder in the ſmall crevices. He employs two ranges of mortars in each row, or ſixty-four in each

powder-mill, wherein only twenty are generally uſed, and beats only ten pounds of powder with each mortar. The expence of copper mortars is conſiderable, as each coſts 20l.: but the mills are leſs liable to accident, and if blown up, the mortars are again recovered.

On taking leave, the general preſſed us much to dine with him; but we excuſed ourſelves, being under the neceſſity of reaching Elſinore, and engaged to dine the next day with Mr. De Conig. In our way to Elſinore, we ſtopped at a ſmall village, and expected to find but ſcanty fare for our dinner; but were agreeably ſurprized at ſeeing the table covered with ſome cold proviſion, and four bottles of tokay, which the general had ſecretly ordered his houſekeeper to deliver to our ſervants.

CHAP. VII.—*Iſland of Huen.—Memoirs of Tycho Brahe.*

FOR the purpoſe of viſiting the ſmall iſle of Huen, celebrated for the reſidence of Tycho Brahe, we embarked at See Luſt on board a five-oared boat belonging to Count Shimmelman, and landed in two hours and an half.

Huen lies ſix Engliſh miles from the coaſt of Zealand, and three from that of Sweden, nine from Elſinore, and fourteen from Copenhagen. It formerly belonged to the Danes, but was ceded to the Swedes at the peace of Roſchild in 1658.

This little iſland is ſix miles in circumference, contains a ſcattered village, one church, which is a pretty object on the north-weſt coaſt, about fifty houſes, and two hundred and fifty inhabitants. It produces hay, and every ſpecies of corn, more than ſufficient for interior conſumption. The inhabitants maintain two hundred horſes, one hundred and fifty cows, four hundred ſheep, and the ſame number of ſwine. The iſland pays, in quit-rent and taxes to the King, about 150l.

We landed on the ſouth-weſt part in a ſmall bay, juſt below the place where a ſtream, ſupplied by numerous pools and fiſh-ponds, falls into the ſea. We aſcended the ſhore, which is cloathed with ſhort herbage, croſſed the ſtream, and paſſed over a gently waving ſurface gradually ſloping towards the ſea, and walked a mile to a farm-houſe ſtanding in the middle of the iſland, inhabited by Mr. Schaw, a Swediſh gentleman, to whom the greater part of the iſland belongs. He lives here in ſummer, but in winter reſides at Landſcrona. This dwelling is the ſame as exiſted in Tycho Brahe's time, and was the farm-houſe belonging to his eſtate. A guide, whom we obtained from Mr. Schaw, conducted us to the remains of Tycho's manſion, which are near the houſe, and conſiſt of little more than a mound of earth which incloſed the garden, and two pits, the ſites of his manſion and obſervatory. From this delightful ſpot, the higheſt point in the iſland, we enjoyed a noble proſpect; on one ſide, the coaſt of Zealand, ſtretching from Copenhagen to Elſinore; the ſhores gently ſloping, embrowned to the margin of the water with rich wood, and beautifully ſprinkled with villages and villas; on the other ſide, we traced the rocky and almoſt naked cliffs of Sweden, ornamented with the diſtant ſpires of Landſcrona, Lund, Malmoe, and Helſingborg, and to the north a boundleſs expanſe of ocean, its undulating ſurface covered with innumerable veſſels ſailing in all directions. A few anecdotes of the Daniſh aſtronomer, who has rendered this little iſland remarkable in the hiſtory of literature, will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader *.

* For the life of Brahe, I have conſulted chiefly Gaſſendus's Equitis Dani Tychonis Brahe Aſtronorum Coryphæi vita; Joſſenus de vitâ et mor. Tych. Bra. Orat. Funebris; and Hoffman's Portraits Hiſt. des Hommes Illuſ. de Dannemarc, article Brahe.

Tycho

Tycho Brahe, deſcended from a noble and illuſtrious Daniſh family, was born in 1546 at Knudſtorp, a ſmall lordſhip near Helſinborg in Scania. His father, Otto Brahe, having a large family, Tycho was educated under the care and at the expence of his uncle, George Brahe, who, having no children, adopted him as his heir. Finding his nephew a boy of a lively capacity, and inclined to ſtudy, Tycho was inſtructed in the Latin tongue, unknown to his father, who conſidered literature as inglorious, and was deſirous that all his ſons ſhould follow the profeſſion of arms.

In the twelfth year of his age, Tycho was removed to the academy of Copenhagen; and was caſually incited to the ſtudy of aſtronomy by an eclipſe of the ſun, which happened on the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1560. He had for ſome time examined the aſtrological diaries or almanacks, which pretended to predict future events from the inſpection of the ſtars; but when he obſerved that the eclipſe happened at the preciſe time at which it was foretold, his admiration was loſt in aſtoniſhment; and he conſidered that ſcience as divine, which could ſo thoroughly deſcribe the motions of the heavenly bodies, and foretel their relative poſitions. From that moment he devoted himſelf to aſtronomy.

In 1562 he was ſent to Leipſic for the purpoſe of ſtudying civil law; but gave to the law only thoſe hours which his tutor's importunity wreſted from him, devoting the greater part of his time to his favourite ſcience; and as his tutor continually remonſtrated againſt thoſe ſtudies which diverted his attention from the law, he conceived an unconquerable diſguſt for that profeſſion, and more aſſiduouſly, though ſecretly, continued his aſtronomical purſuits. For this purpoſe he expended his pocket money in the purchaſe of aſtronomical books, and having obtained a ſmall celeſtial globe, took the opportunity, while his preceptor was in bed, of examining the heavenly bodies, and before the expiration of a month, made himſelf acquainted with all the ſtars which appeared above the horizon. Inſpired with the ſame ardent zeal in purſuit of his favourite ſcience, he learned mathematics without a maſter, and invented ſeveral mathematical inſtruments.

Having paſſed three years at Leipſic, he was preparing to purſue his travels through Germany; but on the death of his uncle returned to his native country, to ſuperintend the eſtates, which he largely inherited. Inſtead of finding himſelf encouraged and eſteemed for his wonderful progreſs in aſtronomy, he was treated with contempt by his relations and acquaintance for his purſuit of a ſcience which they conſidered as degrading. Diſguſted at their behaviour, he ſettled his affairs, haſtened his departure from a country wherein he met with repeated mortifications, and before a year had elapſed ſet out on his travels. He proceeded to Wittenberg, and afterwards to Roſtoc, where an accident happened which nearly occaſioned his death.

Being invited to a wedding feaſt, he had a diſpute with a Daniſh nobleman relative to ſome ſubject in mathematics; and as they were both of choleric diſpoſitions, the diſpute ended in a duel. In the conflict part of Tycho's noſe was cut off. To remedy this defect, he contrived a factitious noſe of gold and ſilver, which he faſtened by means of a glue, ſo artfully formed, it is ſaid, as to bear the appearance of nature, and to deceive many who were not acquainted with his loſs.

From Roſtoc Tycho continued his travels, and proſecuted his ſtudies in the principal towns of Germany and Italy, particularly at Augſburgh, where he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Peter Ramus. He invented and improved various mathematical inſtruments, gave the plan of an obſervatory, which was conſtructed at the expence of the burgomaſter Paul Hainzell, and formed a ſeries of aſtronomical obſervations, which

aſtoniſhed and ſurpaſſed all who had hitherto been conſidered as the greateſt proficients in the ſcience.

On his return to Copenhagen, in 1570, he was diſguſted with the ceremonies of the court; and being importuned with innumerable viſits, removed to Herritzvold, near Knudſtorp, the ſeat of his maternal uncle, Steno Bille, who alone of all his relations encouraged him to perſevere in his aſtronomical labours, and conſigned to him a commodious apartment, and a convenient place for the conſtruction of an obſervatory and laboratory.

During his reſidence with his uncle, Tycho, beſides his aſtronomical reſearches, followed with no leſs zeal the ſtudy of chymiſtry, or rather of alchymy, from the chimerical view of obtaining the philoſopher's ſtone, that he might amaſs ſufficient riches to ſettle in ſome foreign country, where he might not be under the neceſſity of appearing at court, or being interrupted in his ſtudies by viſitors.

But neither philoſophy, nor the unwearied zeal with which he proſecuted his ſtudies, could exempt him from the paſſion of love. Being a great admirer of the fair ſex, he conceived a violent inclination for Chriſtina, a beautiful country girl, the daughter of a neighbouring peaſant, and alienated his family by eſpouſing her. Love is ingenious in deviſing excuſes. Our philoſopher juſtified the choice of his heart, and gave many whimſical reaſons for preferring a woman of low birth. He dreaded a wife who might be under the neceſſity of frequenting the court, a life to him moſt deteſtable; he therefore preferred one whoſe ſituation precluded her from what he ſtyles a painful honour, who, grateful to her benefactor, would be dependent on himſelf alone, would be happy to accompany him in his travels, would conſider a ſubſerviency to his inclinations as a duty, and not object to his continued application. Whatever effect theſe reaſons might have in inducing our philoſopher to marry, yet they had none on a proud family, who conceived themſelves diſgraced by Tycho's miſ-alliance, and refuſed to hold any intercourſe with him, until Frederic the Second commanded them to be reconciled. Tycho ſeems not to have repented of his choice; but ever found in his beloved Chriſtina a grateful companion and an obedient wife.

About this period he firſt appeared as a public teacher, and read lectures on aſtronomy at Copenhagen, by the expreſs deſire of the King. He explained the theory of the planets, and preceded his explanation by a learned oration on the hiſtory and excellency of aſtronomy and the ſiſter ſciences, with ſome remarks in favour of judicial aſtrology, a ſtudy as congenial to the times as to the inclinations of our philoſopher.

Offended with his relations, and diſguſted with his countrymen, he had long determined to quit Denmark, and ſettle abroad. After travelling through Germany and Italy, he at length fixed on Baſle, to the choice of which place he was influenced by the wholeſomeneſs of the air, the cheapneſs of living, and the celebrity of the univerſity, from whence he might hold an eaſy correſpondence with the aſtronomers of France, Germany, and Italy.

On his return to Denmark, he was preparing with the utmoſt ſecrecy to tranſport his library and aſtronomical apparatus, but was prevented from carrrying his deſign into execution by an unexpected ſummons from the King. Frederic, ſecretly appriſed of his intentions, was unwilling that Denmark ſhould be deprived of ſo great an ornament, kindly embraced him, offered his protection, preſented him with the iſland of Huen, and promiſed to erect the buildings and apparatus neceſſary for his purſuits. He alſo ſettled on him a penſion of 1000 crowns a year, and gave him a canonry of Roſkild worth not leſs than 2000 crowns.

Tycho, tranſported at this inſtance of his ſovereign's liberality, did not heſitate accepting the offer. He repaired to the iſle of Huen, and on the 8th of Auguſt, 1576, was preſent at laying the firſt ſtone of a magnificent houſe, which he afterwards called Uranienburgh, or the Caſtle of the Heavens. It was a building of ſixty feet ſquare, containing a large ſuite of apartments, an obſervatory, and a ſubterraneous laboratory; and although the King ſupplied 100,000 * rix-dollars, Tycho Brahe did not expend leſs than the ſame ſum. He afterwards conſtructed a detached building for his obſervatory, which he called Stiernberg, or the Mountain of the Stars †.

In this retreat Tycho Brahe paſſed twenty years, and greatly improved the ſcience of aſtronomy by the diligence and exactneſs of his obſervations. He maintained ſeveral ſcholars for the purpoſe of inſtructing them in geometry and aſtronomy; ſome of whom were ſent at the expence of the King; others, who voluntarily offered themſelves, he received and ſupported at his own charge.

He did not, however, paſs the life of an anchorite or a recluſe; on the contrary, he lived in a ſumptuous manner, kept an open houſe with unbounded hoſpitality, entertained and received all perſons, who flocked in crowds to viſit the iſland, and pay their reſpects to an aſtronomer of his renown.

During his reſidence in this iſland, he received numerous viſits from perſons of the higheſt rank, particularly from Ulric Duke of Mecklenburgh, in company with his daughter Sophia Queen of Denmark; William, Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, whoſe correſpondence with Brahe on aſtronomical ſubjects has been given to the public, and who had ſhewn himſelf a conſtant patron to the Daniſh aſtronomer.

In 1590 Tycho was honoured with a viſit from James King of Scotland, afterwards King of England, when that monarch repaired to the court of Copenhagen to conclude his marriage with the Princeſs Anne, and remained eight days at Uranienburgh. On retiring, the King preſented the aſtronomer with a magnificent preſent, and afterwards accompanied his royal licence for the publication of his works, with this flattering teſtimony of his abilities and learning: "Nor am I acquainted with theſe things from the relation of others, or from a mere peruſal of your works; but I have ſeen them with my own eyes, and heard them with my own ears, in your reſidence at Uranienburgh, during the various learned and agreeable converſations which I there held with you, which even now affect my mind to ſuch a degree, that it is difficult to decide, whether I recollect them with greater pleaſure or admiration; as I now willingly teſtify by this licence to preſent and future generations, &c."

His Majeſty alſo compoſed, in honour of the Daniſh aſtronomer, ſome Latin verſes, more expreſſive of eſteem and admiration, than remarkable for claſſic elegance.

In 1592 Tycho was honoured with a viſit from his own ſovereign, Chriſtian the Fourth, then in the fifteenth year of his age, who continued ſome days at Uranienburgh. The King ſhewed great curioſity in examining the aſtronomical and chymical apparatus, expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction in receiving explanations, propoſed various queſtions on ſeveral points of mathematics and mechanics, to which His Majeſty was attached, and particularly on the principles of fortification, and the conſtruction of ſhips. He was alſo highly delighted with a gilt tin globe, which repreſented the face of the heavens,

* 20,000l.

† A plan of the iſland, and a curious engraving of theſe buildings and of the garden, is to be found in Portraits Hiſtoriques des Hommes illuſtres de Dannemarc, under the article Tycho Brahe. An engraving of Uranienburgh is inſerted in the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1789, with explanations exactly ſimilar to the engravings and explanations in the Portraits Hiſtoriques, excepting that Stiernberg is omitted.

and being turned on its axis, ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, together with the motions of the planets and heavenly bodies; a wonderful contrivance for that age. Tycho, obſerving the delight of the young King, preſented this machine to His Majeſty, who accepted it, gave him in return a gold chain, and aſſured him of his unalterable protection and attachment.

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe aſſurances, the King's youth was worked upon by thoſe courtiers who were envious of the aſtronomer's merit, or who had been offended by the violence of his temper, and the ſeverity of his ſatire, and under various pretences prevailed on Chriſtian to deprive him of his penſion, and the canonry of Roſkild.

Tycho, thus deprived of the means to ſupport the great expences of his eſtabliſhment at Uranienburgh, quitted with chagrin his favourite reſidence, and repaired to his houſe at Copenhagen, where he waited for an opportunity to retire from his native country. Having tranſported from Uranienburgh all the inſtruments and apparatus which could be removed, he departed from Copenhagen with his wife and family, landed at Roſtoc, and remained a year at Wanſbeck with his learned friend Henry Rantzau.

Having dedicated a treatiſe on aſtronomy to the Emperor Rhodolph the Second, he accepted a flattering invitation from that monarch, and repaired to Prague in 1599. The Emperor received him in the kindeſt and moſt honourable manner, built for him an obſervatory and laboratory, ſettled on him an ample penſion, and treated him with the higheſt marks of deference and reſpect.

In the ſervice of Rhodolph he paſſed the remainder of his days, but did not live long to enjoy his protection. He had enjoyed a good ſtate of health till the year previous to his death, when his conſtitution, ſomewhat weakened by intenſe application, was ſtill farther ſhattered by the chagrin occaſioned by his removal from Uranienburgh. At that period he began to experience ſymptoms of complaints which announced his approaching diſſolution, but which he concealed as much as poſſible from his friends. He was reduced, however, to ſo low a ſtate, as to be affected with the moſt trifling circumſtances, which he conſidered as prodigies, and would frequently interrupt his ſallies of wit with ſudden reflections on death.

The immediate cauſe of his deceaſe was a ſtrangury, which being attended with the moſt excruciating torments, brought on a violent fever, and a temporary delirium; in the midſt of which he was heard repeatedly to cry out, "Ne fruſtra vixiſſe videar†." The delirium at length ſubſiding, he became compoſed, and recovered his ſenſes; but from his extreme weakneſs, perceived that he had not many hours to live. Accordingly he gave orders with the utmoſt coolneſs and reſignation, amuſed himſelf with compoſing an extempore copy of verſes, ſung various hymns, offered up prayers and ſupplications to the Supreme Being, recommended to his family and friends piety and reſignation to the divine will, exhorted his pupils to perſevere in their ſtudies, and converſed with Kepler on the abſtruſe parts of aſtronomy. Thus, amidſt prayers, exhortations, and literary converſation, he expired ſo peaceably, that he was neither heard nor ſeen†, by any of thoſe who were preſent, to breathe his laſt. He died in October 1601, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

It is remarkable, that this enlightened aſtronomer was ſo affected with the rage of ſyſtem-making, as to reject the ſimple and beautiful ſyſtem of Copernicus, eſtabliſhed by the moſt incontrovertible proofs, and endeavour to reconcile the abſurdities of the

* That I may not ſeem to have lived in vain.

† Tam tranquille ut nec deficere nec viſus ſit nec auditus. Oratio Funebris, p. 27.

Ptolemaic

Ptolemaic hypotheſis. He was, indeed, too well acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies, not to be convinced that the ſun was the centre of the ſyſtem; and though ſtruck with the ſimplicity and harmony of that of Pythagoras, revived by Copernicus, yet out of reſpect for ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture, he abſurdly endeavoured to reconcile (what were never intended to be reconciled) his learning with his faith. He rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth on its own axis; ſuppoſed that the earth was quieſcent; that the ſun, with all the planets, was carried about the earth in the ſpace of a year; and that the planets, by their proper motions, revolved round the ſun in their ſeveral periods: thus retaining the moſt abſurd part of the Ptolemaic hypotheſis, which makes the whole planetary ſyſtem revolve round the earth in the ſpace of twenty-four hours.

Tycho, indeed, was ſo bigotted to his own hypotheſis, even in his laſt moments, as to deſire his favourite ſcholar, the great Kepler, to follow his ſyſtem rather than that of Copernicus.

If we were to eſtimate the merits of Tycho Brahe as an aſtronomer, we ſhould compare the ſcience as he left it with the ſtate in which he found it. His great merit conſiſted in his inventions and improvements of mathematical inſtruments, and in the diligence and exactneſs with which he made aſtronomical obſervations for a ſeries of years. As his inſtruments were remarkably good, he compoſed a catalogue of ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven fixed ſtars, obſerved by himſelf, with an accuracy unknown to former aſtronomers; he diſcovered the refraction of the air, demonſtrated, contrary to the prevailing opinion of thoſe times, that the comets were higher than the moon, and from his obſervations on the moon and planets, the theories of their motions were afterwards corrected and improved *. He was the firſt who compoſed a table of refractions, and ſhewed their uſe in aſtronomy. Such is the reputation of Tycho Brahe, for his great proficiency in that ſcience, that Coſtard, in the Hiſtory of Aſtronomy, has fixed on his name for the beginning of a new period.

He embraced a large circle of the arts and ſciences. He cultivated poetry, and wrote Latin verſes, not without ſome degree of claſſic elegance. He drew the plan for building the caſtle of Cronborg, and ſketched the deſign for the noble mauſoleum of Frederic the Second, which was executed in Italy, and is erected in the cathedral of Roſkild. He dabbled alſo in phyſic; was fond of being conſulted, and gave his advice and medicines gratis; he invented an elixir, which he calls an infallible cure for epidemic diſorders, of which he publiſhed the recipe in a letter to the Emperor Rhodolph.

He was a good mechanic. He poſſeſſed ſeveral automates, took great delight in ſhewing them to the peaſants, and was gratified if they were conſidered as ſpirits. Tycho was no leſs fond of being conſulted as a fortune-teller, and willingly encouraged an opinion, that his knowledge of the heavenly bodies enabled him to obſerve horoſcopes, and foretel events. Traditional fables of his predictions have been handed down to poſterity, which ſhew his proneneſs to judicial aſtrology, and the weakneſs of thoſe who believed his predictions.

At Uranienburgh Tycho Brahe had ſeveral contrivances calculated to deceive and aſtoniſh thoſe who came to viſit and conſult him. Among others, ſeveral bells, communicated with the rooms in the upper ſtory, inhabited by his ſcholars, the handles of which were concealed in his own apartments. Frequently, when company was with him, he would pretend to want ſomething, and having ſecretly pulled the bell, would

* See Bonnycaſtle's Introduction to Aſtronomy, p. 61.

cry

cry out, "Come hither, Peter," "Come hither, Chriſtian," and was pleaſed to obſerve the aſtoniſhment of the company, who, not hearing the bells, were ſurprized at the appearance of the perſon thus ſummoned.

He was equally devoted to the ſtudy of chymiſtry, and expended as much on the terreſtrial aſtronomy, as he ſtyles it, as on the celeſtial. He left, indeed, no writings on that ſcience, although he intended to publiſh a ſelection of his experiments, made with great labour and expence; yet he adds, in the true cant of alchymy, "On conſideration, and by the advice of the moſt illuſtrious as well as the moſt learned men, I deem it improper to unfold the ſecrets of the art to the vulgar, as few people are capable of uſing its myſteries to advantage, and without detriment."

His foibles were as prominent as his virtues and capacity. He was of a moroſe and unbending diſpoſition, indulged himſelf in two great freedom of ſpeech *; but while he rallied others was not pleaſed to be rallied himſelf.

He was greatly addicted to judicial aſtrology, and prone to credulity and ſuperſtition unbecoming his learning and judgment. If he met an old woman, he would inſtantly return home, and conſidered an hare as an ill omen. At Uranienburgh he had a fool, by name Sep, who was accuſtomed during dinner to ſit at his feet, and whom he fed with his own hand. This man was continually uttering incoherent expreſſions, which Tycho noted down, from a perſuaſion that the mind, in a ſtate of emotion, was capable of predicting future events; and even believed, if any inhabitant of the iſland was taken ill, that this idiot could predict his recovery or deceaſe. He maintained, that the cabala and magic, if they did not act to the offence of God or man, could lay open many abſtruſe things by figures, images, and marks.

But to turn from the unfavourable to the brighter parts of his character, we may aſſent to the truth of the eulogium given by his panegyriſt; to Tycho Brahe his ſtudies were life, meditation delight, ſcience riches, virtue nobility, and religion his conſtant guide †.

CHAP. VIII.—*Journey through the Iſle of Zealand.—Roſkild.—Cathedral.—Sepulchres and Characters of the Daniſh Sovereigns, Harald Blaatand.—Sweyn II.—Margaret.—Chriſtian I.—Saxo Grammaticus.—Royal Sepulchres at Ringſted.—Paſſage acroſs the Great Belt.—Iſle of Funen.—Odenſee.—Tombs and Characters of John and Chriſtian II.—Paſſage acroſs the Little Belt.—Journey through Sleſwic and Holſtein.—Canal of Kiel.—Eutin.—Lubec.—Travemunde.—General Remarks on the circular Ranges of Stones frequent in Sweden and Denmark.—Genealogical Tables of the Kings of Denmark.*

APRIL 5. Quitting Copenhagen we paſſed along an excellent road, through a well-cultivated open country, to Roſkild, formerly the royal reſidence and metropolis of Denmark. It ſtands at a ſmall diſtance from Iſefiord, or bay of Iſe; and in its flouriſhing ſtate, was of great extent, comprizing within its walls twenty-ſeven churches, and as many convents ‡; but the preſent circumference is ſcarcely half an Engliſh mile, and the population only one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty ſouls; the houſes are of brick, and have a neat appearance.

* Nihil fictum; nihil ſimulatum in ipſo; *ſed ſcaphum ſcaphum* appellabat; unde omne quod ſuſtinuit odium.—Or. Fun. 269.

† Ipſi vita ſtudia erant; deliciæ vero meditatio; divitiæ ſcientiæ; virtus nobilitas; religio directio.—Oratio Funebris.

‡ Holberg, vol. i. p. 618.

The

The only remains of former magnificence are the ruins of a palace, and the cathedral, a brick building with two ſpires, in which the Kings of Denmark are interred, and which, according to an inſcription in the choir, was founded * by Harald VI. who is ſtyled King of Denmark, England, and Norway. Some verſes, in barbarous Latin, obſcurely allude to the principal incidents of his life; adding, that he built this church, and died in 980 †. Harald, ſurnamed Blaatand, was ſon of Gormo III. called the Old, and the firſt King of Denmark who embraced the Chriſtian religion. His name occurs in the Saxon Chronicles as one of the invaders of England in the tenth century, where he eſtabliſhed his authority over the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and of Northumberland. But his hiſtory is ſo mixed with fable, that glaring contradictions appear in almoſt every incident. He loſt his life in conſequence of an inſurrection headed by his ſon Sweyn; but whether he was ſlain in battle, or by the rebel party, is not known.

Harald was father of a line of kings, who raiſed the power of Denmark to the higheſt greatneſs. His ſon, Sweyn I., is well known in our annals for his depredations and tributary exactions; and his grandſon, Canute the Great, who united in his perſon the crowns of England and Denmark, was the moſt powerful Prince of his time. The immediate deſcendants of Harald Blaatand died and were buried in England; and his male line was extinct in the perſon of Hardicanute, the laſt ſovereign who wore the two crowns.

In the ſame cathedral reſt the remains of Sweyn II., the firſt of a line of ſovereigns called the Middle Race. He was ſon of Ulf, governor of Denmark, who greatly ſignalized himſelf in war, by Eſtrida, ſiſter of Canute the Great. Ulf being put to death at Roſkild, by order of Canute, Sweyn fled into Sweden, and on the death of Hardicanute in 1042, claimed the crown of Denmark in right of his mother; for which reaſon he is generally known by the appellation of Sweyn the ſon of Eſtrida. The ſtates, however, gave the preference to Magnus the Good, King of Norway; but on his death in 1047, unanimouſly elected Sweyn, who, by his abilities, had deſerved his elevation. In a Latin inſcription, he is called King of England, as well as of Denmark and Norway; although the crown of England had been reſtored to the Saxon line in the perſon of Edward the Confeſſor, and was afterwards ſeized by William the Conqueror. Sweyn ſent a fleet againſt England to aſſert his right to the throne, as a lineal deſcendant from Canute the Great; but his troops were either defeated by William, or obliged to evacuate the iſland through the treachery of his brother. Sweyn is deſcribed by a contemporary hiſtorian ‡, who perſonally knew him, as a Prince polite to foreigners, of elegant manners, and great literary accompliſhments. He died in 1074, leaving thirteen ſons and two daughters; five of the ſons ſucceſſively filled the throne of Denmark; and his poſterity, in the male line, held it in poſſeſſion until 1387, when Valdemar III. dying without male iſſue, the female branch ſucceeded; firſt in the perſon of Oloff II., ſon of the celebrated Margaret, and on his deceaſe, in that of Margaret herſelf, whoſe aſhes are alſo interred in this cathedral.

The ſepulchre of this remarkable woman, ſtyled the Semiramis of the North, ſtands conſpicuous in the middle of the church, and is encloſed within a baluſtrade. The monument is of ſtone painted black, and on it lies the figure of the Queen in alabaſter, a

* Little of the original building now remains. According to Holberg, it was conſtructed of wood, and afterwards built with ſtone in the reign of Canute.

† Funditus haſce Jovi ſummo tunc condidit ædes,
Poſt natale Dei, dum ſcripſimus octuaginta
Nongentos, meruit ſcandere celſa poli.

‡ See the quotation from Adams Bremen in Pontoppidan's Mar. Dan. p. 2.

whole

whole length, and, as we were informed, her exact ſize when alive. An inſcription on the tomb, inſtead of enlarging in long fulſome flatteries, ſuch as are uſually paid to ſovereigns, records the time of her death, and adds, "it was raiſed at the expence of Eric of Pomerania, in memory of a Princeſs whom poſterity could never ſufficiently honour as ſhe deſerves." Leſs could not be ſaid of a perſonage who juſtly claims our reſpect and veneration, and whoſe glorious reign has ſcarcely its parallel in the records of hiſtory. Margaret, daughter of Valdemar III., by Hedwige his Queen, was born in 1353; and, if we may credit ſome Daniſh hiſtorians, owed her being to a circumſtance as ſingular as her life was illuſtrious and eminent. Valdemar, returning from a hunting party, chanced to repair to the caſtle of Seborg, where he had confined his conſort Hedwige on account of ſome ill-grounded ſuſpicions. Being pleaſed with one of the Queen's attendants, he propoſed an interview; the woman feigned compliance, but ſubſtituted her miſtreſs in her ſtead, and Margaret was the fruit of the meeting; which has led a Daniſh hiſtorian * to remark, in the high ſtyle of panegyric, that the good which he unconſciouſly performed that night in begetting Margaret, amply compenſated for all the evil actions of his life. In the ſixth year of her age ſhe was betrothed to Haquin, King of Norway, ſon of Magnus, King of Sweden, which was the firſt ſtep to her future greatneſs. This marriage, after much oppoſition on the part of the Swedes, was ſolemnized at Copenhagen in 1363, when ſhe was only in the eleventh year of her age. Margaret gave ſo many proofs of her prudence and courage when Haquin loſt the crown of Sweden, as induced Valdemar frequently to ſay of her, that nature intended her for a man, and had erred in making her a woman †.

On the demiſe of her father in 1375, ſhe had the addreſs to obtain the election of her ſon Oloff, then only five years of age, in preference to the ſon of her eldeſt ſiſter Ingeburga; and on the death of Haquin, ſecured his ſucceſſion to the crown of Norway. Being regent during Oloff's minority, her adminiſtration was ſo vigorous, prudent, and popular, that, on his premature death in 1385, ſhe was choſen Queen by the ſtates of Denmark; the firſt inſtance, perhaps, in a government wholly elective, of a woman exalted to the throne by the free and unanimous ſuffrages of a warlike people. With the ſame addreſs ſhe procured the crown of Norway; and was equally ſucceſsful in gaining that of Sweden. Albert was choſen King, and might have preſerved his power, had it not been his fate to contend with ſuch a rival as Margaret. In alluſion to her ſex, he ſtyled her, in deriſion, the King in petticoats; ſhe anſwered his reproach by actions, not by words, and made him ſorely repent of his vaunts, when he found himſelf worſted in every engagement; when depoſed and captive, he owed his life to the clemency of the very woman whom he had wantonly inſulted. By the famous union of Calmar, in 1397, ſhe united the three Northern kingdoms, and held them undivided during her reign, notwithſtanding the averſion of the Swedes to the Daniſh government. But in no inſtance does the vigour and policy of her conduct appear more conſpicuous than from this conſideration; that the revolts and inteſtine convulſions, which continually diſturbed the reigns of the ſovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, were ſubdued during her whole adminiſtration. This internal tranquillity, more glorious, though leſs ſplendid, than her warlike atchievements, and which was unuſual in thoſe turbulent times, could only be derived from the commanding aſcendancy of her ſuperior genius.

* "Regina eadem ſui mariti & pellex, & uxor, & concubina. Quid ad hanc ſcenam Herculis navitas aut in Alcmenæ ſinu Jupiter decumbens. Sanè autem plus eâ nocte Valdemarus fecit boni inſcius quàm per omnem vitam ſciens fecerat mali; qui prætioſiſſimam vitam donavit orbi tot regnorum compotem futuram Margaretam, & legem tranſgrediendo, felicem Daniam effecit." Berengii Florus Danicus, p. 506.

† Pontani Hiſt. Dan. 544.

This great princeſs died ſuddenly on the 27th of October 1412, in the ſixtieth year of her age, and, if we include the period of her regency, in the 30th of her reign, leaving to her ſucceſſor the quiet poſſeſſion of the three kingdoms, and to her ſubjects the regret of her loſs, by the experience of thoſe calamities which burſt upon the ſtate when the ſceptre was wielded by a leſs able hand. Her remains were firſt depoſited at Soroe, but removed to this cathedral by order of the biſhop of Roſkild*.

All the ſovereigns of the Houſe of Oldenburgh, which ſtill poſſeſſes the throne of Denmark, are interred in the cathedral of Roſkild, excepting John, Chriſtian II. and Frederic I.

Chriſtian I. the father of this line, lies in a ſmall chapel without monument or inſcription. He was count of Oldenburgh, and owed his elevation, as well to his lineal deſcent from Eric VII. as to the moderation of his uncle Adolphus, Duke of Sleſwick. On the death of Chriſtopher of Bavaria without iſſue, the ſtates of Denmark offered the throne to Adolphus, as the neareſt in blood to the deceaſed monarch; but he declining it on account of his advanced age, they, at his recommendation, elected his nephew Chriſtian, then in the 22d year of his age. This event happened in 1448; and in the ſame year he obtained the throne of Norway, in right of his deſcent from one of their ancient kings. In 1558, on the depoſition of Charles Canutſon, he received the crown of Sweden, but wore it only a ſhort time, as well through his own inactivity, as through the averſion of the Swedes to a foreign ruler. Chriſtian I. reigned three-and-twenty years, a ſovereign of great moderation and humanity; whoſe qualities, being leſs ſhining than ſolid, were more adapted to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, than to the exploits of war. He is juſtly characterized by an hiſtorian, as one of thoſe princes who do not attract the admiration of mankind, yet whom Providence never beſtows on a nation but as a ſignal mark of favour †.

The ſucceſſors of Chriſtian I. who are buried in the ſame church, ſeem in general to have inherited his pacific qualities; as all, except Frederic II. and V. and Chriſtian IV. were princes of mild and temperate diſpoſitions; patrons of the arts and ſciences, rather than enterprizing in arms; who yielded to others the palm of military glory, and for the moſt part ſhrunk before the daring ſpirit which animated the rival houſe of Vaſa.

In the ſame chapel are the tombs of Chriſtian III. and Frederic II. Their ſuperb monuments executed in Italy, at the expence of Chriſtian IV. are eſteemed maſterpieces of ſculpture. The ſtatues of the two ſovereigns are as large as life, under a canopy of ſtone, ſupported by Corinthian pillars. Several figures of angels, and the baſſo relievos round the mauſoleum of Frederic II. repreſenting that prince's battles, are much admired. No tomb is erected to the memory of Chriſtian IV. juſtly called, by Wraxall, the Idol of Daniſh Hiſtory: his body is depoſited in a coffin covered with velvet, ornamented with ſilver trophies, eſcutcheons, and angels holding crowns of laurel.

It would be tedious to enumerate the other ſepulchres of the royal family, moſt of which are loaded with inſcriptions of great length; the reader, who is deſirous of further information, will find them accurately tranſcribed in Pontoppidan's *Marmora Danica*, and in Travels through Denmark, publiſhed in 1702.

* *Hic primum ſepulta, ſed poſtea per Dominum Petrum Epiſcopum Roſkildenſem violenter tranſlata, & Roſkildis ſepulta.* Langebek, tom. iv. p. 542.

† "*Plus grand aux yeux de la ſaine raiſon qu'à ceux du vulgaire, il fut peut-être un de ces princes que les peuples ne louent que foiblement, mais que le Ciel ne leur accorde que quand il veut leur prouver ſon amour.*" Mallet, Hiſt. de Dan. tom. ii. p. 95.

The annexed genealogical tables trace in regular deſcent the Kings of Denmark, from Harald Blaatand to the preſent ſovereign.

In addition to theſe royal ſepulchres, I ſhall mention that of Saxo-Grammaticus, the moſt ancient hiſtorian of Denmark.

Saxo, deſcended from an illuſtrious Daniſh * family, was born about the middle of the twelfth century †, and, on account of his uncommon learning, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Grammaticus*. He was provoſt of the cathedral church of Roſkild, and warmly patronized by the learned and warlike Abſalon, the celebrated archbiſhop of Lunden, at whoſe inſtigation he wrote the hiſtory of Denmark. His epitaph, a dry panegyric in bad Latin verſes, gives no account of the æra of his death, which happened, according to Stephens, in 1204. His hiſtory, conſiſting of ſixteen books, begins from the earlieſt æra of the Daniſh annals, and concludes with the year 1186. According to the opinion of an accurate writer ‡, the firſt part, which relates to the origin of the Danes, and the reigns of the ancient kings, is full of fables; but the eight laſt books, and particularly thoſe which regard the events of his own times, deſerve the utmoſt credit. He wrote in Latin, and the ſtyle, if we conſider the barbarous age in which he flouriſhed, is in general extremely elegant, but rather too poetical for hiſtory §.

After having ſatisfied our curioſity in examining the tombs of Roſkild, we continued our journey, and paſſed the night at Ringſted, a ſmall, but neat, town, ſituated almoſt in the centre of the iſland: according to ſome antiquaries, it was built by Sigurd Ring, King of Denmark, who reigned in the 7th century; but this notion ſeems merely founded on the ſimilarity of the name. The church, which is eſteemed the moſt ancient Chriſtian temple in Denmark, is a brick building, with two low ſquare towers. Within, ſeveral Daniſh Kings of the Houſe of Sweyn II. are interred. The tombs are much more ſimple than thoſe at Roſkild; being generally plain ſlabs level with the pavement, exhibiting figures in armour carved on plates of braſs, or on the naked ſtone, with Latin inſcriptions, moſtly effaced by time. A few of the ſepulchres, which are ſomewhat more modern, are raiſed in the ſhape of coffins. The firſt ſovereign buried in this church is Waldemar I. who expired in 1182: and the laſt is Eric VIII. ſurnamed Manved, who died in 1319.

April 6. We purſued our route to Corſoer, the place of embarkation, on the Great Belt, which ſeparates the Iſle of Zealand from that of Funen. Corſoer ſtands on the weſtern point of the Iſle of Zealand on a ſmall peninſula, has a good harbour for light veſſels, and is fortified by a citadel defended by a rampart of earth and baſtions, with a few uſeleſs cannon, more for form than ſervice. It contains the commander's houſe, formerly a royal palace, and a granary, and is garriſoned by a few invalids.

* Some authors have erroneouſly conjectured, from his name Saxo, that he was born in Saxony; but Saxo was no uncommon appellation among the ancient Danes. See Olaus Wormius Monumenta Danica, p. 186. and Stephens's Prolegomena, p. 10.

† Stephens, in his edition of Saxo Grammaticus, printed at Soroe, indubitably proves, that he muſt have been alive in 1156, but cannot aſcertain the exact place and time of his birth. See Stephens's Prolegomena to the notes on Saxo-Grammaticus, p. 8, to 24; alſo Holberg, vol. i. p. 269; and Mallet's North. Antiq. vol. i. p. 4.

‡ Holberg.

§ Mallet, in his Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, vol. i. p. 182, ſays, "that Sperling, a writer of great erudition, has proved, in contradiction to the aſſertions of Stephens and others, that Saxo-Grammaticus was ſecretary to Abſalon; and that the Saxo provoſt of Roſkild was another perſon, and lived earlier." If ſo, Saxo-Grammaticus, the hiſtorian, is probably not buried at Roſkild; but I truſt the reader will not be diſpleaſed with the account of an author ſo little known as Saxo-Grammaticus.

Zealand.

Zealand, which we croſſed in our way from Copenhagen to Corſoer, is the largeſt of the iſles belonging to the King of Denmark, being about ſeven hundred miles in circumference. That part which we traverſed, appears a gently waving ſurface; for the moſt part open, dotted occaſionally with ſmall woods of beech and oak, and diverſified with beautiful lakes. The iſland is exceedingly fertile: it produces grain of all ſorts, and in great plenty, abounds with excellent paſture, and is famous for its breed of horſes. The fields, which ſeemed well cultivated, were in many parts formed into incloſures, ſeparated by mud walls: a few cottages were of brick; but the generality were of mud white-waſhed.

April 8. The wind blowing high, and directly contrary, we were detained two days at Corſoer before we embarked for the iſle of Funen; the diſtance between the neareſt points on each coaſt is eighteen miles. At mid-day we paſſed the ſmall iſland of Sproe, near which lay a guard-ſhip, for the purpoſe of collecting toll from all veſſels which paſſed between that iſland and Zealand; other ſhips pay their duty at Nyborg. Sproe contains only two buildings, a ſmall inn for the occaſional refreſhment of the guard-ſhip's crew, and a neat farm-houſe; it produces grain and paſture. On the top of an height overlooking the ſea, we obſerved the ruins of an ancient fortreſs, which formerly belonged to pirates, who uſed to reſort in great numbers to this iſland.

After a favourable paſſage of four hours, we landed at Nyborg, a ſmall well-built town, in the Iſle of Funen, ſtanding on a commodious bay. The town is ſurrounded with a rampart and ditch, and garriſoned by a company of invalids. An inſcription over an old ſquare building informed me, that Chriſtian III., ſon of Frederic I., raiſed the fortifications. Towards the ſkirts of the town, and cloſe to the ramparts, are the remains of an old palace, in which Chriſtian II. was born; and to the roof of which, as his biographer * relates, he was conveyed, while an infant, by a tame monkey, and brought down without receiving the leaſt harm.

In the afternoon we reached Odenſee, the capital of Funen; a place of ſuch high antiquity, that ſome Daniſh writers derive its foundation and name from Oden, the god and hero of the Gothic nations. But leaving ſuch diſquiſitions to the antiquaries of the country, I ſhall only obſerve, that its name occurs in the earlieſt ages of the Daniſh hiſtory; and that it was a town of great note long before Copenhagen exiſted. Odenſee ſtands on a ſmall river, which is not navigable two miles from the bay of Stegeſtrand. Many of the houſes are ancient, bearing dates about the middle of the ſixteenth century; but part is newly built: it contains five thouſand two hundred inhabitants, who carry on ſome commerce, exporting chiefly grain and leather; the latter is much eſteemed, and its goodneſs is ſuppoſed to ariſe from a certain property in the river water, in which it is ſoaked for tanning. The Daniſh cavalry are ſupplied from thence with the greater part of their leathern accoutrements.

Odenſee is an epiſcopal ſee, which was founded by Harald Blaatand in 980, and is the richeſt in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It has a ſchool, endowed by the celebrated Margaret, in which a certain number of ſcholars, from ſix to ſixteen years of age are, inſtructed gratis: they lodge and board in the town, and receive yearly penſions; other ſcholarſhips have been alſo founded by private perſons. The whole number amounted to ſeventy. There is alſo a *gymnaſium*, inſtituted by Chriſtian IV. for the admiſſion of ſtudents at the age of ſixteen. This ſeminary was ſtill further improved by the liberality of Holberg the Daniſh hiſtorian, who protected letters with the ſame zeal with which he cultivated them; but it is now greatly fallen from its former flouriſhing ſtate, con-

* Svaning Vit. Chriſt. II.

taining, when I paſſed through the town, only eight ſtudents. The cathedral is a large old brick building, which has nothing remarkable, except ſome coſtly monuments of a private Daniſh family. The church which formerly belonged to the convent of Recolets, contains the ſepulchres of John and Chriſtian II.

John aſcended the throne in 1481, on the death of his father Chriſtian I., and in 1497, renewing the union of Calmar, obtained the crown of Sweden, which the Swedes, however, did not long permit him to enjoy. He died on the 12th of February, 1513, having on his death-bed admoniſhed his ſon Chriſtian II.; admonitions which had no effect on a breaſt already corrupted by power, and impatient for dominion. John would have acted more wiſely had he endeavoured to render the infant mind of his ſon capable of receiving the impreſſions of virtue, and had not ſhamefully neglected his education; a crime highly reprehenſible in a father, but unpardonable in a ſovereign, who is perhaps rearing a tyrant for his ſubjects, and entailing on his country a ſeries of evils, for which he is himſelf chiefly accountable. Hiſtorians agree in repreſenting John as a wiſe and prudent prince, inclined to peace, but enterprizing in war; and as generally moderate and humane; admitting, however, that he perpetrated occaſional acts of violence and cruelty, derived from a ſpecies of melancholy madneſs, that preyed upon his mind, and at times deprived him of his ſenſes.

His ſon, the cruel and unfortunate Chriſtian II., is entombed near his father, under a plain grave-ſtone, ſomewhat raiſed, but without inſcription. He was born at Nyborg, on the 2d of July 1481; and diſcovered in his youth ſymptoms of a lively genius and good underſtanding, which, if properly cultivated, might have rendered him the ornament, inſtead of the diſhonour, of his country. The young prince was entruſted to a common burgher of Copenhagen, and afterwards removed to the houſe of a ſchoolmaſter, who was a canon of the cathedral. In this ſituation his chief employment conſiſted in regularly accompanying his maſter to church, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond the other ſcholars and choriſters in chaunting and ſinging pſalms. He was afterwards conſigned to the tuition of a German preceptor, a man of learning, but a pedant; under whom, however, he made a conſiderable proficiency in the Latin tongue. From this humble education Chriſtian imbibed a taſte for bad company, and was accuſtomed to haunt the common taverns, to mix with the populace, to ſcour the ſtreets, and to be guilty of every exceſs. The King at length, informed of thoſe irregularities, reproved him ſeverely; but as the Prince had already contracted habits, which were grown too ſtrong to be eradicated, theſe admonitions were too late. He feigned, however, contrition for his paſt behaviour, and again won the affections of his father by his military ſucceſſes in Norway, and by an unwearied application to the affairs of government.

During the firſt years of his reign, which commenced in 1513, his adminiſtration was in many reſpects worthy of praiſe; and the excellence of many of his laws has induced Holberg * to affirm, that if the character of Chriſtian II. was to be determined by his laws, and not by his actions, he would merit the appellation of Good, rather than of Tyrant. Happy would it have been for himſelf and his people, had he continued to reign on the ſame principles.

At firſt all his enterprizes were crowned with ſucceſs: he abridged the power of the Daniſh nobility, and exalted the regal prerogatives; he obtained the crown of Sweden by conqueſt, and was even proclaimed hereditary ſovereign of that kingdom. A prudent and temperate uſe of theſe advantages might have enſured him a long and undiſ-

* Dan. Geſ. vol. ii. p. 94.

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turbed poſſeſſion of the throne; but his natural diſpoſition, now freed from all reſtraint by proſperity, hurried him to the perpetration of the moſt flagrant acts of tyranny. The dreadful maſſacre of Stockholm, in which ſix hundred of the principal nobility were put to the ſword, under the ſemblance of law, and amid the rejoicings for his coronation, exhibited ſuch a ſtriking inſtance of his malignant and implacable character, that, on the ſucceſs of Guſtavus Vaſa, the ſpirit of reſiſtance diffuſed itſelf rapidly from Sweden to Denmark, where he had exaſperated his ſubjects by repeated oppreſſions, and the confidence which he placed in the loweſt and moſt worthleſs favourites *.

In 1523 Chriſtian was publicly depoſed by the ſtates of Denmark, and the crown transferred to his uncle Frederic Duke of Holſtein. This depoſition was neither the conſequence of Frederic's intrigues, nor of party ſpirit; but occaſioned by the juſt and univerſal deteſtation which pervaded all ranks of people, and had more the appearance of a new election on the demiſe of the crown, than of a revolution which deprived a deſpot of his throne. Chriſtian himſelf was ſenſible of the general odium, and, though by no means deficient in perſonal courage, made not the leaſt effort to retain poſſeſſion of that throne which he had often diſhonoured. Quitting Copenhagen he repaired to Antwerp, under the protection of Charles V., whoſe ſiſter Iſabella he had married. After many delays and ſolicitations at the different courts of Europe, he at length collected, by the Emperor's aſſiſtance, a fleet and army, with which he invaded the Daniſh dominions; his attempts, however, proving unſucceſsful, he fell, in 1542, into the hands of Frederic I., and was conſigned a priſoner to the caſtle of Sondeborg, a ſtrong fortreſs in the iſle of Alſen.

The place of his confinement was a dungeon, with a ſmall window, admitting only a few rays of light, through which his proviſions were conveyed. Having entered this gloomy cell, with a favourite dwarf, the ſole companion of his miſery, the door was inſtantly walled up. Even the horrors of this ſituation were aggravated by the death of his only ſon John, who expired at Ratiſbon in the fifteenth year of his age, and on the ſame day in which his father was taken priſoner. The premature deceaſe of this accompliſhed Prince, whom he tenderly loved, and on whom he reſted his ſole hopes of enlargement, reduced him to a ſtate of deſpondency. After much anxious ſolicitude by what means he could convey intelligence of his dreadful ſituation to his daughter the Electreſs Palatine, and to the Emperor Charles V., the King prevailed on the dwarf to counterfeit ſickneſs, and ſolicit his removal from priſon for the recovery of his health. If ſucceſsful, he was to ſeize the firſt opportunity of eſcaping from the Daniſh dominions

* The firſt of theſe favourites was the infamous Sigrebit, mother of the King's miſtreſs Diveke. This artful woman, who was a native of Holland, and had kept an inn at Berghen in Norway, even after her daughter's death, retained ſuch power that ſhe might be ſtyled prime miniſter: ſhe was the only channel of favour, tranſacted all affairs of importance, had the care of the finances, ſuperintended the cuſtoms of the Sound, and had, in a word, acquired ſuch a wonderful aſcendancy over the infatuated monarch, that her influence was attributed to faſcination. On the King's depoſition, Sigrebit was ſo much deteſted, that, from apprehenſions of the popular fury, ſhe was conveyed in a cheſt on board the veſſel which carried Chriſtian from Denmark. Holberg adds, ſhe conſoled the King for the loſs of his crown, by aſſuring him, that, through the Emperor's intereſt, he could not fail of being choſen burgomaſter of Amſterdam. The particulars of this woman's life, ſubſequent to her eſcape from Denmark, are not known.

The other favourite of Chriſtian, no leſs infamous than the former, was Nicholas Slagelbee, originally a barber of Weſtphalia, and recommended to the King by his relation Sigrebit. He rendered himſelf ſo uſeful to Chriſtian by his ſanguinary advice at the maſſacre of Stockholm, and by being the inſtrument of his cruelty, that he was rewarded with the archbiſhopric of Lunden. Not long afterwards, however, the King threw on his favourite all the odium of the maſſacre, and ſacrificed him to the public vengeance: the unfortunate victim was firſt racked, and then burnt alive; exhibiting a melancholy example, what little confidence is to be repoſed in the favour of a tyrant.

to the court of the Electreſs, that ſhe might engage the Emperor to intercede with the King of Denmark for ſome alleviation of her father's ſufferings. The dwarf accordingly feigned ſickneſs, was transferred to the neighbouring town, eluded the vigilance of his guards, and made his eſcape; but was overtaken at Reſburgh, ſcarcely a day's journey from the Daniſh confines.

Chriſtian, fruſtrated in this attempt, and deprived of his faithful aſſociate, lingered for ſome time in total ſolitude, until an old ſoldier, worn out with the fatigues of war, offered to ſhare the King's impriſonment. This veteran being immured in the dungeon, amuſed the royal priſoner with various anecdotes on the different princes and generals under whom he had enliſted, and by deſcribing the expeditions and battles in which he had been preſent; and, as he had ſerved from his earlieſt youth, was a perſon of much obſervation, and by nature loquacious, he aſſiſted in relieving the *tædium* of Chriſtian's captivity. Nor did any event, ſcarcely the loſs of his ſon, more ſenſibly affect the depoſed ſovereign, than the death of this ſoother of his miſery, who expired in the dungeon.

After a confinement of eleven years in his original cell, Chriſtian was at length removed, through the interceſſion of Charles V. to a commodious apartment in the ſame caſtle, provided with ſuitable attendants, and indulged with the liberty of viſiting in the town, attending divine ſervice in the public church, and hunting in the neighbouring diſtrict. Yet even this change of ſituation, which had been ſo long the ſole object of his wiſhes, could not make him forget that he was ſtill a priſoner, the recollection of which affected him occaſionally to ſuch a degree, that he would ſuddenly burſt into tears, throw himſelf on the ground, utter the moſt bitter lamentations, and continue for ſome time in a ſtate approaching to inſanity. However deſervedly odious Chriſtian II. may have appeared in the former parts of his life; yet his ſubſequent ſufferings raiſe compaſſion; and it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to every humane mind, that he recovered from his deſpondency, and acquieſced in his fate with perfect reſignation.

In 1546, after a confinement of ſixteen years and ſeven months in the caſtle of Sonderborg, he was conveyed to the palace of Callenborg, in the iſle of Zealand, a place to which he was particularly attached. Chriſtian III. repaired in perſon to Aſſens, received his fallen rival with great marks of attention, and promiſed him every comfort which could tend to alleviate his ſituation. Theſe unuſual honours, joined to his removal from a place where he had experienced ſo much miſery, and the proſpect of again inhabiting his favourite palace, excited tranſports of joy, and he compared himſelf to a perſon recalled from death *.

Being conducted to Callenborg, he had the ſatisfaction of finding theſe promiſes religiouſly fulfilled. He ſurvived this happy change ten years; and his mind was ſo ſoftened by adverſity, that, old as he was, his death was haſtened by affliction for the loſs of his benefactor Chriſtian III. He died on the 24th of January 1559, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, and in the thirty-ſixth from the period of his depoſition †.

April 9th, we arrived at Aſſens, juſt mentioned as the place of meeting between the two ſovereigns; it ſtands on the Little Belt, a ſtrait of the Baltic, which ſeparates the

* "Quibus ille non ſecus animo exhilaratur, *ac ſi morte extractus, novam lucem intueretur.*" Cragii Annal. Chriſt. III. p. 524.

† Theſe particulars of Chriſtian the Second's life are chiefly taken from Holberg and Svaningii Vita Chriſtiani Secundi.

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iſle of Funen from the continent. This iſland is three hundred and forty miles in circumference, fertile in paſture and grain, and exports annually to Norway, barley, oats, rye, and peaſe. The country is open, with a gently undulating ſurface; but the coaſts are generally flat and ſandy. The paſſage acroſs the Litttle Belt is only nine miles; but the wind being contrary, we were five hours in performing it. We landed on the duchy of Sleſwick, at Arroe-Sound, ſo called from the litle iſland Arroe, contiguous to the continent.

On the 11th we paſſed through ſeveral ſmall, but neat towns, beautifully ſituated on the inlets of the Baltic, and particularly Flenſburg, which carried on a conſiderable trade during the American war, and poſſeſſed two hundred merchant veſſels, trading moſtly to the Weſt Indies. Peace has reſtored the commerce to its old channels; many of the veſſels have been ſold, the traffic to the Weſt Indies conſiderably leſſened, and the chief trade centers in the iſle of Zealand, the coaſts of Norway, and Sweden.

Between Flenſburg and Sleſwic is that part of the duchy of Sleſwic called Angeln or Engel, doubtleſs the native country of our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, who invading and taking poſſeſſion of our iſland, formerly called Britain, converted its name into Engelland or England. The truth of this fact, ſufficiently authenticated by hiſtory, is ſtill further corroborated by the reſemblance which this fertile diſtrict bears to our native iſland.

The country from Flenſburg to Cappel is delightful, diverſified with ſcattered farm-houſes and frequent villages. The gravel roads wind through green lanes, with quick-ſet hedges, through incloſed fields, and ſmall woods; reminding me ſo much of my native country, that I almoſt fancied I was paſſing through Engliſh lanes and Engliſh incloſures.

We made this excurſion in an open cart, and, as the weather was favourable, enjoyed a conſtant view of this agreeable and cultivated diſtrict. According to the information of the peaſant who drove us, the country yields all ſorts of grain and flax, and abounds in paſture; the peaſants weave ſufficient linen and coarſe cloth for their own uſe, knit their worſted ſtockings, and make their boots and ſhoes; they procure hats and a better ſort of cloth from Flenſburg. Their food is chiefly rye-bread, cheeſe, eggs, milk, and occaſionally meat; they diſtil ſpirits from malt, and make cyder, which is their uſual drink.

Cappel, a ſmall but neat town on the Sley, contains about five hundred and fifty inhabitants, who are induſtrious, and carry on ſome trade, exporting bacon, cheeſe, butter, eggs, and other commodities to Copenhagen, and ſupplying the interior parts of the province with coffee, ſugar, ſpices, and other foreign merchandize. The environs of Cappel are quite delightful, being grounds gently riſing, ſprinkled with much wood, and commanding fine views of the bay.

The duchy of Sleſwic, ſometimes called South Jutland, is ſeparated from Holſtein, or the King of Denmark's German dominions, by the Eyder. The capital is an irregular town of great length, and contains five thouſand ſix hundred and thirty inhabitants. The houſes are of brick; and like the other towns in the country reſemble in neatneſs and manner of building thoſe of Holland: the inhabitants dreſs alſo like the Dutch, and many of them ſpeak their tongue, though the uſual languages are the German and Daniſh. Cloſe to Sleſwic is the old palace of Gottorp, formerly the ducal reſidence, at preſent inhabited by the Stadtholder, or Governor, Prince Charles of Heſſe-Caſſel, who married Louiſa, Princeſs of Denmark. It is a large brick edifice, ſurrounded by a rampart and moat: from this caſtle, the ducal line founded by Adol-

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phus ſon of Frederic I. King of Denmark, was denominated Holſtein Gottorp, which was loſt in the title of Emperor, when Peter the Third aſcended the throne of Ruſſia.

The church of Sleſwic contains the monument of Frederic the Firſt, ſon of Chriſtian the Firſt. The tomb is a ſarcophagus of dark marble, ſupported by ſix female figures ſtanding on pedeſtals, Charity, accompanied by two children, her uſual emblem; Fortitude, holding a broken column; Prudence, with the ſerpent; Juſtice, with her ſcales; Juriſprudence, with tablets; and Hope, with an anchor: their countenances are Greek, and uncommonly pleaſing, and the drapery truly elegant, after the antique. Towards the bottom of the ſarcophagus are four beautiful little angels or genii, with their reverſed torches, above is placed the figure of the King in armour. At each end are the figures of two women, of the ſame ſize and elegance as thoſe which ſupport the ſarcophagus; one holds the royal coat of arms, the other a ſcrole containing Latin verſes in praiſe of the deceaſed. All the figures are of the fineſt alabaſter, and were probably executed in Italy.

Frederic received as his inheritance the duchy of Sleſwic, and the crown of Denmark on the depoſition of Chriſtian the Second. Seated on the throne by the univerſal ſuffrages of the nation, he was eſtabliſhed in it rather by the zeal of his ſubjects, and by the co-operating aſſiſtance of Guſtavus Vaſa, his protector and rival, than by his own proweſs. He ſeems indeed to have inherited the mild and pacific virtues of his father Chriſtian the Firſt; virtues which would never have raiſed him to a throne, had not the general odium conſpired to the depoſition of Chriſtian the Second. He died in 1533, aged ſixty years.

That part of the duchy which we traverſed ſeemed well cultivated: it was in general flat and open, but occaſionally exhibited variegated landſcapes of heath, arable land, and paſture, incloſed with quickſet hedges, and ſtudded with woods of beech and oak. The farm-houſes had the appearance of great neatneſs. We paſſed alſo ranges of new cottages, lately erected for coloniſts at the expence of the crown; they are ſpacious, and reſemble thoſe of Weſtphalia, containing, under the ſame roof, a large barn, with diviſions for the cattle on each ſide, and two rooms at the further end for the family: Each coloniſt is ſupplied with ploughs, carts, and other implements of agriculture, two horſes, and a penſion during three years.

About twenty miles from Sleſwic we quitted that duchy, and at Rendſburgh croſſed the Eyder into Holſtein, which river is conſidered as forming on this ſide the limits of Germany.

Rendſburgh is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the Daniſh territories. The town, which contains three thouſand ſix hundred inhabitants, carries on but little trade, ſcarcely poſſeſſing three veſſels. It muſt ſoon, however, become a place of importance, as the canal of Kiel will introduce a conſiderable degree of commerce. The laſt ſluice is to be conſtructed at Rendſburgh. The Eyder is navigable for large veſſels within a ſhort diſtance of the town, while thoſe of inferior burden land their goods on the quays. The tide, which riſes near four feet, brings ſand into the channel; and floating machines are continually employed to deepen its bed.

The environs are chiefly a flat barren heath; but as we approached Kiel, the coaſts gradually became hilly and more fertile. We paſſed between the Wetter and Flemhuder lakes, again croſſed the Eyder, there only a ſmall rivulet, and arrived in the evening at Kiel. The diſtrict of Kiel is that portion of the duchy of Holſtein, which deſcended to the line of Holſtein-Gottorp, and belonged to Peter III. as part of his hereditary dominions. In 1773 the Empreſs of Ruſſia ceded it to the King of Denmark,

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in exchange for the counties of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, which ſhe gave to the Prince Biſhop of Lubec. This exchange was favourable to Denmark, as the King now poſſeſſes the whole duchy of Holſtein; and the intended junction of the Baltic and the North Sea will be formed entirely through the Daniſh territories.

Kiel poſſeſſes an univerſity for the German ſubjects of Denmark, founded in 1650 by Chriſtian Albert, Duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, and conſiderably enlarged by the preſent King; it contains twenty-four profeſſors, and about three hundred ſtudents. The town ſtands on a ſmall peninſula in a bay of the Baltic, and has a very commodious harbour for large ſhips. It is already one of the moſt commercial places of Holſtein; and the trade will be ſtill further augmented when the inland navigation acroſs the peninſula is finiſhed.

This inland navigation, for the junction of the two ſeas, is formed acroſs the duchy of Holſtein, by the canal of Kiel and the river Eyder, which paſſes by Rendſburgh, and falls into the German ocean at Tonningen.

The canal begins about three miles north of Kiel, at the mouth of the rivulet Lewenſawe, which heretofore ſeparated Holſtein from Sleſwic, and will form a new boundary between thoſe two duchies. The diſtance from its beginning to the laſt ſluice at Rendſburgh is twenty-ſeven Engliſh miles; but as the Eyder is navigable about ſix miles and three quarters above Rendſburgh, and only requires to be deepened in ſome places, the cut neceſſary for the completion of the communication between the two ſeas is only twenty miles and a half.

The canal was begun in July 1777; and in June 1785, when I laſt examined it, was almoſt finiſhed. The work was performed by contract; one thouſand and twenty-four cubic feet* of earth were taken out for eight ſhillings; and the whole expence was to amount to about 800,000l. Between the Flemhuder lake and the rivulet Lavens is the higheſt point, on each ſide whereof the waters take different courſes to the Baltic and German Ocean; in this part the ground muſt be excavated to the depth of fifty feet. The perpendicular fall towards the Baltic is twenty-five feet ſix inches; that towards the ocean twenty-three; and the veſſels will be raiſed or let down by means of ſix ſluices; Holtenau, Knorp, Suckdorf, Shinkel, Niederholten, and Rendſburgh. The breadth of the cut is one hundred feet at top, and fifty-four at bottom; the ſluices are twenty-ſeven feet in breadth, and one hundred in length; the loweſt depth of water ten feet. The canal will be furniſhed with water as far as Steinwarp from the Eyder, and the lakes Flemhuder and Weſter, from thence to Renſburgh by the Wetter lake, from which iſſues a rivulet that joins the Eyder. Merchantmen of about one hundred and twenty tons burden will be able to navigate this canal.

The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inſpection of the map of Denmark. At preſent even the ſmalleſt veſſels, trading from any part of the Daniſh dominions in the Baltic to the Northern Sea, muſt make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by contrary winds. This navigation is ſo tedious, that goods ſhipped at Copenhagen for Hamburgh are not unuſually ſent by ſea only to Lubec, and from thence by land.

The object of thoſe who planned this canal was no leſs than to draw by Kiel into the Baltic the commerce of Bremen, Hanover, and Weſtphalia, which is now carried down the Veſer, and by Gluckſtadt upon the Elbe to Hamburgh and Lubec, and to facilitate the tranſport of merchandize from Holland and the north ſea to the ports of the Baltic. But the principal impediment to the ſucceſs of this canal ſeems to ariſe from the difficult

* The foot uſed in this chapter is to the Engliſh as 21 to 22.

navigation of the Eyder between Rendſburgh and Tonningen, on account of the numerous ſhoals occaſioned by the ſhifting ſands, which not unfrequently render the entrance into the Eyder impracticable, and always prevent any veſſels from paſſing which draw more than nine feet of water. Few ſhips, therefore, which navigate the Baltic, will unload their goods at Kiel, in order to embark them in ſmaller veſſels for Tonningen, where the merchandize muſt be again reimbarked. Ships ſailing from the Baltic to the Engliſh or French ports will doubtleſs prefer the navigation round the Cattegate, with all its dangers and difficulties. Thoſe deſtined for Hamburgh, or the adjacent parts, will chooſe, perhaps, the ſhorter and more ſecure paſſage of the canal. *But it is much to be doubted, whether the commerce between Hamburgh and the north will be ſufficient to anſwer the expences of the conſtruction. The trade of Kiel, at all events, will be greatly increaſed by this canal; but the principal depoſitory of the merchandize will be at Rendſburgh *.

After having examined the canal and town of Kiel, we continued our route, and, in eighteen miles, reached a ſmall village beautifully ſeated between two lakes, in the midſt of a romantic country, interſperſed with foreſts of beech and oak. The largeſt of theſe lakes is that of Ploen, the banks of which are adorned with the town of Ploen, the capital of the duchy, which eſcheated to the King of Denmark in 1761, on the deceaſe of the laſt Duke Charles without iſſue male. The palace, formerly the ducal reſidence, riſing in the midſt of the town, on elevated ground, and overlooking the lake is a pictureſque object.

The road from Ploen to Eutin runs along a fertile country, through fields of corn and paſture, encloſed with "hedge-row elms and coppice green," and beautifully interſperſed with groves of oak and beech.

Eutin is a town with a palace belonging to the Prince Biſhop, in which he uſually reſides, and from which he aſſumes his title. The preſent Prince is brother to Adolphus Frederic, late King of Sweden: it is, like Oſnabrug, a ſecular biſhoprick. The palace is a large brick building, on the banks of a lake, and contains nothing worthy of obſervation, except a few indifferent family pictures; amongſt which I remarked one of the Duke of Anhalt, father of the fortunate Catharine the Second, Empreſs of Ruſſia, and another of Charles, Duke of Holſtein, father of the unfortunate Peter the Third.

The grounds are laid out in ſtraight walks, with cut hedges, ſtagnant canals, and *jets d'eau*; an intermediate plot of ground is called an Engliſh garden, and conſiſts chiefly of zig-zag walks, which, according to the opinion of moſt foreigners, are ridiculouſly ſuppoſed to form the peculiar excellence of our ſtyle.

Lubec, the head of the Hanſeatic league, was formerly the moſt commercial city, and powerful republic of the north; her fleet bade defiance to the northern powers, and rode miſtreſs of the Baltic. How are the mighty fallen! ſhe no longer retains a ſhadow of her former power, has loſt great part of her trade, and her commerce, conſiderably diminiſhed, will ſuffer ſtill more diminution, if the canal of Kiel ſhould anſwer the purpoſes for which it was planned: for by that means great part of the merchandize which

* This canal was opened in 1785, and the following is a liſt of the veſſels which paſſed through it during nine ſucceſſive years:

1785—	453	veſſels, including	44	foreign.	1790—	961	veſſels, including 293 foreign.
86—	400	- -	67		91—	1250	- - 476
87—	645	- -	125		92—	1509	- - 722
88—	636	- -	136		93—	2290	- - 1441
89—	1072	- -	280				

now

now paſſes through this town will be conveyed along the canal, and down the Eyder to Tonningen, and thence by ſea and up the Elbe to Hamburgh. To counteract theſe effects, profeſſor Bueſch has formed a plan to render the Steiknitz navigable for veſſels of burden as far as Lauenburgh. Should this project be carried into execution, the advantages ariſing to the duchy of Lauenburgh, as well as to the city of Lubec, are too evident to require an explanation.

The houſes of Lubec are built in an ancient ſtyle of architecture, the doors being ſo large as to admit carriages into the hall, which frequently ſerves for a coach-houſe. The walls of many houſes bear the date of the fifteenth century; and doubtleſs, at that period, the town was eſteemed extremely beautiful.

The quay of Lubec is on the river Trave, which falls into the ſea at the diſtance of fourteen miles, and admits veſſels from one hundred and fifty to two hundred tons burden, and ſometimes, but rarely, three hundred. I obſerved about one hundred and twenty merchant-ſhips deſtined to Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark. The trade is chiefly a trade of commiſſion, drawing from Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, their raw commodities, and ſupplying them with wines, ſilks, cloth, and ſteel ware.

Being unwilling to quit the territory of Lubec without viſiting Travemunde, we ſet off at five in the afternoon, and at ſeven reached Travemunde, diſtant from Lubec about nine miles. We found a clean and comfortable inn, good accommodations, and a civil landlord, who ſpoke Engliſh.

Travemunde, or the mouth of the Trave, is the port where the veſſels trading to and from Lubec take their ſtation. We hired a boat, and rowed round the port to the road; the port is able to contain ſixty veſſels, and ſufficiently deep to admit thoſe of two hundred tons burden, the ſame as aſcend the Trave to Lubec. Men of war ride at anchor in the road. Our landlord procured from the pilot a liſt of the merchant-ſhips which took their departure from Travemunde in the following years:—

In 1778, nine hundred and forty-one ſhips; in 1779, nine hundred and ſixteen; in 1780, eight hundred and three; in 1781, nine hundred and thirty-five; in 1782, eight hundred and fifty-eight; in 1783, nine hundred and fifty-one. Of theſe he conjectured that one hundred and fifty belonged to Lubec, three hundred were Daniſh, two hundred and fifty Swediſh, one hundred Pruſſian, twenty Daniſh, and ten Engliſh. Travemunde is defended (if it can be called defence) by a ſmall fortreſs mounting forty guns, and containing a garriſon of fifty men.

We paſſed through Ratzeburgh, a ſmall fortified town, prettily ſituated on an iſland in the midſt of a lake thirty miles in circumference; the banks abrupt, and pleaſantly feathered with wood. The town partly belongs to the duchy of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, and partly to that of Saxe Lauenburgh. The buildings are of brick; almoſt every houſe is ſhaded with a tree, which forms a ſingular and agreeable appearance.

From the lake of Ratzeburgh iſſues the river Wakenitz, which joins the Trave near Lubec, and thus facilitates the water-communication between Lubec and theſe parts. The duchy of Saxe Lauenburgh belongs to the King of England, as Elector of Hanover.

The road winds at a ſmall diſtance from the lake of Ratzeburgh, commanding diverſified views of wood, water, and fields of corn and paſture.

Near Moellen is the navigation of the Steiknitz, which unites the Elbe and the Trave. This water-communication is formed by the two ſmall rivulets, the Steiknitz and the Devenau, the former falls into the Trave, and the latter into the Elbe at Lauenburgh; they were united by a canal, cut by order of the government of Lubec, in the fourteenth century, ſuppoſed to be the firſt canal which had double ſluice-gates. The average depth of water being only three feet and a half, no heavy-laden veſſels can paſs. The

watermen belonging to ſome barges carrying corn and planks, told me, that they had employed eight days in coming from Lubec to Moellen, which is only thirty-ſix miles by land, and did not expect to reach Lauenburgh in leſs than eight days more. Seventeen locks muſt be paſſed between Lubec and the Elbe at Lauenburgh; yet, notwithſtanding this inconvenience, about four hundred and forty veſſels annually navigate the canal. The environs of Moellen are agreeably diverſified with fine woods of oak, beech, and birch.

During my progreſs through Sweden and Denmark, I remarked, with attentive curioſity, many of thoſe regular circles of ſtones which are ſo frequently ſcattered over the face, not only of theſe countries, but of our own. According to the plan I have generally followed in the courſe of this work, I ſhall firſt deſcribe thoſe which fell under my immediate obſervation, and then throw together a few remarks on their probable origin and deſtination.

In the province of Weſt Gothland, between Kalange and Lidkioping, I obſerved on the top of an hill two rude maſſes of red granite, placed upright on each ſide of the high road. The talleſt meaſured fifteen feet in height, five ſpans and a half in breadth; the other was about twelve feet high, ſix ſpans broad, and both were no more than four inches thick. In a plain near Runneby, in the province of Blekinge, I noted many ranges of ſtones ſet up endways, and forming various circles, all of which plainly referred to one general diſpoſition. I counted at leaſt ten of theſe circles, and among the moſt perfect, one of eight ſtones, whoſe diameter meaſured five paces, and another of ten, whoſe diameter was ſeven; the ſtones were from two to four feet in height, and the higheſt did not exceed ten.

Again, cloſe to Skillinge, the neareſt poſt to Carlſcrona, are ſeveral ſimilar remains on a rocky eminence, conſiſting of many oval or circular ranges; the greater part were in the rough ſtate; ſome were hewn flat and broad, and others ſomewhat reſembled pillars pointed at top in the rudeſt manner. At the ſummit of the rock ſeveral concentric ranges incloſed a ſpace of about ten feet diameter, in the centre of which ſtood two flat ſtones, ſcarcely three feet in height, placed edgeways, and between them was the lower part of a withered trunk, the remains of a tree, which had once flouriſhed in that ſpot. It appeared to me like an oak; and a perſon attached to the hypotheſis, that ſuch circles are druidical relics, might, with a ſmall degree of enthuſiaſm, have conſidered this very tree as the central oak; could he ſuppoſe that the religion of the Druids was ever eſtabliſhed in theſe northern kingdoms. The largeſt of theſe ſtones was about twelve feet in height. On the ſouthern ſide of the village were ſimilar monuments of antiquity, the higheſt of which meaſured eighteen feet, and we continually obſerved remains of the ſame in our route through Sweden.

In the Daniſh iſles, as well as in Sleſwic and Holſtein, theſe circles occurred no leſs frequently than in Sweden, but none of the ſtones were large; few which fell under my obſervation exceeding ſix or ſeven feet in height, and the greater part were not more than two or three. In ſome places I noticed two laid edgeways, and upon them an unformed maſs of ſtone in an horizontal poſition, which is exactly ſimilar to the Britiſh Cromlech. One of theſe monuments is thus deſcribed in Colonel Floyd's Journal:

"About three or four Engliſh miles from Corſoer, at the extremity of a wood, ſtanding on a promontory, I found one of the moſt perfect of theſe ancient monuments. I obſerved a large mound of earth, on the ſummit of which large conical granite ſtones, ſtanding at ſmall intervals from each other, encloſed an oval ſpace of a very conſiderable extent. In the center and higheſt point, a huge, ſhapeleſs maſs of granite was laid horizontally on four other ſtones, almoſt buried beneath the ſurface of the ground. Near

it was another mound, on the top of which another large ſtone was placed in a ſimilar manner on four others. I remarked veſtiges of trenches; but as the place was covered with underwood, and night approached, I could not trace their direction."

To our inquiries in ſeveral parts of Sweden, concerning the origin of theſe ancient relics, the peaſants generally anſwered, that they were erected by a race of giants formerly inhabiting theſe countries. We have many ſimilar monuments in our iſland, and particularly that of the Rol-rich ſtones, near Burford in Oxfordſhire, the Snake's Head of Overton Temple, as deſcribed by Stukeley *; ſome of thoſe which are delineated in Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall, and that circular range in Cumberland, of which Mr. Pennant † has given an engraving in his Tour to Scotland, ſeem moſt to reſemble thoſe which I obſerved in Sweden and Denmark. I cannot, however, but add, that Olaus Wormius, and other authors, highly exaggerate when they deduce any reſemblance between the ſtupendous fabric of Stone Henge, and theſe trifling, though genuine, remains of high antiquity, and ſtill more erroneouſly conclude from that fanciful reſemblance, that Stone Henge ‡ was conſtructed by our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, who migrated from theſe northern parts.

Endleſs controverſies have ariſen among the learned concerning their origin and deſtination; and each author maintains that they were raiſed by that particular nation, or ſect, which beſt ſuits his favourite hypotheſis. Thus they are ſtyled by different authors, Celtic, Gothic, Daniſh §, Saxon, Pictic; and by others have been ſolely attributed to the Druids, a favourite order of men, under whom we are too apt to ſhelter our ignorance. Although theſe rude monuments are undoubtedly of ſuch high antiquity as almoſt to baffle our inquiries, yet we may infer, from hiſtorical evidence, that they had not all the ſame original deſtination; ſome were raiſed as memorials of ma-

* Stukeley's Abury, p. 4. tab. iii. p. 40. and tab. xxi.

† Tour into Scotland, and annexed plate.

‡ It is curious to trace the different ſyſtems which have been framed concerning the origin of Stone Henge: and to obſerve upon what vague and uncertain principles each author has founded his hypotheſis.

The celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, in a work entitled "Stone Henge reſtored," endeavours to aſcertain, but without ſufficient proof, that it was a Roman temple, conſecrated to Cœlum, and conſtructed between the times of Agricola and Conſtantine the Great. Dr. Charleton, on the contrary, in his "Stone Henge reſtored to the Danes," entirely overturns the ſyſtem of Inigo Jones; and contends, with more ingenuity than argument, that it was built in the beginning of Alfred's reign by the Danes, who over-ran great part of England, as a place for the election of their kings.

John Webb, Eſq. in "A Vindication of Stone Henge reſtored," refutes, with much learning, the opinion of Dr. Charleton, but fails in re-eſtabliſhing the ſyſtem of Inigo Jones. Some ſuppoſe it to have been erected in memory of four hundred and ſixty Britons maſſacred by Hengiſt; a chimerical notion, ariſing merely from the ſimilarity of the words Henge and Hengiſt; others, that it was raiſed in honour of Aurelius Ambroſius, the laſt Britiſh king; and a few that it was a ſepulchral monument of Bonduca, by the Old Britons.

Dr. Stukeley, in his elaborate treatiſe on Stone Henge, has completely overturned all theſe ſyſtems of former writers; but is not equally ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing his favourite poſition, that it was a Druidical temple.

In a word, all that can be collected, from a diligent examination of the ſeveral ſyſtems, is, that it is a monument of very high antiquity, far beyond the reach of hiſtory or tradition; and that there are not ſufficient data by which any certain opinion can be formed of its origin.

§ Olaus Wormius, in the true ſpirit of national prejudice, ſuppoſes all theſe monuments to have been erected by the Danes, becauſe great numbers are found in Denmark, upon which aſſertion Stukeley obſerves, their being in Denmark does not prove them to have been founded by the Danes, as they exiſted in that country long before any mention is made in hiſtory of the Danes; but they muſt have been raiſed before that people occupied the northern iſles, by the Cimbrians, or Goths of old; and if not by them, by whom is not known from ſtory.

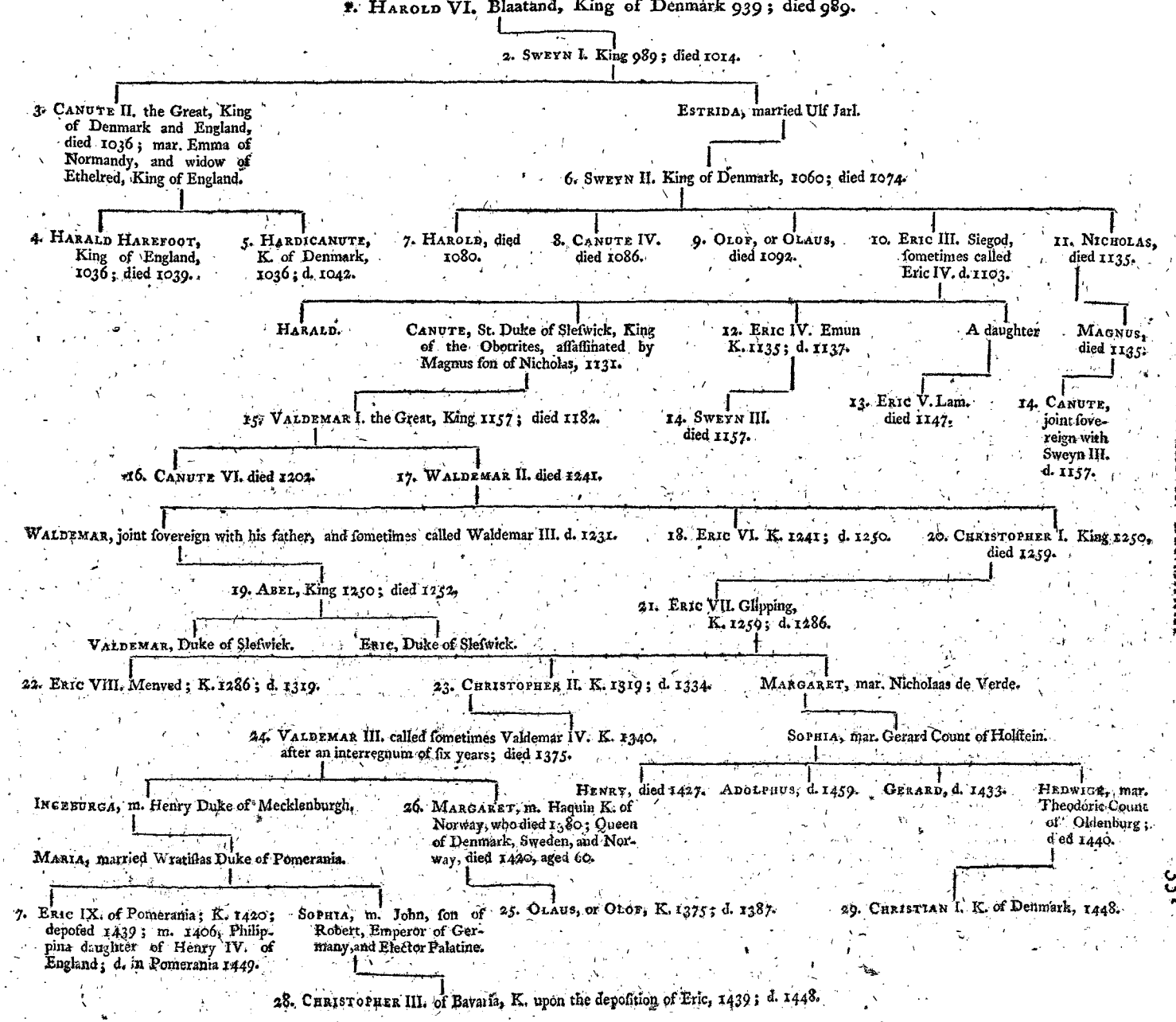
terial

terial events; others as ſepulchres; but the greater part were probably places, or * objects, of ſacred worſhip. In the earlier ages of the world, we find that ſtones were erected for all theſe purpoſes, and by different nations; but as it would be tedious to enumerate the ſeveral proofs of the aſſertion, I muſt refer the reader to Borlaſe's Diſſertations on ſimilar monuments exiſting in our own country, as the moſt able writer on this ſubject. How can we poſſibly confine to any particular nation, or religion, cuſtoms uſed indiſcriminately by all in remote periods, or how can we aſſign their epoch, ſince moſt of them were either raiſed before the Chriſtian æra, or preceded the introduction of the goſpel into thoſe parts, when no certain tradition or literary records were extant, to aſcertain their origin?

* Many inſtances of the worſhip of ſtones occur among the ancient Pagans; and it appears that ſome were held no leſs ſacred in theſe northern regions. Among others, one was worſhipped at Gilia, in Iceland, before the introduction of Chriſtianity: "*In Gilia lapis, quem majores eorum religioſe coluerant, utpote a genio ſuo tutelari inhabitari tradentes.*" Kriſtni Saga, p. 13.

Genealogical

Genealogical Table of the Kings of Denmark, from Harald Blaatand to Christian I.


1. Harold VI. Blaatand, King of Denmark 939; died 989.
2. Sweyn I. King 989; died 1014.
3. Canute II. the Great, King of Denmark and England, died 1036; mar. Emma of Normandy, and widow of Ethelred, King of England.
Estrida, married Ulf Jarl.
6. Sweyn II. King of Denmark, 1060; died 1074.
4. Harald Harefoot, King of England, 1036; died 1039.
5. Hardicanute, K. of Denmark, 1036; d. 1042.
7. Harold, died 1080.
8. Canute IV. died 1086.
9. Olof, or Olaus, died 1092.
10. Eric III. Siegod, sometimes called Eric IV. d. 1103.
11. Nicholas, died 1135.
Harald.
Canute, St. Duke of Sleswick, King of the Obotrites, assassinated by Magnus son of Nicholas, 1131.
12. Eric IV. Emun K. 1135; d. 1137.
A daughter
Magnus, died 1135.
15. Valdemar I. the Great, King 1157; died 1182.
14. Sweyn III. died 1157.
13. Eric V. Lam. died 1147.
14. Canute, joint sovereign with Sweyn III. d. 1157.
16. Canute VI. died 1202.
17. Waldemar II. died 1241.
Waldemar, joint sovereign with his father, and sometimes called Waldemar III. d. 1231.
18. Eric VI. K. 1241; d. 1250.
20. Christopher I. King 1250, died 1259.
19. Abel, King 1250; died 1252.
21. Eric VII. Glipping, K. 1259; d. 1286.
Valdemar, Duke of Sleswick.
Eric, Duke of Sleswick.
22. Eric VIII. Menved; K. 1286; d. 1319.
23. Christopher II. K. 1319; d. 1334.
Margaret, mar. Nicholaas de Verde.
24. Valdemar III. called sometimes Valdemar IV. K. 1340. after an interregnum of six years; died 1375.
Sophia, mar. Gerard Count of Holstein.
Henry, died 1427.
Adolphus, d. 1459.
Gerard, d. 1433.
Hedwige, mar. Theodoric Count of Oldenburg; died 1440.
Ingeburga, m. Henry Duke of Mecklenburgh.
26. Margaret, m. Haquin K. of Norway, who died 1380; Queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, died 1420, aged 60.
Maria, married Wratislas Duke of Pomerania.
7. Eric IX. of Pomerania; K. 1420; deposed 1439; m. 1406, Philippina daughter of Henry IV. of England; d. in Pomerania 1449.
Sophia, m. John, son of Robert, Emperor of Germany, and Elector Palatine.
25. Olaus, or Olof, K. 1375; d. 1387.
29. Christian I. K. of Denmark, 1448.
28. Christopher III. of Bavaria, K. upon the deposition of Eric, 1439; d. 1448.

Genealogical Table of the Kings of Denmark of the House of Oldenburg.

1. Christian I. Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 1448: died 1481.

- 2. John, died 1513.
  - 3. Christian II. deposed 1523; m. Elizabeth sister of the Emperor Charles V. died 1559.
    - John, died 1532, at Ratisbon, aged 14.
    - Dorothy, m. in 1532, Frederic II. Elector Palatine; and died 1580, without issue.
    - Christina, m. 1. Francis Sforza Duke of Milan; 2. Francis Duke of Loraine, from whom descended, in a regular line, Francis late Emperor of Germany.
- Margaret, mar. James III. K. of Scotland.
- 4. Frederic I. K. upon the deposition of Christian II. in 1523; d. 1533; mar. 1. Anne of Brandenburgh; 2. Sophia, Princess of Pomerania Stettin.
  - 5. Christian III. died 1558; mar. Dorothy of Saxe Lawenburgh.
    - 6. Frederic II. b. 1534; d. 1588; m. Sophia Princess of Mecklenburgh.
      - Elizabeth, b. 1573; m. Henry Duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh.
      - Anne, b. 1574; m. James King of England.
      - 7. Christian IV. b. 1577; d. 1648; m. Anne Catharine Princess of Brandenburgh.
        - Christian, b. 1603; died 1647.
        - 8. Frederic III. b. 1609; d. 1670; m. Sophia Amelia, Princess of Brunswick Lunenburgh.
          - 9. Christian V. b. 1646; d. 1699; m. Charlotte Amelia of Hesse Cassel.
            - 10. Frederic IV. b. 1671; d. 1730.
              - 11. Christian VI. b. 1699; d. 1746; mar. Christina Sophia Princess of Brandenburgh Bareith.
                - 12. Frederic V. born 1723; died 1766; mar. 1. Louisa, daughter of George II. King of England; 2. Juliana Maria, daughter of Ferdinand Albert of Brunswick-Wolfenbottel.
                  - 13. Christian VII. b. 1749; mar. Matilda, sister of George III. King of England.
                    - Frederic, born 1768; m. daughter of Charles Prince of Hesse-Cassel.
                    - Louisa Augusta, b. 1771; m. Frederic Christian, Hereditary Prince of Holstein-Sonderborg-Augustenborg.
                  - Sophia Magdalena, born 1746; m. Gustavus III. the late King of Sweden.
                  - Wilhelmina Carolina, b. 1750; m. William Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel.
                  - Louisa, b. 1750; m. Charles second son of Frederic, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.
                  - Frederic, b. 1753; m. Sophia Frederica Princess of Mecklenburgh Schwerin.
      - John, b. 1583; died at Moscow 1602.
    - John, Duke of Sleswick, b. 1545; died 1622; author of the branches of Sonderborg, Norborg, Glucksborg, and Plœn.
    - Magnus, b. 1540; Bishop of Æsel and Pilten, and titular K. of Livonia; d. 1583.
    - Dorothy, b. 1546; m. Maximilian Duke of Luneburgh; from whom the Electors of Hanover.
  - Adolphus, author of the line of the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, from whom descended Peter III. of Russia.
  - Elizabeth, m. Ulric Duke of Mecklenburgh.
    - Sophia, m. Frederic II.
- Ulric, d. 1605.
- Several daughters, among whom Ulrica Eleonora, m. to Charles XI. King of Sweden.

APPENDIX, No. I.

List of the Danish Army.

Infantry.—Daniſh and Holſtein.—Regulars and Militia.

Foot Guards, reg.	-	486	Bornholm ditto, mixt	-	1778
Daniſh royal regiment, mixt	-	1778	Sleſwic ditto, mixt	-	1778
Norway, ditto, mixt	-	1778	Holſtein ditto, mixt	-	1778
King's ditto, mixt	-	1778	Falſter ditto, mixt	-	1771
Queen's ditto, mixt	-	1778	Moen ditto, mixt	-	1778
Prince Royal's ditto, mixt	-	1778	Delmenhorſt's ditto, mixt	-	1778
Prince Frederic's ditto, mixt	-	1778			
Jutland ditto, mixt	-	1778	Total of Daniſh and Holſtein Infantry		25,378
Oldenburgh ditto, mixt	-	1778			

Infantry of Norway.

Regiment of Sunderfield, reg.	-	1376	Firſt ditto of Bergenhuus, nat.	-	1916
Ditto of Nordenfield, reg.	-	1376	Second ditto of Bergenhuus, nat.	-	1916
Firſt reg. Agerhuus, national	-	1956	Firſt ditto Vertebeck, nat.	-	1916
Second ditto, nat.	-	1956	Second ditto, nat.	-	1916
Firſt ditto Smaalchen, nat.	-	1800	Corps of light troops, nat.	-	960
Second ditto, nat.	-	2082	Regiment of artillery, mixt	-	2771
Firſt ditto Drontheim, nat.	-	2082	Corps of engineers, reg.	-	34
Second ditto, nat.	-	1916			
Third ditto, nat.	-	2089	Total of Infantry of Norway	-	32,053
Firſt ditto Oplande, nat,	-	2075			
Second ditto, nat.	-	1916			

Cavalry.—Daniſh and Holſtein.

Horſe guards, regulars	-	161	Funen, mixt	-	582
Royal Daniſh regiment, mixt	-	582	Sleſwic, mixt	-	582
Norway ditto, mixt	-	582	Holſtein, mixt	-	582
Firſt regiment of Zealand, mixt	-	582			
Second ditto, mixt	-	582			4817
Of Jutland, mixt	-	582			

Cavalry of Norway.

Firſt Regiment of dragoons, nat.	-	1168	Total of Cavalry,	- 10,478
Firſt ditto of Sundenfield, nat.	-	1168	Total of Infantry	- 56,431
Second ditto, national	-	1167		
Third ditto, nat.	-	1079	Total of the Daniſh troops	66,909
Regiment of Nordenfield, nat.	-	1079		

No. II.

List of the Danish Navy in 1779.

Ships of the Line.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.	
1.	Chriſtian VII.	90	Copenhagen	1767.	
2.	Superb	80	Ditto	1768.	
3.	Sophia Frederica	74	Ditto	1775.	
4.	Juſtitia	74	Ditto	1777.	
5.	Vandal	70	Ditto	1742.	For Parade
6.	Queen Louiſa	70	Ditto	1744.	
7.	Copenhagen	70	Ditto	1744.	Condemned
8.	Queen Juliana	70	Ditto	1752.	Ditto
9.	Prince Royal	70	Ditto	1756.	
10.	Denmark	70	Ditto	1757.	
11.	Jutland	70	North Sea	1760.	
12.	Prince Frederic	70	Copenhagen	1761.	
13.	Oere-Sund	70	Ditto	1766.	
14.	Northern Lion	70	Ditto	1765.	
15.	Elephant	70	Ditto	1769.	
16.	Oldenburgh	60	Ditto	1740.	Condemned
17.	North Star	60	Ditto	1746.	For Parade
18.	Zealand	60	Ditto	1750.	Ditto
19.	Neptune	60	Ditto	1750.	Ditto
20.	Storman	60	Ditto	1751.	Ditto
21.	Iceland	60	Ditto	1751.	Ditto
22.	Victory	60	Ditto	1754.	
23.	Princeſs Sophia Magdalena	60	Ditto	1763.	
24.	Princeſs Wilhelmina	60	Ditto	1764.	
25.	Danebrog	60	Ditto	1772.	
26.	Holſtein	60	Ditto	1772.	
27.	Wagria	60	Ditto	1773.	
28.	Infoeds Retten	60	Ditto	1776.	
29.	Ditmarſſen	50	Ditto	1742.	Condemned
30.	Delmenhurſt	50	Ditto	1743.	Ditto
31.	Ebenezer	50	North Sea	1758.	
32.	Nettleblad	50	Copenhagen	1746.	Condemned
33.	Funen	50	Ditto	1746.	Parade
34.	Greenland	50	North Sea	1756.	
35.	Saint Croix	50	Ditto	1758.	
36.	Mars	50	Copenhagen	1760.	
37.	Sleſwic	50	Ditto	1766.	
38.	Diſco	44	Ditto	1778.	

Frigates.

Frigates.

Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.	
1. Pearl	34	Copenhagen	1772.	
2. Kiel	36	Ditto	1775.	
3. Bornholm	36	Ditto	1774.	
4. Moen	36	Ditto	1777.	
5. Croneborg	34	Ditto	1776.	
6. Chriſtiana	34	Ditto		
7. Dockin	24	Ditto	1750.	Parade
8. Moen	28	-	1752.	
9. Blue Eagle	30	-	1753.	Parade
10. Savage	18	-	1754.	Parade
11. Chriſtianborg	34	North Sea	1758.	
12. Sea Horſe	18	Copenhagen	1758.	
13. Langeland	18	Ditto	1758.	
14. Falſter	30	Ditto	1760.	
15. Syren		Ditto		
16. Tranquebar	34	Ditto	1761.	
17. Alſen		Ditto		
18. Chriſtiana	30	Ditto	1766.	
19. Feroe	34	Ditto	1766.	
20. Sanroe	22	Ditto	1770.	

Swivels.

Eagle Royal Yacht	26	Copenhagen	1756.

Bomb Ketches.—Bravery; Serious; Comet; Courage; Dragon.

TRAVELS IN NORWAY:

By the Same.

CHAP. I.—*General Remarks on Norway.—Hiſtory.—Geography.—Benefits of the Norway Law.—Peaſants.—Climate.*

NORWAY was formerly an independent kingdom, governed by its own hereditary ſovereigns. On the demiſe of Hagen the Fifth, in 1319, without male iſſue, his grandſon in the female line, Magnus Smek, united the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway. Magnus was ſucceeded on the throne of Norway by his ſon Hagen the Sixth, huſband of the celebrated Margaret; and at his deceaſe, in 1380, Norway was united to Denmark by their ſon Olof the Fifth; who dying without iſſue, Margaret herſelf was raiſed to the throne by the unanimous ſuffrages of the nation. On her death it deſcended, with Denmark and Sweden, to her nephew, Eric of Pomerania. Sweden was afterwards ſeparated from Denmark by the valour and addreſs of Guſtavus Vaſa; but Norway has continued united to the crown of Denmark.

Norway is formed by nature into two great diviſions, Northern, and Southern or Norway Proper, ſeparated from each other by the ſmall Swediſh province of Herndahl.

Northern Norway is a long and narrow ſlip of land, extending as far as North Cape, beyond the ſeventy-firſt degree of latitude, the moſt northern point of Europe; it is divided into Nordland and Finnmark, and comprehended in the government of Drontheim.

Southern, or Norway Proper, is bounded to the north and eaſt by Sweden, and to the weſt and ſouth by the northern ocean. It is divided into four governments, Aggerhuus or Chriſtiana, Chriſtianſand, Berghen, and Drontheim.

Although Norway comprehends a large tract of territory, yet from its rocky ſoil and climate, the number of inhabitants is by no means proportionate to the extent of the country. Perhaps the following tables, giving the number of births and deaths during ſeven years, may aſſiſt in forming a probable ſtatement of the population:

	Births.	Deaths.
1777	23,331	15,655
1778	23,487	15,222
1779	23,862	20,768
1780	24,711	18,523
1781	24,153	16,072
1782	23,944	17,503
1783	21,554	19,357
Sum total	165,042	123,100

By

By dividing one hundred and ſixty-five thouſand and forty-two, the ſum total of births during the ſeven years, by ſeven, we have twenty-three thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-ſeven for the annual average of births; and by dividing one hundred and twenty-three thouſand one hundred, the ſum total of deaths, by the ſame number, we have ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and eighty-five for the annual average of deaths. If, on a ſuppoſition that in the whole kingdom one in thirty-five dies annually, we multiply ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and eighty-five, the annual number of deaths, by thirty-five, we have ſix hundred and fifteen thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-five for the population of Norway. Or, if we multiply twenty-three thouſand five hunded and ſeventy-ſeven, the annual number of births, by thirty, the uſual mode * of calculation, we have ſeven hundred and ſeven thouſand three hundred and ten; and by allowing for omiſſions, we cannot eſtimate the probable population of all Norway at more than ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls.

The Norwegians, being the ſame race with the Danes, and long connected with them in religion and government, ſpeak the ſame language, though with a mixture of provincial expreſſions. According to Wilſe †, a native writer, the gentry and inhabitants of the principal towns, allowing for a few provincial expreſſions, ſpeak purer Daniſh than is uſual even in Denmark, not excepting Copenhagen; the inhabitants of the eaſtern confines bordering on Sweden, naturally blend many Swediſh words; throughout the whole country, the general accent and cadence is more analogous to the Swediſh ‡ than to the Dutch pronunciation, and the inhabitants on the weſtern coaſts, who have a more conſtant communication with the Danes, partake leſs of this peculiarity.

The Norwegians maintain their own army, which conſiſts of twenty-four thouſand infantry, and ſix thouſand cavalry. The troops are much eſteemed for bravery, and like the Swiſs mountaineers, exceedingly attached to their country. The horſes which ſupply the cavalry are ſmall, but ſtrong, active, and hardy.

Every peaſant (thoſe excepted who inhabit the coaſts, and are claſſed as ſailors) not born in a town, or on ſome noble eſtate, is by birth a ſoldier, and enrolled at the age of ſixteen. From that year, until he has attained the age of twenty-ſix, he is claſſed in the young militia; at twenty-ſix he enters into the old militia, and continues to ſerve till thirty-ſix, at which period he receives his diſcharge. The militia take the field every year in June, and remain encamped about a month.

Norway is bleſſed with a particular code, called the *Norway Law*, compiled by Grieffelfeld, at the command of Chriſtian the Fifth, the great legiſlator of his country. By this law, the palladium of Norway, the peaſants are free, a few only excepted on certain noble eſtates near Frederickſtadt. But the ſpirit of this law extends itſelf even to thoſe ſerfs; for no proprietor can have more than one of theſe privileged eſtates; and unleſs he poſſeſſes a title or certain rank, and reſides on his eſtate, he loſes his privilege, and the peaſants become free.

The benefits of the Norway Code are ſo viſible in its general effects on the happineſs and in the appearance of the peaſants, that a traveller muſt be blind who does not inſtantly perceive the difference between the free peaſants of Norway and the enſlaved vaſſals § of Denmark, though both living under the ſame government.

* See Dr. Price on Annuities. † Wilſe's Reiſe, p. 28.

‡ The Swediſh and Daniſh languages are both dialects of the Teutonic or German, and are both ſpoken in a finging or chaunting tone. The Swedes have a more varied and lively pronunciation.

§ This remark was made before the emancipation of the Daniſh peaſants.

Many of the peaſants derive their lineage from the ancient nobles, and ſome even from the royal line: they greatly pride themſelves on this ſuppoſed deſcent, and are careful not to give their children in marriage but to their equals in birth and blood.

A curious cuſtom prevails in Norway, called *odels right*, or right of inheritance, by which the proprietor of freeholds may re-purchaſe an eſtate, which either he or any of his anceſtors have ſold, provided he can prove the title of his family. In order to enforce this right, his anceſtors and he muſt have declared every tenth year, at the ſeſſions, that they lay claim to the eſtate, but are unable to redeem it; and whenever he or his heirs, acquire a ſufficient ſum, then the poſſeſſor muſt, on receiving the money, relinquiſh the eſtate to the *odels-man*. For this reaſon, the peaſants who are freeholders keep a ſtrict account of their pedigree. This cuſtom is attended with advantages and diſadvantages. It fixes the affections of the peaſant on his native place, and he improves with pleaſure thoſe poſſeſſions which are ſo ſtrongly ſecured to him, while it increaſes the conſequence and excites the induſtry of his family. On the contrary, the eſtate loſes its value when ſold to another perſon, becauſe, as the purchaſer poſſeſſes only a precarious tenure, he is not diſpoſed to improve the lands, as if he poſſeſſed the freehold.

The Norwegian peaſants poſſeſs much ſpirit and fire in their manner, are frank and undaunted, yet not inſolent; never fawning on their ſuperiors, yet paying a proper reſpect to thoſe above them. Their principal mode of ſalute is by offering their hand; and when we gave or paid them a trifle, inſtead of returning thanks by word or by a bow, they ſhook our hands with great frankneſs and cordiality.

The peaſants are well clothed and well lodged, and appear to poſſeſs more comforts and conveniences than any which I have ſeen in the courſe of my travels, excepting in ſome parts of Switzerland. They weave their ordinary cloth and linen, and they make alſo a kind of ſtuff like a Scotch plaid. The coats of the men are principally made of a ſtone-coloured cloth, and ornamented with red button-holes, and white metal buttons. The women, while employed in their houſehold affairs, frequently, as in Sweden, appear only in a petticoat and ſhift, with a collar reaching to the throat, and a black ſaſh tied round the waiſt. Their linen is remarkably fine, and as they are uſually well made, this mode of dreſs diſplays their figure to the higheſt advantage.

The common food of the peaſant is milk, cheeſe, dried or ſalted fiſh, and ſometimes, but rarely, fleſh or dried meat, oatbread called *fladbrod*, baked in ſmall cakes about the ſize and thickneſs of a pancake, which is uſually made twice a year. I obſerved a woman employed in preparing it: having placed over the fire a round iron plate, ſhe took a handful of dough, and rolled it out with a rolling-pin to the ſize of the plate; ſhe then placed it on the plate, and baked it on one ſide, then turned it with a ſmall ſtick. In this manner ſhe prepared a great number in leſs than a quarter of an hour, and I was informed that a woman, in a ſingle day, can bake ſufficient for the family during a whole year. In times of ſcarcity, they alſo uſe the bark of trees, generally of the fir; this bark is dried before the fire, ground to powder, mixed with oatmeal, baked, and eat like bread; it is bitteriſh, and affords but little nouriſhment. As a luxury, the peaſants eat *ſharke* or thin *ſlices* of meat, ſprinkled with ſalt, and dried in the wind, like hung beef; alſo a ſoup made like a haſty-pudding of oatmeal or barley-meal, which is rendered palatable, by adding a pickled herring or ſalted mackerel. The uſe of potatoes has been lately introduced; but thoſe roots do not grow to any ſize in a country where the ſummer is ſo ſhort.

Fabricius ſtrongly recommends, in times of ſcarcity, the moſſes and lichens, and particularly the *lichen iſlandicus*, which yields a nouriſhing ſuſtenance, and is commonly uſed for food in Iceland.

Accord-

According to a ſeries of meteorological obſervations by Mr. Wilſe, paſtor of Sydeborg, near Frederickſhall, it ſnows moſt in December and the middle of January, rains moſt in April, Auguſt, and October. The cleareſt weather is from the middle of June to the middle of July, and during the whole month of March. Winds are moſt violent in the middle and latter end of April, May, and October. The ſtilleſt ſeaſon is in January; from the tenth of June to the eleventh of July, and in the middle of Auguſt, a circumſtance very favourable to the oat harveſt, which of all corn is more liable to caſt its ripe grain in windy weather. If we compare the climate of Norway with the climate of London, March at London is like April and the beginning of May in Norway, and the March of Norway is our January. On account of the frequent ſpring froſts, ſeeds ought not to be ſown in gardens before the twentieth of May, and the froſts of the latter end of Auguſt are no leſs detrimental.

The heat and cold varies ſo much in Norway, that in June or July, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, as obſerved by Mr. Wilſe at Sydeborg, not unuſually riſes to 88, and on the firſt of January 1782, fell to—22, or 54 degrees below the freezing point. At Eger according to Profeſſor Stroem's obſervations, it fell on the ſame day to—36½; and at Kongſberg to—40, or 72 below freezing point, a degree of cold by which quickſilver is congealed. This extreme riſe and fall of the quickſilver makes a difference of 110 degrees between the greateſt heat and greateſt cold at the ſame place; a difference much more conſiderable than is obſerved at Upſala or Stockholm, which lie nearly in the ſame latitude as Sydeborg.

In ſome places vegetation is ſo quick, that corn is ſown and cut in ſix or ſeven weeks. Tillage cannot generally be flouriſhing in a country, which is in many parts ſo rocky as to defy the plough; where the climate is ſo ſevere that the hoar-froſts begin in September, and where the cold in the highlands prevents the maturity of the corn. The ſmall vallies, and the intervals between the rocks, are uſually provided with a fruitful ſoil, and the induſtry of the peaſants covers the naked rocks and ſandy grounds with a new earth; yet the arable grounds are few, and no parts of Norway yield ſufficient corn for interior conſumption, except the diſtricts of Hedemark, Toten, and Ringerike.

This deficiency is occaſioned by the nature of the climate and ſoil. In ſpring, and in the firſt ſummer months, the drought and heat are frequently ſo intolerable, and the vegetable mould ſo thin, that the roots of the corn and graſs are burned up, if a few days of ſunſhine ſucceed each other without rain. The greater part of the ſoil is alſo ſo much blended with ſand, that too much rain cannot fall in ſpring and ſummer. In autumn, on the contrary, the decreaſed warmth, and great quantity of rain, prevents the corn from ripening, and not unuſually, even in favourable ſeaſons it is almoſt ſpoiled by the violent autumnal rains. Alſo the ſmall quantity of arable land ſeldom lies fallow, but is ſowed every year, and therefore requires more manure than can be uſually procured.

All theſe circumſtances counteract the induſtry of the farmers; even in the moſt favourable ſeaſons, a conſiderable importation of corn is annually neceſſary; but in unfavourable harveſts the utmoſt dearth is experienced in the inland parts, as the tranſport of the corn from the ſea coaſts is highly expenſive.

In order to dry the corn expoſed to the heavy rains, the peaſants fix in the ground forked poles ten feet high, place rows of other poles tranſverſely, on which they file the ſheaves, the lowermoſt row hanging about two feet from the ground. They are alſo frequently obliged to bake the corn in wooden ſheds, heated by means of ſtoves.

As Norway, therefore, does not produce ſufficient corn for its own conſumption, Denmark enjoys the excluſive privilege of ſupplying with grain that part called Sudenfields, comprehending the two governments of Aggerhuus and Chriſtianſand. This monopoly frequently occaſions a ſcarcity; but though ſometimes attended with great inconveniences and occaſional diſtreſs, yet will not be aboliſhed without great difficulty, becauſe the Daniſh nobles, who are at the head of affairs, find their intereſt in its continuance.

But Norway, however deficient in arable land, is exceedingly rich in paſture, and abounds in cattle. The mode of keeping cows is ſimilar to that practiſed in the mountains of Switzerland. About the middle of May they are turned into meadows; towards the middle of June driven to the heights, or into the foreſts, where they continue till autumn. The cows are uſually tended by a woman, who inhabits a ſmall hut, milks them twice a day, and makes butter and cheeſe on the ſpot. On their return the cattle are paſtured in the meadows, until the ſnow ſets in about the middle of October, when they are removed to the ſtables, and fed during winter with four-fifths of ſtraw, and one fifth of hay. The horſes are uſually foddered with hay during winter, and are ſeldom ſent to graſs before the beginning of June. In ſome places the cattle are fed with ſalted fiſh.

Agriculture has been of late greatly meliorated, and the landed eſtates are increaſed within theſe laſt fifty years near one third in value, a circumſtance principally owing to the labours and encouragement of the patriotic ſociety, which gives premiums for the beſt improvements and inſtructions in every part of farming.

The fiſheries, particularly on the weſtern coaſt, furniſh employment and wealth to the natives, and are the means of ſupplying the beſt ſeamen for manning the Daniſh fleet in times of war. The principal fiſh, which, dried and ſalted, furniſh ſo conſiderable an article of exportation, are the cod, the ling, and the whiting: the livers, beſides, yield train oil, and the ſmalleſt fiſh are given as winter fodder to the cattle.

The herring fiſhery is not ſo profitable as formerly, as the ſhoals, which uſed to frequent the coaſts of Norway, in their progreſs from the North Pole, now keep at a great diſtance from theſe ſhores, and firſt approach the rocks of Marſtrand and Stroemſtrand, which has transferred to the Swedes the principal herring fiſhery in theſe parts, though ſtill ſufficient profit accrues to thoſe enterprizing fiſhermen who venture further from the coaſts. Salmon are taken partly in the bays, and partly in the rivers, as they aſcend the ſtream in ſpring for the purpoſe of ſpawning, and are cured by ſalting and ſmoking. Mackerel might alſo be caught in much larger quantities; but many of the Norwegians are prejudiced againſt them, from a ſtrange notion, that ſhoals of mackerel often attack and devour the human ſpecies, when bathing in the ſea.

The extenſive foreſts of Norway, which furniſh ſuch riches to the proprietors, and ſo much employment to the natives, are applied to ſeveral purpoſes. 1. For ſpars, beams, and planks, which are exported in large quantities. 2. For charcoal, required for ſmelting ores, for the glaſs furnaces, and other manufactures. The wood uſed for this purpoſe is uſually of an inferior ſort, and chiefly in the inland parts, where the tranſport of planks is too expenſive. 3. For building, the greater part of the houſes in Norway being conſtructed of wood; for although there is plenty of ſtone, yet the tranſport of the materials, and lime, are too expenſive for common uſe. 4. For the roads, which in the more northern parts, are almoſt entirely formed with wood. 5. For turpentine, for which the oldeſt trees are moſtly uſed. 6. For fencing and encloſing the fields, quickſet hedges being almoſt unknown. The wood uſed for encloſures is chiefly pine

or

or fir, and muſt be renewed every three or four years. 7. For fuel. 8. For manure, by the ſame proceſs of burning trees and manuring the ſoil with the aſhes, which is practiſed in Sweden, and is ſo deſtructive to the foreſts.

Beſides theſe general uſes, particular trees are beneficially employed for various purpoſes. The bark of the pine or fir, and alſo of the elm, which is not common in Norway, is dried, ground, and mixed with meal, and is boiled up with other food for ſwine, who thrive much upon it. The birch, which flouriſhes in theſe northern regions, is no leſs ſerviceable. It is more generally uſed for fuel than any other wood. The outer bark, or the white rind, on account of its firmneſs and ſap, eaſily eſcapes putrefaction even in the dampeſt places, and for this reaſon is employed for covering the roofs of the houſes. This mode of roofing occaſions ſuch a large conſumption of the outward bark, that the birch which are felled would not ſupply a ſufficient quantity; it is, therefore, not unuſual to ſtrip off the outward bark while the tree is ſtanding, and if peeled with care, it always grows again. The inner bark of the birch is applied like the bark of oak for tanning hides, fiſhing-nets, and ſails, which it renders more durable. This tree alſo ſupplies a kind of wine; a hole is bored in the trunk, and the liquor diſtils into a flaſk placed underneath. The tree ſuffers little damage, if the hole is immediately cloſed by a wooden peg. The twigs of the birch, as well as the elder and aſpen, are given to horſes in ſcarcity of fodder. A decoction of oak leaves in beer is uſed by the peaſants as a fomentation for the rheumatiſm.

The general exports are tallow, butter, ſalt, dried fiſh, timber and planks, horſes and horned cattle, ſilver, alum, Pruſſian blue, copper, of which the celebrated mine of Roras yields annually to the value of 67,500l.; and iron, of which the moſt productive mine is near Arendal.

Norway abounds in lakes and rivers, more than any country I ever viſited excepting Switzerland. It is remarkable for the number and beauty of the bays fringed with wood. Many of the lakes are ſo large, that they appear like inlets of the ſea, and the bays ſo ſmall, that they appear like lakes; but I am anticipating my journal.

CHAP. II.—*Fredericſhall.—Fortreſs of Fredericsſtein.—Obſervations on the Death of Charles the Twelfth.—Tiſtedal.—Fredericsſtadt.—Chriſtiana.*

SEPTEMBER 4. Norway is ſeparated from Sweden by the bay of Swineſund, which in this part forms a ſtrait between the perpendicular rocks, ſo narrow as to bear the appearance of a river, yet ſo deep as to admit ſhips of the greateſt burden. On the Swediſh ſide our paſſports were examined by a cuſtom-houſe officer; and on the oppoſite ſhore, our baggage was ſlightly inſpected by a Daniſh officer, who dwells in a comfortable houſe overhanging the edge of the water.

In a few miles we reached Fredericſhall, the frontier town of Norway, ſtanding on the extremity of the Swineſund, at the mouth of the river Tiſte. The principal commerce of the town conſiſts in the exportation of planks to England. The wood is floated down the Tiſte ſometimes above one hundred Engliſh miles, from the interior parts of the country, and ſawed here; for which purpoſe thirty-ſix ſaw-mills are erected on the banks of the river, which forms a ſeries of cataracts.

The harbour is ſafe and commodious; but the large quantity of ſaw-duſt from the different ſaw-mills choaks the river up in many parts, and occaſions an annual expence for clearing. The port poſſeſſes a few immunities; goods landed for exportation pay

no duty, unleſs opened for home conſumption, and then are charged with the uſual impoſts.

The town contains three thouſand inhabitants; the ſtreets are airy; the houſes are built of wood painted red, and a few white.

On the ſummit of an almoſt perpendicular rock, which overhangs the town, ſtands the ſtrong and hitherto impregnable fortreſs of Fredericsſtein, rendered memorable by the death of the northern lion, as Charles the Twelfth is ſometimes emphatically ſtyled. The ſpot where he was killed, which was once marked by a pillar erected by the King of Denmark, but pulled down at the requeſt of the King of Sweden, is at the extremity of the Governor's garden, at the bottom of the ſteep rock, on which ſtands the fort of Gullenlowe. It was to me particularly intereſting; for it convinced me that a ſmall ball might have reached Charles, the diſtance from the neareſt baſtion being not more than five or ſix hundred yards. Nor could I avoid remarking, that Motraye's plan of Fredericsſtein and the adjacent batteries is in many parts extremely defective; and from the beſt information that I have collected, both his and Voltaire's account of the King's death, and particularly of the wound which occaſioned it, are very inaccurate.

But in order to obtain farther and more complete information concerning the probable cauſe of the death of Charles, I called on Benk Enkelſon of Tiſtedal, a Norwegian, aged ninety-five, who was in his twenty-eighth year when he ſerved as a gunner of the Daniſh garriſon during the ſiege of Fredericsſtein. By means of a gentleman of Fredericſhall, who politely accompanied me to this old man's houſe, and condeſcended to be my interpreter, I procured the following intelligence; which I ſhall give to the reader, in queſtion and anſwer, as I obtained it.

Do you think that the King was ſhot from the ramparts, or aſſaſſinated by any of his own troops? *From the ramparts undoubtedly.*—What kind of ſhot was fired againſt the Swediſh trenches? *All ſorts, and particularly ſmall ſhot in cartouches from cannon.*—Could the King, in the place where he was, be reached by a ſmall ſhot? *Yes, very eaſily; as a ſmall ſhot could take effect at twice the diſtance.*—Were many ſoldiers killed near him? *Very many; they fell about him like ſtraw, in ſuch numbers that they were buried on the ſpot. The place was alſo ſo much expoſed to the fire from the ramparts, that the Swedes could not venture to work in the trenches by day, but only by night.*—From what fortreſs do you think Charles received his death: from Oberberg, or from the citadel? *Certainly from the batteries of the citadel, which bore upon the place, and not from Oberberg, from which it was defended by an intervening hill. I then ſerved in the fortreſs of Oberberg; and we did not that night fire a ſingle ſhot from thence* *.

From this circumſtantial evidence, given by a perſon who ſerved in the garriſon of Fredericsſtein at the time of the ſiege, and who had no prejudices or intereſt to bias or miſlead him, joined to my own obſervations on the ſpot, I am convinced that Charles might have been eaſily reached by a ſmall ball from the ramparts of the citadel; and that the confident aſſertions of thoſe perſons who pretend that he could not be touched by a muſket-ball, are totally groundleſs.

The queſtion, therefore, in regard to the death of Charles, is now reduced to a ſhort compaſs; and all the vague anecdotes and uncertain conjectures, which, without any foundation, attribute his death to aſſaſſination, can weigh nothing againſt poſitive fact †.

* This ſhews the falſity of Motraye's account, which ſays, that the King was ſhot from the fortreſs of Oberburgh.

† See Book vii. Chap. 3.

Enkelſon

Enkelſon deſcribed Charles as tall and thin; his hair ſhort, thick, and curling, with an animated countenance. He ſhewed us a wooden chair, in which Charles was ſitting when he was ſhot. The old man recollected to have ſeen the King three times, once in particular in Fredericſhall. Sitting at the window of a houſe inhabited by one of the magiſtrates, he obſerved Charles in the oppoſite houſe. While the batteries from the citadel were firing heavily at the enemy's trenches, a young woman, who was looking at the King from one of the windows of the magiſtrate's houſe, chanced to drop a ring into the ſtreet. Charles taking notice of her, ſaid, "Madam, do the guns of this place always make ſuch an uproar?" "Never," returned the girl, "but when we are honoured with ſuch illuſtrious viſitors as Your Majeſty." The King was much pleaſed with the anſwer, and ordered one of his ſoldiers to take up the ring and return it.

The village of Tiſtedal is ſituated three miles from Fredericſhall, on a beautiful cataract of the Tiſte, which precipitates itſelf in continued but irregular falls, and turns ſeveral ſaw-mills that form picturesque objects, as they impend over the torrent. Above the village is a villa called Vake, from which we commanded a delightful proſpect. Towards the inland parts, a ſmall lake beautifully fringed with paſture and wood; below, the Tiſte forming a ſeries of cataracts, then winding through a ſmall valley and between two ridges of rocks, ſhaded with pines and underwood; the bay of the ſea ſprinkled with rocky iſlands; the town of Fredericſhall and its caſtle towering on the ſummit of a perpendicular rock cloſing the view.

Fredericsſtadt, diſtant from Fredericſhall four Norwegian, or nearly twenty-ſix Engliſh miles, ſtands on the river Glomme, is the moſt regular fortreſs in this part of Norway, and contains an arſenal amply ſupplied with arms for the militia, in caſe of a rupture with Sweden. It was built in 1567, by Frederic the Second, ſtrengthened by Frederic the Third, and ſince gradually enlarged and fortified according to the modern ſyſtem. The ramparts incloſe a circumference of three quarters of a mile, and the population of the town, including the two ſuburbs, amounts to no more than eight hundred ſouls. A few years ago, the town was conſumed by fire, and the houſes are moſtly new. Cloſe to Fredericsſtadt is the new fortreſs of Kongſteen, on a rocky eminence, capable of containing a garriſon of three hundred men; ſeveral convicts are here condemned to hard labour. The greateſt offenders have an iron cap, chains round their arms, legs, and bodies; the chains round their arms are rivetted to a wheel-barrow, which is never looſened. The inhabitants export planks, and a few ſmall maſts. The principal commerce is carried on by Meſſrs. Ankers and Holt, of Chriſtiana.

The Glomme is the largeſt river in this part of Norway, but not navigable in any part of its courſe from the lake Mioſs to Fredericsſtadt, the ſtream being interrupted by ſuch frequent cataracts and ſhoals, as in ſome places render it neceſſary to drag the trees, which are floated down, over the ground. At leaſt fifty thouſand trees are annually floated to Fredericsſtadt.

September 6. We ferried over the Glomme at the gates of the town, and continued our journey, anxious to reach Chriſtiana. The country is in general extremely fertile and agreeable, riſes in gentle hills, and though rocky in many parts, is covered with a rich ſoil, producing abundance of corn, and clothed with foreſts of firs and pines, intermixed with oak, beech, poplar, and mountain aſh. The face of the country is prettily ſprinkled with numerous lakes and rivulets, and thickly dotted with cottages, rudely though not unpleaſantly ſituated on rocky eminences in the midſt of the foreſt. Theſe cottages are moſtly covered with red tiles, and appeared larger and more commodious than thoſe we had juſt quitted in Sweden. They were ſo ſcattered over the hills, that

we ſeldom obſerved a cluſter of more than four or five; the churches ſtanding almoſt ſingly, their ſpires riſing above the ſurrounding trees, were pictureſque objects.

We ſtopped a ſhort time at Moſs, to examine the iron-works belonging to Mr. Bernard Anker, of Chriſtiana. The ſituation of Moſs is exceedingly romantic; it is divided by a lively torrent, daſhing over a craggy bed, and ſtands on the ſhore of a beautiful bay, the riſing banks adorned with fine hanging woods, a few villas, and numerous farm-houſes. The iron-works, which principally ſupport the place, were eſtabliſhed in 1705; for ſome time the proprietors only manufactured bar iron, grates, ſtoves, and iron utenſils; but lately they have caſt cannon, which are moſtly exported to Copenhagen. The works employ about one hundred and fifty men.

We paſſed the night at Skydjord, a ſmall village in a moſt delightful ſituation, where we found an inn with comfortable accommodations, and two very neat bed-chambers. As we approached Chriſtiana, the country was more wild and hilly, but ſtill fertile and agreeable; and at the diſtance of two miles from the town, we enjoyed, from the top of a mountain, as fine a view as I ever beheld. The grounds, laid out in rich incloſures, gradually ſloped to the ſea; below appeared Chriſtiana, ſituated at the extremity of an extenſive and fertile valley, forming a ſemicircular bend along the ſhore of a beautiful bay, which being incloſed by hills, uplands, and foreſts, had the appearance of a large lake. Behind, before, and around, the inland mountains of Norway roſe on hills covered with dark foreſts of pines and fir, the inexhauſtible riches of the north; the moſt diſtant ſummits were capped with eternal ſnow. From the glow of the atmoſphere, the warmth of the weather, the variety of the productions, and the mild beauties of the adjacent ſcenery, I could ſcarcely believe that I was nearly in the 60th degree of northern latitude. We at length forced ourſelves from this enchanting ſpot, enjoying, as we gradually deſcended, the ſcenes before us, and at mid-day reached Chriſtiana.

Chriſtiana is thirty Engliſh miles from the open ſea; the navigation of the bay is ſomewhat difficult, but it is ſufficiently deep for the largeſt veſſels, having ſix or ſeven fathom water cloſe to the quay.

Chriſtiana is eſteemed the capital of Norway, becauſe it contains the ſupreme court of juſtice. It lies in latitude 59° 6′ 37″, and ſtands in a ſemicircular form on the northern extremity of the bay of Biorning, an inlet of the ſea, forming the northern extremity of the gulf of Chriſtiana, whoſe rocky ſhores are overſpread with thick foreſts. The town is divided into, 1. the city, and the three ſuburbs of Waterlandt, Peterwigen, and Fierdingen; 2. the fortreſs of Aggerhuus; and 3. the old town of Opſloe or Anſloe. The city contains four hundred and eighteen houſes, the ſuburbs ſix hundred and eighty-two, Opſloe four hundred, including the epiſcopal palace *; and the number of inhabitants amount to about nine thouſand. The city formerly occupied the ſite of Opſloe, and was rebuilt in its preſent ſituation by Chriſtian the Fourth, after a plan deſigned by himſelf; the ſtreets are carried in ſtraight lines, and at right angles to each other, are uniformly forty feet broad, and very neat and clean.

The Latin ſchool, endowed in 1635 by Chriſtian the Fourth, is governed by a rector or upper maſter, a corrector or under maſter, and three aſſiſtants; but contained, in 1784, only thirty-ſeven ſcholars. They are divided into ſix claſſes, and inſtructed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. A collection of ſix thouſand volumes, lately left to the town by Mr. Deichman, a native, will ſerve to form the beginning of a public library.

* The biſhop of Chriſtiana is Metropolitan of Norway.

The

The caſtle of Aggerhuus, built on a rocky eminence on the weſt ſide of the bay, at a ſmall diſtance from the city, is a very ancient fortreſs, and was beſieged, in 1310, by the Swedes, according to an inſcription over the door of a brick tower. It was ſtrengthened in 1633 by Chriſtian the Fourth; and ſeveral other dates and inſcriptions ſhewed, that additional fortifications had been made by the ſucceeding Kings of Denmark. This fortreſs is ſmall but ſtrong; in peace the garriſon conſiſts of five hundred troops, but in war is augmented to one thouſand. Aggerhuus ſuſtained a ſiege in 1717 from Charles the Twelfth in perſon, who occupied the city and ſuburbs, but was compelled, for want of proviſion, to retire. The walls of many houſes in Chriſtiana ſtill bear marks of the balls ſhot from the batteries againſt Charles, as he rode daily through the ſtreets, with his uſual raſhneſs, to reconnoitre the ſtate of the fortreſs.

The governor of Aggerhuus is the chief governor of Norway. He preſides in the high court of juſtice, called *Overhoflet*, which judges, in the laſt reſort, civil cauſes below a certain value. In all cauſes ſurpaſſing that value, an appeal lies to the ſupreme court at Copenhagen.

Chriſtiana has an excellent harbour, and carries on a conſiderable trade. The principal exports are tar, ſoap, iron, copper, planks, and deals; allum manufactured at Mr. Cooper's works for about 3000l.; iron from the four works of Borum, Edſwold, Narkedahl, and Ondahlen, 14,000l.; copper from Foldahl, 10,000l.; planks and deals, 90,000l., principally to England.

The planks and deals are of ſuperior eſtimation to thoſe ſent from America, Ruſſia, and from the different parts of the Baltic, becauſe the trees grow on the rocks, and are therefore firmer, more compact, and leſs liable to rot than the others, which chiefly ſhoot from a ſandy or loamy ſoil. The planks are either red or white fir or pine. The red wood is produced from the Scotch fir, and the white wood, which is in ſuch high eſtimation, from the ſpruce fir. This wood is the moſt demanded, becauſe no country produces it in ſuch quantities as this part of Norway. Each tree yields three pieces of timber, eleven or twelve feet in length, and is uſually ſawed into three planks; a tree generally requires ſeventy or eighty years growth before it arrives at the greateſt perfection.

The environs of Chriſtiana not yielding ſufficient planks for exportation, the greater part of the timber is hewn in the inland country, and floated down the rivers and cataracts. Saw-mills are uſed for the purpoſe of cutting the planks, but muſt be privileged, and can only cut a certain quantity. The proprietors are bound to declare on oath, that they have not exceed that quantity; and if they do, the privilege is taken away, and the ſaw-mill deſtroyed. There are one hundred and thirty-ſix privileged ſaw-mills at Chriſtiana, of which one hundred belong to the family of Anker. The quantity of planks permitted to be cut, amounts to twenty million ſtandard deals, twelve feet long, and one inch and a quarter thick.

During our ſtay at Chriſtiana we received great civilities from the Ankers, the richeſt and moſt commercial family in Norway. Mr. Bernard Anker, who is a fellow of the Royal Society, ſpeaks Engliſh nearly as well as a native, poſſeſſes an excellent houſe in Chriſtiana, elegantly furniſhed in the Engliſh taſte, and ornamented with a good collection of pictures, which he purchaſed in Italy. He lives in a ſtyle of magnificence, and receives all travellers with unbounded hoſpitality. He has an excellent library, a good apparatus of natural philoſophy from England, and a curious collection of the minerals and marbles of Norway.

We accompanied Mr. Anker to Vickery, a neat villa belonging to his family, four miles from Chriſtiana, which ſtands pleaſantly on the bay, and commands many pictureſque

tureſque views. The planks are ſhipped cloſe to the houſe. From thence Mr. Peter Anker drove in a low phaeton, drawn by two active Norwegian ponies, to Bockſtadt, a country-houſe which he has juſt built on the banks of a ſmall but beautiful lake, four miles from Vickery, in the midſt of an endleſs foreſt, and ſurrounded by mountains. He ſhewed us his grounds, which are laid out pleaſantly, and carried us into his kitchen-garden, which produces all kinds of vegetables, excellent cherries, pears, apples, apricots, currants, gooſeberries, and in a favourable ſeaſon tolerable peaches. He pointed out a ſmall plantation of the principal trees which are indigenous in Norway. I remarked the plane, aſpin, aſh, mountain aſh, oak, elm, beech, birch alder, willows, and various ſpecies of pines and firs, which form the riches of theſe parts.

Mr. Peter Anker has lately introduced various ſpecies of Engliſh huſtandry; particularly he has ſown crops of clover, which ſucceed well, and has lately cultivated turnips.

CHAP. III.—*Silver Mines of Kongſberg.* — *Cobalt Works of Foſſum.* — *Journey into the interior Parts of Norway.*

SEPTEMBER 10. We quitted Chriſtiana with much regret, after having expreſſed our acknowledgment to Mr. Bernard Anker for his extreme politeneſs and hoſpitality. He alſo increaſed our obligations by ſketching out a tour through the inland parts of Norway, and by giving us a circular letter, which we found a paſſport of introduction, and a means of procuring accommodations and information.

A little beyond Giellebeck, the ſecond poſt-houſe from Chriſtiana, we paſſed, near the high road, a quarry of whitiſh grey marble, which was opened to ſupply the ſtones for the new church at Copenhagen, but is no longer worked. In the middle of the quarry ſtands a marble column, erected in honour of the late King Frederic the Fifth, who viſited this ſpot. The houſes, and even cottages, in the neighbouring villages, are ornamented with ſtaircaſes of this beautiful marble.

From this quarry we aſcended through foreſts of pines and firs to the ſummit called Paradiſberg, or the Mountain of Paradiſe, ſo denominated from the fine proſpect, but which, in my opinion, was inferior to that we enjoyed from the eminence overhanging Chriſtiana. The general features of this proſpect are views of diſtant mountains riſing above mountains; rich and extenſive foreſts, and below a fertile valley watered by the Dramme, with the three towns of Brægnetz, Stromſoe, and Tanger, ſtanding at ſmall diſtances from each other at the bottom of ſome rugged rocks, and on the margin of a bay.

Theſe three towns are known by the general name of Dramme, becauſe they are ſituated on that river. Each has its own church and ſeparate juriſdiction. The inhabitants are induſtrious, and carry on a conſiderable trade. The principal exports are timber and planks; the imports, chiefly corn, and lead from England for ſmelting the ſilver ore at Kongſberg.

We changed horſes at Brægnetz, which lies on the ſide of the river oppoſite to Stromſoe and Tanger, and continued our route, coaſting the Dramme, through a delightful valley, extremely rich in corn and paſture, ſo thickly peopled, that every fifty yards we obſerved a cottage, and for ſeveral miles together ſeemed to paſs through a continued village. The ſloping declivities which bound this vale are ſo thickly covered with trees, that at ſome diſtance they appeared as if clad with herbage. The inhabitants of this pleaſant diſtrict chiefly derive their ſuſtenance from the tranſport of corn and merchandize to Kongſberg, and in carrying back the ſilver coined at the mint of

that place. Having ferried over the Dramme at Hogs-ſund, we quitted this ſmiling valley, and paſſing among hills and rocks, and over ſtony roads, did not, till the duſk of the evening, reach Kongſberg, celebrated for its ſilver mines, the produce of which has been conſiderably exaggerated by moſt of the travellers who have publiſhed on this ſubject.

Kongſberg ſtretches on both ſides the river Lowe, which, in its courſe through the town, falls in a ſeries of ſmall but pictureſque cataracts over the bare rocks. The crags which border the town are in ſome parts naked, in others clothed with wood, and intermixed occaſionally with ſlips of corn and paſture; but although there are a few agreeable and fertile ſpots, yet the prominent features of the circumjacent ſcenery are ruggedneſs and horror. Kongſberg contains about one thouſand houſes, including the miners, and ſix thouſand inhabitants. We were accompanied to the mines, which lie two miles from the town, by a merchant who ſpoke Engliſh, and obligingly ſerved as our interpreter.

Theſe mines were diſcovered and opened during the reign of Chriſtian IV. Six-and-thirty mines are now working; the deepeſt, called Segen-Gottes in der North, is ſix hundred and fifty-two feet perpendicular. The matrix of the ore is the *ſaxum* of Linnæus; the ſilver is extracted according to the uſual proceſs, either by ſmelting the ore with lead, or by pounding. Pure ſilver is occaſionally found in ſmall grains and in ſmall pieces of different ſizes, ſeldom weighing more than four or five pounds. Sometimes, indeed, but extremely rare, maſſes of a conſiderable bulk have been diſcovered, and one in particular which weighed 409 marks, and was worth 3000 rix-dollars (600l.); this piece is ſtill preſerved in the cabinet of curioſities at Copenhagen.

Formerly theſe mines produced annually 70,000l.; and in 1769, even 79,000l.; at preſent they yield only from 50,000l. to 54,000l. Above 4,000 men were neceſſary for working the mines, ſmelting and preparing the ore; but a few years ago, two thouſand four hundred miners were removed to the cobalt works lately eſtabliſhed at Foſſum, and to other mines, which has reduced the number to two thouſand five hundred. By theſe and other reductions, the expence, before eſtimated at 5,760l. per month, amounts to only 4,400l. or about 52,800l. per annum. Yet even with this diminution the expences generally equal, and ſometimes exceed the profits.

Government, therefore, draws no other advantage from theſe mines, than by giving employment to many perſons, who would be otherwiſe incapable of gaining their livelihood, and by receiving a certain quantity of ſpecie, which is much wanted in the exhauſted ſtate of the Daniſh finances. For ſuch is the deficiency of ſpecie, that even at Kongſberg itſelf, change for a bank note is with difficulty obtained; the miners are paid in ſmall notes, and the whole expences defrayed in paper currency. The value of 13,000 rix-dollars, or 2,600 in block-ſilver, is annually ſent to Copenhagen; the remainder of the ore is coined here, and transferred to Copenhagen. The largeſt piece of money now ſtruck at Kongſberg is only eight ſkillings, or four-pence.

September 11. Having ſatisfied our curioſity, we departed from Kongſberg in the afternoon, and directed our courſe to the cobalt works at Foſſum. We returned to Hogs-ſund; but inſtead of ferrying over the Dramme, coaſted the river for a little way, then turned into ſo rugged a road with ſuch deep ruts, that we narrowly eſcaped being overturned, and did not arrive at the place of our deſtination till paſt midnight. We previouſly ſent forward a peaſant to order beds, expecting to find an inn, or at leaſt a cottage, wherein we might paſs the night. To our extreme diſappointment, however, we learned that Foſſum contained only two or three villages, conſiſting of ſcattered cottages, and that the place we ſtopped at contained only the houſe of the inſpector of the

cobalt

cobalt works. As it was extremely dark and cold, and at ſome diſtance from any houſe where we could be accommodated, and more particularly as the roads we juſt paſſed had proved ſo dangerous, we ventured to knock at the inſpector's door, and requeſt admittance for two Engliſh travellers who were benighted. The family being in bed, we were for a ſhort time in anxious expectation for the anſwer; and no knight-errant was ever more agreeably ſheltered from darkneſs, wind, and weather, than we were, on being admitted over the hoſpitable threſhold.

The next morning a good breakfaſt being ſpread for us, and compliments delivered from our hoſt and hoſteſs, with an invitation to paſs the day with them, announced their attention and civility. We now found that the name of this particular houſe was Foſſum, and a collection of ſmall adjacent cottages was denominated Modum.

The gentleman, who kindly received us at ſo undue an hour, and without previous acquaintance, was Mr. Bornſtein, a native of Germany, lately appointed inſpector of the cobalt works. Having paid our reſpects to our hoſt and his amiable wife, whoſe politeneſs we ſhall ever recollect with gratitude, we ſtrolled about the grounds, and admired the ſituation of the houſe, placed near the rivulet Simora, in the midſt of a delightful valley, fertile in paſture and corn, hemp and flax, and bordered by high rocks richly clothed with wood.

The inſpector himſelf politely accompanied us to the works: we had an opportunity of obſerving the whole proceſs, from the firſt calcination of the ore to its final reduction into the powder-blue, and were ſurpriſed to find that it paſſed through two hundred and ſeventy hands.

The mine was diſcovered about eight years ago on the ſummit of a rocky mountain, near Skutered, a ſmall village a few miles from Foſſum, where the works are eſtabliſhed on account of the numerous water-falls which are neceſſary for turning the mills. A mile from the mine has been lately found a vein of the moſt beautiful quartz; a fortunate diſcovery, as quartz is neceſſary to mix with the cobalt-ore, in order to obtain the powder-blue. The ore being calcined, reduced to powder, and refined, yields the blue powder ſo much uſed.

The fabric employs thirty-ſix men, and the mines three hundred and twenty. In 1783, fourteen hundred or fifteen hundred weight was obtained, which ſold, according to its fineneſs, from 2l. 10s. to 12l. the hundred weight, and yielded 10,000l. The expences in that year amounted to 12,000l. becauſe the numerous buildings and machines neceſſary for carrying on the works were ſtill conſtructing. When theſe are finiſhed, the expences will not exceed 4000l. and the inſpector aſſured me, that he ſhould then be able to make double the quantity that he can at preſent. Therefore the clear gain to the crown will ſcarcely fall ſhort of 16,000l. per annum. The diſcovery of this mine is a great acquiſition to Denmark, as beſides giving employment to many hands, it prevents the importation of powder-blue.

Six miles from Foſſum, we ſtopped at the ſmall village of Skutered, and aſcended the mountain, on the ſummit of which are the mines of cobalt. There are two mines, called the north and ſouth, each with four pits or openings; the deepeſt is no more than fourteen fathom, becauſe the ore is ſtill in great plenty near the ſurface. It is found in veins, and blown up with gunpowder. In our way we paſſed the fine mine of quartz, which ſupplies the cobalt works, ſo neceſſary, becauſe twelve parts of quartz are mixed with one of cobalt, to produce the Pruſſian blue. The quartz is as white as alabaſter, and contains large veins of marien glaſs, or Ruſſian talc, which in ſome countries is uſed for windows.

The proſpect from the ſummit commands a hilly country, and a diſtant plain covered in many parts with rich foreſts, watered by ſeveral ſtreams, and by a large lake, which divides into three great branches, Tyrifiord, Holefiord, and Helesfiord; the banks are beautifully covered with fields of corn and paſture, and chequered with wood. Being prevented from enjoying this delightful view by the duſk of the evening, we deſcended into the plain, croſſed the Snarum upon two rafts, made of whole trees laſhed together, and came to Oulberg, where we found comfortable accommodations in a peaſant's cottage.

The next morning we continued our journey through a moſt agreeably diverſified country, ſometimes through extenſive foreſts of pine and fir, interſperſed with other trees, ſometimes croſſing the fields along a more open and fertile diſtrict, till we reached Skerendal, a ſmall village in the valley of Skeere, ſo called from a rivulet which falls into the lake Tyri.

The peaſant, who ſerved as poſtillion, conducted us to a clean and comfortable houſe, cloſe to a ſaw-mill, and the maid inſtantly ſet before us ſome coffee, cream, bread, and butter. Having taken refreſhment, we demanded what we had to pay? "Nothing," replied the ſervant; and on expreſſing ſurpriſe, as we took the houſe for an inn, ſhe added, her maſter was owner of the ſaw-mill; he was then abſent, or would have been proud to receive us; he left conſtant orders to admit travellers, and furniſh them with every thing they demanded, without accepting the leaſt gratuity; and if we would ſtay and dine there, it would be adding to the obligation we had already conferred by accepting their ſcanty fare.

After expreſſing our acknowledgments for this inſtance of diſintereſted hoſpitality, we embarked in a ſmall boat, and rowed acroſs the lake Tyri, which made the principal feature in the proſpects we lately enjoyed. This beautiful piece of water is twenty-five miles in circumference, including bays and creeks; the ſhores are gentle eminences richly variegated with fertile meadows, corn-fields and hanging-foreſts, and backed by lofty mountains towering above each other. Having rowed acroſs the lake, we landed near Hole, a ſmall village in the diſtrict of Ringerike, deſervedly eſteemed the moſt fertile part of Norway.

From Hole, we continued our journey through a rich plain, the narrow roads winding between corn-fields and incloſures of paſture, and changed horſes at Steen, near the picturesque ruins of a church ſeated on a gentle eminence. Steen contains a few remains of ramparts, which prove it to have been a place of ſome importance. At a little diſtance we noticed a mound of earth or barrow, called by the natives the tomb of Halden the Black, King of Norway, and a little further paſſed the church of Norderhug, famous for a battle between the Swedes and Norwegians. We ſoon quitted the rich plain, and penetrating into a hilly country, found the roads ſo exceedingly ſtony and ſteep as to require the utmoſt caution; particularly as the horſes in theſe parts are exceedingly active and lively.

At Setran we again changed horſes, and while they were getting ready, made our repaſt in a peaſant's cottage, containing a room with two beds, which for cleanneſs and neatneſs would have done credit to a gentleman's houſe. In the room I obſerved a print of the unfortunate Struenſee in priſon, tormented by the devil: theſe prints were circulated and eagerly purchaſed by the common people at the time of his fall.

From Setran we paſſed through a valley, enriched by a fine waterfall, detached farms, churches, clumps of trees, diſperſed among the corn-fields and meadows; a river gliding along, and heightening by its tranſparency and murmurs the charms of this delightful landſcape. As we were admiring the beauties of this ever-changing ſcenery evening

came on, and I was ſuddenly ſtruck with a phænomenon, which never occurred to me except in Switzerland, and which I at firſt miſtook for a meteor. It was a gleam of the ſetting ſun, illuminating the ſnow-capped ſummits of the diſtant mountains, and appearing like a flame of fire ſkirting the diſtant horizon. The air was clear, the ſtars ſhone uncommonly bright, and ſeemed nearer to the eye than I had ever obſerved them before, except on the Swiſs alps.

We took up our abode during the night at Van, a village ſeated on an eminence, and overlooking the Rands-Sion, a lake near fifty miles long, and ſcarcely more than two miles broad, emboſomed in the mountains; the ſloping banks fringed with wood, and chequered with ſcattered cottages. The next morning we ferried over the lake, and coaſted it about ſix miles, the road aſcending and deſcending the precipices which overhang the water. We afterwards rowed over ſeveral ſmaller lakes, which ſupply ſtreams that fall into the Rands-Sion. I obſerved much peaſe and ſome corn ſtill ſtanding, which the peaſants were cutting, and ſeveral ſmall patches of hops; goats were browſing on the ſides of the rocks, and flocks of ſheep paſturing in the vallies, among which many were black.

In theſe parts the price of a milch cow is from ſeven to nine rix-dollars, (1l. 8s. to 1l. 16s.) and in winter, when fodder is ſcarce and dear, one may be purchaſed for 16s. We met during this day's journey numerous bullocks and horſes driving for ſale to Chriſtiana. The bullocks ſell from 2l. to 2l. 8s. per head; and the horſes, which are from thirteen to fourteen hands high, and remarkably active and lively, from 4l. to 8l. a-piece.

We next reached Gran or Granewolden, ſtanding on an eminence in the midſt of an extenſive plain, looking down on ſeveral conical rocks, covered with firs, and remarkable for two churches in the ſame church-yard, called the Two Siſters. Theſe buildings ſeem of the ſame date, and at a ſmall diſtance nearly reſemble each other; one is built of ſtone, the other white-waſhed. In one, dedicated to the Virgin, divine ſervice is performed only in Lent; in the other, ſacred to St. Nicholas, during the remainder of the year. I could not learn by whom, or at what period, theſe twin churches were conſtructed.

The ſtony roads having ſhattered the wheels of my cart, we ſtopped to repair it at Dahlin, near the northern extremity of the Rands-Sion, backed by a well cultivated and well-inhabited mountain. This part of Norway is greatly infeſted with bears and wolves. The bears do much harm, not only killing cattle, but deſtroying corn: the inſtances are very rare, which induce them to attack the human ſpecies. The ſhepherds are uſually followed by large dogs of the Newfoundland ſpecies, armed with collars of iron ſpikes, to preſerve them againſt the wolves, who frequently attack them, and endeavour to ſeize them by the neck. The bears uſually fly from them.

The roads of Norway had hitherto appeared to us, long uſed to the Swediſh roads, exceedingly rugged, and ſcarcely paſſable with carriages, and both my companion and I had been occaſionally overturned; but that we now paſſed over mount Kiolway was ſo execrable, that the others were in compariſon ſuper-excellent. I much queſtion indeed if any cart had ever paſſed before we ventured to traverſe it. We aſcended four Engliſh miles, and then deſcended about the ſame diſtance, and were obliged to diſmount and ſupport our carriages, in order to prevent them from overſetting, which, notwithſtanding all our precautions, occaſionally happened. During the firſt part of the way we paſſed a few cottages; but further on all was wild and deſolate, rocks clothed with pines and firs, a dreary but ſublime ſcenery, commanding from the ſummit a moſt extenſive proſpect; to the ſouth of the delightful country we had traverſed in our way to Dahlin,

the Rands-Sion appearing like a broad river winding among the gloomy rocks; to the north, hills piled upon hills, and mountains towering above mountains; the ſnowy Alps of Norway cloſing the majeſtic view.

At the bottom of the deſcent we croſſed a lively rivulet called Ana, came to a lake of the ſame name, and took up our lodgings at the village of Titerud, moſt delightfully ſituated on the banks of a ſmall but beautiful lake, forming the calmeſt and loveliеſt retreat I ever beheld. In this ſequeſtered ſpot, we found, beſides the rooms appropriated to the family, two neat bed-chambers for ourſelves, met with excellent tea and ſugar, butter and cream, and ſupped on a fine trout, weighing ſix pounds, with which fiſh the lake abounds.

September 14. At Titerud, we quitted the mountains, and traverſed a gently waving country, as fertile and pleaſing as the diſtrict of Ringerike, well cultivated and well peopled, the roads winding through the fields like garden walks; we changed horſes at Quickſtand and Lund, and paſſing through a lawn planted by the hand of nature, which had the appearance of a park, reached the banks of the lake Mioſs.

This lake extends from north to ſouth, is eighty Engliſh miles in circumference; and is in general from twelve to eighteen in breadth. It is divided by a large peninſula, and contains one iſland ten miles in circumference, fertile in corn, paſture, and wood, and ſprinkled with ſeveral farm-houſes.

The lake on the ſide where we embarked is bounded by bleak hills, embrowned with thick groves of pine and fir, whoſe gloomy aſpect reminded me, that we were in the 62d degree of northern latitude, and continued on the oppoſite ſide with banks gently riſing from the margin of the water, enriched with fields of corn and paſture, and reſembling the fertile diſtricts of a more ſouthern climate, the whole exhibiting a rugged perſpective, and pictureſque wildneſs on one ſide, and on the other the cultivated beauties of a milder atmoſphere.

We rowed between the iſland and the peninſula, on the extremity of which ſtands Naſs, a ſmall but neat village, and in two hours landed at Hammer, now a gentleman's ſeat, formerly a large town containing near two thouſand inhabitants. The ſite of this once flouriſhing place can now be only traced by ſome parts of the old walls, heaps of rubbiſh, and the pictureſque remains of a large cathedral, conſiſting of four Gothic arches, which ſtand on an eminence overlooking the lake.

Having ſatisfied our curioſity, we reimbarked, rowed about five miles to a ſmall village, landed, and walked to Giellum. Here we procured horſes, and continued our journey through a leſs peopled diſtrict thickly ſtrewn with foreſts, and ferried over the Glomme, about as broad as the Thames at Henley. This river receives the Worme, which iſſues from the lake Mioſs. We had frequent views of the Glomme, which preſented a broad ſurface, ſometimes watering pleaſant vallies, ſometimes interrupted by ſand-banks, over which it frequently ſhifts its courſe, ſometimes winding between rocky cliffs, and precipitating itſelf in frequent cataracts.

Being now in the ſixty-ſecond degree of northern latitude, and in a mountainous country, we had already experienced the approach of winter. On the 14th of September it ſnowed; on the fifteenth was a ſevere hoar-froſt, and the ſurface of ſeveral ponds and ſtagnant waters were frozen to the thickneſs of half-a-crown. It was, however, clear and ſunny, like a fine day in November; but this morning, September 17, it is as cold and ſevere as the beginning of January in England. The pines and firs are ſo thickly covered with hoar-froſt as to bear the appearance of being ſprinkled with ſnow; and the foreſt-trees have changed their leaves in the ſpace of one night.

This morning having again ferried over the Glomme, here as deep and about as broad as the Thames at Putney, we reached Kongſwinger, a ſtrong fortreſs on the frontiers of Norway, ſituated on a ſteep rock, and deemed impregnable. Charles the Twelfth reconnoitred it, but found the poſition ſo ſtrong, that even he thought it prudent to decline the attack. It was built at different intervals; the moſt ancient part was probably conſtructed above four hundred years ago, and the fortreſs has been gradually enlarged, particularly by Chriſtian the Fifth and Frederic the Fourth. Some recent fortifications render it a regular fortreſs with eight baſtions. In time of war it requires a garriſon of one thouſand men; the preſent compliment conſiſts only of one hundred and twenty. Some eminences on the other ſide of the river command the fortreſs, and would be the only means by which the works could be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs; but, according to the opinion of the officer who accompanied us, theſe heights are ſo extremely ſteep and rugged, that it would be almoſt impracticable to draw to their ſummits large pieces of artillery of a ſize ſufficient to batter the walls.

From the windows of the fortreſs, we commanded a fine view of the Glomme, winding at the foot of a ridge of hills, clothed with trees, and chequered with fields of corn and paſture; the ſmall lake Wingen forming a beautiful feature in the variegated landſcape.

TRAVELS IN SWEDEN.

By M. FORTIA *.

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

THE kingdom of Sweden, a deſcription of which is given in this volume, is, on many accounts, a country of great intereſt: it preſents indeed few beauties to the curious eye of a lover of the arts; nature there diſpenſes her bounty with a niggard hand, and the ſouthern provinces alone ſupport their inhabitants without a ſupply from abroad.

But what places Sweden on a level with the great ſtates of Europe is its laws, its government, and the energy of its inhabitants. The loyalty of the peaſantry of Sweden ranks them much above other people. Unfortunately this valuable recommendation is daily on the decline: general corruption has overſpread the great towns, and contagion is but too viſible in thoſe parts of the kingdom moſt frequented by ſtrangers. The inhabitants of the northern provinces, with thoſe of the mountains in the other provinces, alone preſerve, in all its purity, the character of their forefathers. Notwithſtanding the degeneracy, however, which has in ſome inſtances taken place, the Swediſh peaſant, even as he is, is ſtill the moſt eſtimable of any in Europe; at leaſt of thoſe with which we are acquainted.

This volume was (for the moſt part) printed in 1793; circumſtances, which the reader will without difficulty divine by reference to that epoch, obliged us to diſcontinue the work, and wait a more favourable inſtant for its continuation. To the ſame cauſe is to be attributed the great number of typographical errors that occur: luckily, to our ſatisfaction, they are all of them eaſy to be corrected by the reader.

We ſhall obſerve that the different pieces with which we have been favoured, that is to ſay, the diſſertation on the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck; the letters of the King's murderers, and all that regards their trial; the relation of the death of Charles XII. &c. are inſerted exactly as we received them, not allowing ourſelves the liberty of making even ſuch correction as certain paſſages appeared to require.

Modern Works on Sweden.

Memoires ſur la Suede, by Cantzler. 2 vols. A work of merit; the fruit of the moſt laborious reſearch. The tables are of the greateſt ſervice: they are getting old, but the path is laid down; and, in our opinion, a Swede who ſhould continue the work on the ſame plan, might with little difficulty do material ſervice to his country.

An hiſtorical Abridgement of the preſent State of Sweden. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1748. It treats of the interval between 1680 and 1743; very conciſe, not always correct, and of but ſmall eſteem.

* Tranſlated from the French of *Voyage de deux Français en Allemagne, Danemarck, Suède, Ruſſie, et Pologne; Fait en* 1790—1792. Paris, 1796. 5 vols. 8vo.

Tableau de la Suede, by Catteau. 2 vols. This is a rapid ſketch, very well written.

Abregè de l'hiſtoire de Suede, par Lagerbring. 1 vol. We know not why an abridgement was given in the tranſlation, rather than the work at large: the latter might have been uſeful, whereas by the manner in which the ſucceſſion of events is contracted in the abridgement, it is good for nothing.

Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden, 1789. 1 vol. This work treats of ſuch individuals alone as were then in exiſtence. The reſemblances are good and the relations juſt; the work however is leſs pleaſing than one would expect, ariſing poſſibly from its ſpeaking well of all.

Travels in Sweden by a Dutch Officer (M. Dreven). 1 vol. in 8vo. 1789. This work is full of errors and inaccuracies: from a number of paſſages one is induced to imagine that the author wrote from memory; for what he deſcribes exiſts, yet frequently far from the ſpot he mentions; and ſometimes he has ſeen things ſeen by no one elſe.

In our firſt volume we ſpoke of works treating of the ſtates of the North. Our readers will perceive that we have left a number of articles as they were compoſed in 1791, before the death of *Guſtavus III.* of glorious memory.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

Throughout the work the meaſures, weights, and money, are Swediſh, except where otherwiſe deſcribed; with the value of theſe the reader may make himſelf acquainted by reference to Chapter XIX. in which it is given, in Engliſh meaſures, weight, and money, as well as in French.

TRAVELS OF TWO FRENCHMEN IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.—*Entrance into Sweden.—Neceſſary Precautions for thoſe who travel in that Kingdom.—Helſinburg.—The Province of Scania.—Carlſcroon.—Its Naval Arſenal.—Its Docks.—Road from Carlſcroon to Gottenburg through Smaland.—Gottenburgh.—Its Hoſpital—Trade—Herring-fiſhery—and Cuſtoms.—The Landing of the Danes.—Marſtrand.*

IT frequently takes an hour to paſs the Sound; we croſſed it in two and thirty minutes. The landing charges are, for a berlin, a rix-dollar; for a chariot, forty ſkillings, which ſum includes the whole expence to the inn: you pay alſo for every trunk, but however heavy your luggage the charge will ſeldom exceed 2 rix-dollars. In proportion to the facility and convenience of embarkation is the difficulty and danger of unſhipping carriages, as there is neither jetty, quay, nor crane, and nothing but ſome wretched wooden ſtairs, with heaps of ſtones at the foot, which prevent the boat from reaching them. The appearance of the Daniſh coaſt is much more beautiful than that of Sweden.

The traveller muſt take care to provide himſelf with ſmall notes, as he will oftentimes find it difficult to procure change even for one of 12 ſkillings, and eſpecially if it be not a bank

bank note. We once were indebted to the joint contribution of ſix perſons, the poſt-maſter incluſive, for effecting this object. He will moreover require a quantity of ſmall copper coin to give to the poſtillions for *trinkelt*, and for other trifling expences. Since the increaſe of poſtage in 1790 the price for each horſe has been 8 ſkillings per mile *; they are low and ſtrong, but accuſtomed to draw none but light carriages; ſo that when the carriage is either heavy of itſelf, or much laden, they harneſs to it four or ſix horſes; the *drink money* for the poſtillions is a gratuity; if you give them at each change of horſes a ſkilling and a half, they are very well ſatisfied; you give beſides one ſkilling to the *holkar* (the oſtler who ſeeks and puts the horſes to the carriage). It is abſolutely requiſite you ſhould ſend forward a courier five or ſix hours before you to order horſes, as they are not kept at the poſt-houſe, but about the neighbourhood, and ſometimes at a great diſtance. This precaution may however prove unneceſſary, provided you travel with no more than one or two horſes, ſince in general you will find as many at the poſt-houſe.

You ſhould travel with your own harneſs, the Swediſh poſtilions uſing none but cords, which it is ſometimes long before they can adjuſt, if you have many horſes, and which frequently break. It will not be amiſs as well to take a ſervant with you, who may know how to drive, for notwithſtanding the roads be in general excellent, there yet are certain parts of them on which you would rather be driven by ſome one in whom you might have confidence, than by a country lad who perhaps will never have drove aught before but his plough. Should you have a heavy carriage, apt to jirk forward, provided you have clogs to the wheels, we adviſe their being frequently uſed, although this meaſure will not always prevent the poſtillions from going at a full gallop. If you have no ſervant to ſend forward, you give a note, on which is expreſſed the number of horſes you require, and the time at which you compute you ſhall want them, which is carried by a countryman from poſt to poſt, to the ſpot at which you mean to ſtop, which muſt be expreſſed on the note. For this you pay the expence of one horſe, and the *trinkelt* of the countryman, the ſame as the poſtillion: you may alſo ſend by him ſuch part of your luggage as you wiſh to be diſencumbered of. This in ſhort is the only mode of tranſporting effects in Sweden, public carriages being things unknown. No inſtance has ever been adduced, notwithſtanding the frequent change of the carriage by which it will have been conveyed, and its different conductors from every ſtage, of a box being ever loſt, much leſs broke open; nay it has happened, that when any have come open from accident, the contents have uniformly arrived ſafe, and without diminution, untouched: this tribute of juſtice is due to the Swediſh peaſantry, as it tends to exalt them much above that of every other country. At every poſt-houſe the traveller is preſented with a *dag-book* (day-book), in which he inſerts his name and quality, whence he comes, whither going, the number of horſes he takes, and if he be ſatisfied with the previous poſtillion, &c. and every month this book is given to the Governor of the province.

It is abſolutely requiſite you ſhould carry proviſion with you. Frequently do you go ten or twenty miles † without finding any thing but milk, wretched beer, brandy, and bread baked ſome months before; this is the caſe even in ſome towns, but certainly not all. Of lodging you are conſtantly ſecure, every poſt-houſe, without exception, being

* Formerly the price was 4 ſkillings; during the war it was doubled. We are not informed whether or no it has been reduced as it ought to be, and as the peaſantry have requeſted; who perceive that there is leſs travelling ſince, than there uſed to be before the augmentation.

† The Swediſh mile, which is that uſed through the work, is ſix Engliſh miles, and $\frac{223}{440}$ths.

obliged

obliged to furniſh a ſeparate apartment with one or two beds for travellers. We found, indeed, at ſome of the poſt-houſes in the interior, that this law was but indifferently obſerved, yet ſuch inſtances were very rare. Provided with a ſervant who may ſpeak the Swediſh language you will avoid much inconvenience. In Sweden you may travel without any apprehenſion, in perfect ſafety, either by night or day. Unleſs the froſt be well ſet in, eſpecial care ſhould be taken to prevent the poſtillions quitting the high road; they are conſtantly diſpoſed to take the ſhorteſt cut, to ſave a quarter of a mile or leſs, driving over lakes not ſufficiently frozen, or which begin to thaw. As theſe are frequently covered with ſnow, you ſometimes ſink into, without perceiving, them. Accidents of this deſcription are ſo common in Sweden that the number of perſons annually drowned thus by imprudence, is rated at two thouſand.

All the houſes out of the towns are built of wood, and this even in Sania, notwithſtanding the contrary aſſertion of *Le Voyageur Hollandais*. Many conſiſt of the ground-floor alone. A houſe of this deſcription, of a good ſize, coſts a hundred rix-dollars building.

Helſinburg is an extremely ſmall town, ſuch as elſewhere would rank as a village; it contains at moſt but twelve hundred inhabitants. On arriving at the poſt office at Helſinburg, you ſhew your paſſport. They are not very ſtrict at the cuſtom-houſe; if you give a note of 24 ſkillings to the officer, he will be ſatisfied without examining your trunks.

From Helſinburg to Carlſcroon is twenty-three miles and a half. *Chriſtianſtadt* is a ſmall town tolerably well fortified; the King's regiment is there in garriſon. In 1772 the revolution began in this town, owing to which, Colonel Hellicius, who commanded there, obtained the name of * *Guſtafaſkiold* (Guſtavus's ſhield). *Chriſtianſtadt* is famous for its manufacture of gloves. As you leave the town you paſs over a raiſed cauſy of ſome length, made over the marſhes, which on this ſide render the town difficult of acceſs, from the facility with which they may be inundated. *Carlſham* is a ſmall town, badly paved, yet pretty regularly built of wood. You paſs the limits of Scania, which you will have traverſed, before you arrive at Nory, and enter Bleking. The diviſion of the two provinces is denoted by two boundaries of granite, on which the arms of each are engraven, and by a ſmall ſtream which runs a few paces from the ſpot.

Scania is the mildeſt of all the provinces in Sweden, the horſes, oxen, and all animals are larger and ſtronger in this part than in any other. Many gentlemen paſs the ſummer, and ſome live here all the year; but a ridiculous pride diminiſhes the pleaſure which otherwiſe might be enjoyed from reſiding in the province. The viſits of gentlemen are always viſits of ceremony, in which they are accompanied by a number of ſervants, and horſes, that are all maintained by their hoſt for ſeveral days. After making a tour in this manner, they return to their homes, and live in ſecluſion during the reſt of the year. Their nobility is ſo ſtrongly grafted on their minds that they pay no regard to women of the ſecond claſs, even though they ſhould be married to men of the higheſt rank. The ſea coaſt is extremely pleaſant owing to the different proſpects it affords, which are ſuperior to thoſe on the ſhores of Zeeland. Here is ſituated the greater part of the houſes of the nobility; yet along the high road we did not diſtinguiſh a ſingle one worthy of remark. On every ſide, as you proceed, are blocks of granite laying on the ground, or in rocks, and trees which have ſplit the ſtone in working themſelves a

* *Ki ki* in Swediſh, ſound like *chi chi* in Engliſh; *ſki* as *ſchi*.

paſſage

paſſage to the light. All theſe ſtones afford ſtrong ground for preſumption, that the ſea at ſome period overflowed this ſpot. The whole of this road is beautiful; it conſtantly winds, and frequently affords moſt charming proſpects. In 1790, even at the cloſe of December, there were no ſledges uſed for loaded carriages, yet the road was not leſs excellent. This province contains mines of coal, alum manufactories, and yellow amber; but the ſpots where they are found are at a diſtance from the courſe of the road. At *Rang*, near to Skanor, in the ſouthern part of the province, yellow amber is found in large pieces. *Andrarum* and *Raſlunda* adjoin each other on the road from Chriſtanſtadt to Yſtadt (where you embark to go to Stralſund). At the former of theſe two places is a quarry and manufactory of alum; at the latter yellow amber is met with. At *Boſerup*, near *Lund*, is a coal-mine.

At a ſhort diſtance from the boundaries of Scania, on the road to Carlſcroon, there are many aſcents and deſcents, down which the peaſants drive with great hardihood at a violent rate. You cannot be deceived as to diſtance on the high roads in Sweden, there being poſts or ſtones to mark it at every half and quarter of a mile. Villages in *Bleking* are more numerous and large, but for the moſt part make but a wretched appearance. In this quarter you ſee a number of lone houſes ſpread about the country, but very few of brick, as aſſerted by many travellers.

Carlſcroon was a pretty well-built town before the fire which happened in 1790, when it contained from fourteen to fifteen thouſand inhabitants. At preſent it is almoſt wholly ruined, not one houſe in eight remaining. The naval arſenals, being ſeparated by a wall from the town, were luckily preſerved; a high wind ſpread the fire ſo as to make it general, and almoſt all the men who might have rendered aſſiſtance were at ſea on board the fleet; add to which, (for what reaſon is unknown,) there was in many houſes a quantity of gunpowder, the exploſion of which conſequently increaſed the diſorder inevitable on ſuch an occaſion. This town is ſituated on an iſland, and built on the rock itſelf, which has rendered unneceſſary the paving of many of its ſtreets, but which at the ſame time makes it very unpleaſant, as well for thoſe in carriages as ſuch as go on foot. The port is an excellent one, defended by two forts, as well as by its poſition; there is held the department of the royal navy. The old dock is cut out of the rock, and would certainly be worthy of notice, were it not for the excellence of the new one, which is above all praiſe, and which the Romans at the height of their celebrity would not have bluſhed to acknowledge: it is compoſed of thirty-one baſons, calculated to contain twenty ſail of the line and eleven frigates; the baſons are cut in the ſolid rock, and are covered ſo as to ſhelter the veſſels completely: only one of theſe baſons are completed; ſome of the reſt are however began, but it ſeems doubtful whether a work of ſuch immenſity will ever be completed, the advantage of ſuch an eſtabliſhment not being likely to compenſate its vaſt expence; for it does not yet appear evident that veſſels are better preſerved by being under cover than expoſed, or at leaſt that their duration is likely to be ſo far prolonged as to make the difference counterbalance the coſt of the undertaking. A foreigner travelling to Carlſcroon will find it neceſſary to write to ſome correſpondent to procure him lodgings, as otherwiſe he muſt put up with ſuch as the poſt-houſe affords, which are wretched in extreme. Luckily the naval department, which cannot be removed, will ſecure the ſpeedy re-edification of the town. The fleet is very conſpicuouſly diſcernible as you paſs along a wooden bridge, on both ſides of which are the ſhips of the line and frigates. We counted ſixteen of the former (their number being diminiſhed by more than a third part in courſe of the war). The frigates ſuffered leſs. Independent of theſe, three or four are always ſtationed at Gottenburg, and ſeveral at Sweaburg.

At Carlſcroon there are one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-five marines, divided into twenty-nine companies, one of which conſiſts of ſeventy-five men, and thirty-two of fifty each, the drums and fifes not included; beſides theſe, at Gottenburg there is a company of one hundred men, and twelve thouſand ſailors regiſtered for the grand fleet, who in peace time employ themſelves as they will. Their allowance from the department is ſix ſtivers a day and two pounds of bread. Each veſſel takes on board ammunition ſufficient for ſixty broadſides.

State of the Swediſh Fleet in 1766.

At Carlſcroon.		At Stockholm.	At Gottenburg.
Ships of the line.		Galleys.	Frigates.
1 of -	100 guns	12 of 44 oars, carrying 4 ſix-pounders, and 1 of twenty-four pound on the poop.	1 of - 36 guns
1 of -	96	28 of 40 oars, armed in the ſame manner.	1 of - 30
1 of -	84	6 of 36, the large cannon, twelve-pounders.	1 of - 24
2 of -	74	4 of 32, do.	3
3 of -	70	4 of 28, do.	Galleys.
2 of -	66	54	5 of 28 oars, 1 twelve-pounder, and 4 ſix-pounders.
5 of -	64	Praams.	Brigantines.
6 of -	60	4 of 24 oars, and 24 large guns.	2 of 20 guns and 6 pair of oars.
1 of -	54	1 of 24 oars, and 16 large guns.	4 Demi-gallies.
1 of -	50	Advice boats.	Galliot.
23		3 well armed, with 32 oars.	1 armed with mortars and 2 ſix-pounders.
Praams or floating batteries.		Galliot.	RECAPITULATION.
4 of 20 guns and 24 oars.		1 armed with 2 large mortars and 2 ſix-pounders.	Ships of the line - 23
Frigates.		Brigantine.	Frigates - - 12
1 of -	40 guns	1 of 20 guns and 6 pair of oars.	Galleys - - 59
1 of -	36		Demi-galleys - 4
2 of -	30		Galliots - - 6
2 of -	24		Brigantines - 3
2 of -	18		Praams - - 9
1 of -	12		Tranſports - 21
9			
Galliots.			
4 carrying 2 mortars and 2 ſix-pounders.			
Tranſports.			
6 of large tonnage for maſts and timber.			
14 ſmaller ones.			

State of the Fleet in the Port of Carlſcroon in 1775.

Ships of the line.	Guns.
The King Frederic -	70
Adolphus Frederic -	70
The Queen Louiſa Ulrica	70
The Prince Guſtavus -	70
The Prince Charles Frederic	70
The Lion of Gothia -	70
	6

Ships of the line—continued.	Guns.
Fredericus Rex - -	60
The Heſſe Caſſel - -	60
The Brehme - -	60
The Finland - -	60
The Prince Charles -	60
The Frederic Adolphus -	60
	12

The

Ships of the line—continued.	Guns.	
The Sophia Albertina	60	loſt in 1782.
The Sophia Charlotte	60	
The Frederica Amelia	60	
The States of the Realm	60	
The Liberty	60	
The Union or Concord	60	
		18
Fifties.		
The Upland	50	
The Sudermania	50	
The Sparre	50	
		3
Frigates.		
The Black Eagle	38	
The Prince Guſtavus	36	
The Phœnix	34	

Frigates—continued.	Guns.	
The Falcon	34	
The Illerim	34	
The Iramas	34	
The Vulture	34	
		7
Brigantines.		
The Pollux	of 18 guns.	
Goïa	of 10	
Galleys armed as before ſtated.		
The Carlſcroon		
The Cronenberg		
The Malmœa		
The Bleking.		
Praams.		
The Achilles	26 guns.	
The Hector	26	

Remark. The Elephant, of 124 guns, was the largeſt veſſel that Sweden ever had; it was in being under the reign of Eric XIV.—At the time of the landing of Charles XII. in Zealand in 1700, the Swediſh fleet conſiſted of thirty-eight ſhips of the line, excluſive of frigates, fire-ſhips, and praams.

Expence of the Swediſh Navy at the periods adverted to.

	1696. Silver Dollars.	1764. Do.	1768. Do.	1772. Do.
For the admiralty and corps of cadets at Carlſcroon	-	-	-	624,765
Sailors	-	1,139,815	-	53,793
Fleet of Galleys at Stockholm	-	-	-	138,817
Flotilla of Finland	671,498½	21,866	1,404,304	276,647
Veſſels on the ſtocks	-	-	-	458,329
Dock-yard at Carlſcroon	-	-	-	175,000
Naval evolutions	-	-	-	50,000
Charges of convoy	-	550,000		
Coaſting pilots	-	649		
	671,498½	1,712,330	1,404,304	1,777,351
If to this laſt ſum be added the expence of the provincial regiments in 1772, and that of recruits, with the general expences of the ſaid year,			See table III.	1,171,190 2,708,880
the ſum will ſhew the whole expence of the Swediſh forces that year in ſilver dollars,				5,657,421

According to the report laid before the ſecret committee in 1772, the whole expence of the army, as detailed in the tables above, (excluſive of the charges incurred by the works on the ſluices of *Trolihetta*) amounted to 5,540,957 dollars, which at three per rix-dollar, give 1,846,985 rix-dollars banco, which agrees tolerably well with the ſum above noticed.

By the ſtatement of Field-marſhal Count de Ehrenſvoerd, relative to the royal navy, it appears that the galley fleet at Stockholm, during the time it was under the direction of the board of admiralty, coſt annually 223,893 ſilver dollars; and that under the direction of the ſaid Field-marſhal, the flotillas of Stockholm and Finland conjointly coſt no more than 101,020 dollars per year. Owing to the management of this general,

the flotilla is conſtructed of armed ſhips, which are calculated to ſerve, as circumſtances may require, either as frigates or galleys.

The towns and certain farms in the maritime provinces are obliged to furniſh the King with ſailors; ſo that the navy is upon the ſame footing as the provincial army. There are beſides ſome volunteer ſailors, who for a moderate ſum engage themſelves on board the fleet, and who at intervals enter the merchant ſervice.

The whole naval force conſiſts,

In ſailors furniſhed by the towns, to the number of	8400
The *rotar*, doubled	8300
Recruits	700
Total	17,400

But according to Cantzler, when the *rotar* is not doubled, which only happens in time of war, when the volunteers, the recruits, the ſailors from the towns, and the boys, who are rarely called upon, are not employed, there remains on ſervice no more than

For the towns	800
The rotar	6200
	7000

The ſtaff of the Swediſh navy conſiſted, in 1773, of a grand admiral, two admirals, three vice-admirals, four rear-admirals, one rear-admiral, the preſident of the dock-yards; ſix colonels, twenty-ſix lieutenant-colonels, nineteen majors, ſixty-two captains, ninety-five lieutenants, one aid de camp-general, a warehouſe keeper, a captain commandant of artillery, a roll maſter, two captains of the dock-yards, five lieutenant-captains, a captain commandant of pilots and coaſting pilots, and a lieutenant of pilots. In all two hundred and thirty-two officers.

Expences of the royal navy according to the ſtatement of 1787.

	Rix-dollars in ſpecie.				
For the board of admiralty	16,058	16			
the fleet and dock-yards	472,191	30	9		
the ſquadron at Gottenburg	7,389	26			
loan to the ſailors	14,597	38	6		
the equipage of the Swediſh fleet and flotilla	36,841	13	9		
of the Finniſh flotilla	53,448	38			
				90,290	3 9
The commiſſariat				66,666	32 0
Total in rix-dollars				667,194	2 0
To this if the expence of the army for the ſaid year be added, for the particulars of which ſee Table III. equal to				1,064,996	18 0
The total expenditure for the year 1787, for the army and navy collectively, will be				1,732,190	20 0

From

From Carlſcroon to Gottenburg is thirty-ſeven miles and a quarter; you return by the road you have already paſſed as far as *Runnebu*; about half a league beyond, you turn to the right. There is another road by *Killerid*, but it is longer and leſs pleaſant. Between *Skiœurgue* and *Diuramola*, you leave Bleking to enter Smaland: the roads are conſtantly good, but hilly; the country wild: water is rarely found at the poſt houſes, inſtead you muſt be content with bad beer and brandy wine; there are many foreſts of fir and pine, which, however, are frequently of ſtunted growth, and here and there lakes. That near which the town of Vexiœu is ſituated, is rather conſiderable. Vexiœu is a very ſmall town: notwithſtanding it be the reſidence of the governor of the province, and a biſhop, nothing is to be had, and the neceſſity of carrying your own proviſions is as evident here as in the moſt inconſiderable hamlet; one of the ſtreets is lined with trees, but this is far from being the caſe with all of them, as ſome travellers relate. On leaving Vixiœu, you croſs over bridges, ſeveral times, a river which has its origin in the lake, and empties itſelf into the Baltic about a mile from Carlſham; it is called the *Morunſo*: afterwards you coaſt along the lake for ſome time. Succeed a number of woods more flouriſhing than thoſe paſſed before; the conſequence doubtleſs of their greater diſtance from the ſea, which begins to be conſiderable. The whole of this road is mountainous; if your luggage be heavy, it will not be amiſs to take the road for Jonkœuping upon arriving at Œurs, for although it be rather the fartheſt way, it is by much the moſt agreeable, and paſſes through ſeveral towns to Gottenburg, whereas by the former road you go through none. You traverſe the whole of Smaland, a province which gives title to the King's ſecond ſon: its inhabitants are reputed to preſerve all the frankneſs with all the rudeneſs of their anceſtors; they conſider themſelves much ſuperior to their neighbours, with whom they rarely intermarry, which circumſtance has not a little contributed to the preſervation of their ancient character. This province yields a conſiderable quantity of hops. In its ſouthern part, much iron is extracted from the lakes and marſhes. The gold mine of Adelfers, the only one in the kingdom, is in Smaland; it is little productive, ſo little, as not to pay the charges of working; it is ſituated at a diſtance from this road, but you go near it on paſſing from Calmar to Eſkiœu. From *Hœſieu* to *Bor* there are many aſcents and deſcents, which during froſty weather are ſomewhat dangerous. As you leave *Vernamo*, you croſs the *Laga* over a bridge, where you pay a toll of two ſous for each wheel; after which the road to Stockholm is on the right, and beyond, a very ſteep aſcent; here it is that you croſs the high road to Helſinburg. On this ſtage the eye is treated with nothing but ſandy plains, heath, and ſtone, with here and there ſome ſtreams. The fair of Vernamo has great reputation in the country; the ſtalls are permanent as well here as at other places where fairs are held, and are frequently conſpicuous. From Gronhult to Toſtorp there are large foreſts of pine and fir; on this ſtage there is abundance of heath, with little or no cultivation. The four laſt ſtages are the worſt; on the laſt you travel over a great ſteep by a road cut through the rock, on the border of a ſmall lake. Along all this road you will find it frequently neceſſary to apply the drag to the wheels. As we made this journey about Chriſtmas time, called in the northern languages *Youl*, and which has been kept in this country from time immemorable, we found proviſion in every houſe; each individual had decorated the inſide of his apartments with cloth, ſtuff, or whatever moſt valuable he poſſeſſed, and the floor was covered with ſtraw, which nevertheleſs did not prevent the inhabitants letting lighted fire-brands fall on it without paying any regard to their extinction, a neglect which will readily account for the frequency of conflagrations. We did not remark, as is affirmed by Mr. Coxe, that the beds are commonly one above the other; but almoſt every where did we obſerve trunks ranged around

around the room, ſerving as ſeats by day, and in lieu of bedſteads by night. Before you enter Gottenburg is a cuſtom houſe, at which the officers are very rigid: it is not however difficult to obtain allowance for one to attend at your inn, where you may diſmiſs him, according to cuſtom, at the expence of 24 ſkillings. Complaint is made that the officers of the cuſtoms here are, as almoſt everywhere, inſolent, knaviſh, and countenanced in their inſolence.

Gottenburg. At the poſt-houſe you meet with indifferent accommodation, but will find better, although at a greater expence, at the *Miſs Mullers'*. This city is very pretty, it is the ſecond in the kingdom, but much inferior to the towns in France of the third order: it contains at moſt but fourteen or fifteen thouſand people, for although five hundred and eighty perſons died here in 1790, this number comprized many ſoldiers who returned ſick from the army: the births were four hundred and thirty-ſix. The town is interſected by canals, which are planted with trees, and which in ſome places give it the appearance of a Dutch town; yet the houſes are far from being of equally good conſtruction, few being of brick; nevertheleſs the appearance of the new town has in it ſomewhat pleaſing. The ſuburbs is built on an eminence: here the ſailors reſide, who are very numerous, as well owing to its being the ſtation of the Eaſt India Company's veſſels, as of a number of King's frigates.

Its *hoſpital* was founded by Mr. Sahlgren, a wealthy individual; its revenue is 1500 rix dollars; it contains thirty beds, two of which for lying-in women; this number however, in caſe of neceſſity, is augmented by two, and the whole has occaſionally amounted to ſeven at once. Any woman in this condition may ring at the gate at any hour of the day or night, and be gratuitouſly admitted. In this houſe forty-five abandoned children were born in the year 1789, and in 1790, thirty ſix. The ſick have each a bed to themſelves, and the whole eſtabliſhment appeared to us to be well attended: when we ſaw it, it contained but thirteen invalids. If deſirous of ſending thither a Gottenburger, you pay ſix ſkillings per diem, if a ſtranger, eight: patients afflicted with venereal complaints are the only ones not admitted. The ſick are not allowed tea. There is one phyſician belonging to the hoſpital, who is at the ſame time both director and treaſurer, and one ſurgeon. The moſt common and moſt dangerous maladies of the country are milliary fevers: thoſe of an inflammatory nature are very rare; the hoſpital is ſeldom full, unleſs in May, which is the unhealthy month. The *fluor albus* is very common; it is attributed to the frequent uſe of tea, the cloth drawers which women are accuſtomed to wear, and the want of cleanlineſs. All the beds in the hoſpital are without top covering even when the curtains are drawn, in order that the air may have free circulation. All the kitchen utenſils are of caſt iron.

Cabinets. The Count de Sparre has about three ſcore paintings, eight or ten of which by Teniers, Wouvermans, Gerard Dow, &c. are worthy of attention.

Mr. Nœurn the director of the cuſtom houſe, poſſeſſes a very compleat collection of Swediſh coins and medals; his cabinet conſiſts of none beſides: among other valuable coins he has one of Count Oxenſtiern, which is extremely rare: notwithſtanding this collection was only begun in 1783, it already comprizes three thouſand diſtinct pieces.

Refineries. There are three ſugar refineries here, but on no very large ſcale, two of them without the town; the third, belonging to Mr. Jacobſon, is on an iſland formed by a canal, and ſeparate from any other building for fear of fire; it has four boilers, which however are not at all times employed; it ſeldom works more than two hundred and fifty hogſheads per annum. The ſugar from it is extremely white and luſtrous, but not very ſweet, and ſells at from 10 to 13 ſkillings per lb. according to quality.

Commerce. The commerce of Gottenburg is very conſiderable, and may be looked upon as conſtituting a ſeventh part of the whole exports, and one fourth of all the imports of Sweden; the iſland of *Marſtrand* in its neighbourhood, ever ſince 1775, has been a free port. In ſpite of the convention between France and Sweden in 1784, by which an *entrepôt* was to be granted to the former in exchange for the iſland of St. Bartholomew, there is but one ſingle French merchant eſtabliſhed here, (M. Fournier;) but this convention has not been executed in every point, and upon this may be obſerved that the Swediſh government has taken advantage of the ſituation of France, too much occupied with concerns of a greater magnitude to attend to thoſe of ſuch trivial nature, and has neglected to fulfil all the ſtipulations of a treaty, ſo binding in itſelf, as to condition, that in caſe of non-conformity on the part of Sweden with its various articles, France is to reſume poſſeſſion of St. Bartholomew; in a word, it may be ſaid, that one of the parties is in full poſſeſſion of the grant made to it, the other not. In this town there are about a dozen Engliſh houſes; the Engliſh are better looked upon here than any other nation. Gottenburg is a long mile diſtant from the North ſea, and on the Gœutha, which is here a very broad river. In the year 1790, there entered its port ſeven hundred and ſeventeen foreign, and five hundred and ten national ſhips; thence ſailed for foreign ports ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, and five hundred and fifty-three to different parts of Sweden. Out of the ſeven hundred and ſeventeen which entered this port, but ſixteen were French, (the ſame number as arrived at Stockholm.) The number of merchant veſſels belonging to Gottenburg is, as ſtated at preſent, two hundred and fifty; it is our opinion however, that it does not exceed two hundred and ten.

Eaſt India Company. This company, notwithſtanding it has the privilege of trading likewiſe with India, diſpatches one or two and ſometimes, but rarely, three ſhips in a year to China alone. In January 1791, it poſſeſſed ſeven ſhips in good condition, and one on the ſtocks. This company is managed in an admirable manner; it has four directors, one of which is preſident, (Mr. Hoſterman,) and four others at Stockholm, who are only honorary members of the direction; no one, not even the King himſelf, has any right of inſpection into the affairs of this company; the warehouſes, notwithſtanding they are large, cannot contain more than three cargoes. The veſſels in general ſail for China in the month of January; they are obliged to ſaw through the ice to get to ſea. If any order be ſent to China, a very exact model of what is required muſt go with it, for the Chineſe copy minutely, even defects. Oſtend and Antwerp hold many ſhares in this company.

The following is a table of the exports of produce from Gottenburg, in 1790; which may be looked upon as leſs than a common year. The war having laſted to the middle of it, and ſhipments in conſequence were not ſo numerous, the ſea being open but a few months of that year; for notwithſtanding the belligerent powers had no cruizers at ſea, the ſcarcity of ſailors, from ſo many being employed on board the navy, muſt have had a ſenſible effect on ſhipment.

Export of Produce from Gottenburg, in 1790.

	Iron in bars.	Pig Iron.	Steel.	Boards.	Tons of Salted Herrings.	Value of India Goods.
	Sch. Lips. lbs	Sch. Lips. lbs.	Sch. Lips. lbs.	Dozens.		Rix. Sch. R.
To Amſterdam,	589 12 10	75 7 10	62 16 0	7	710	231,551 0 3
Anclam,					290	
Berghen,					400	
Cadiz,				345		2,438 22 4
Colberg,					154	
Dublin,	637 10 0			43		
Dunkirk,						38,289 25 0
Elbing,					380	
Elſineur,					150	
England,	34,506 6 10	1164 9 10	63 0 10	9036		
Northern parts,						1,711 30 0
France,	1,962 5 15	718 19 5	503 18 5	2322	160	
Genoa,		110 0 0		53		
Griffswald,					1330	
Hamburg,	701 2 10	7 0 0		365	620	91,010 1 9
Ireland,	5,739 6 0	600 6 5		665	2670	25 0 0
Copenhagen,	1,324 15 10	54 1 5	12 3 5	54	285	8,034 25 6
Liebau,					331	
Liſbon,	76 5 0	2 10 0		11		53,269 41 9
London,	749 19 10	112 10 0		140		
Lubeck,	446 19 10		0 15 0	1389	5	
Marſtrand,						208 0 0
Mediterranean,	1,591 4 0	589 4 15		236	600	126 45 2
Memel,					900	
Newcaſtle,	599 15 0	142 15 0		576		
North Sea,	230 0 0				710	
Norway,	3 4 0	5 3 15			400	447 16 6
Nieuport,				90		
Oſtend,						61,060 16 10
St. Peterſburg,					900	
Pillau,					1400	
Randers,				293		
Revel,					914	
Roſtock,				20	58	
Scotland,	32,518 14 5	458 15 10	2 5 0	10428		351 14 0
Stettin,					2833	
Stralſund,		1 2 0			56	
St. Ubes,		50 7 5		580		
The Baltic,	22,595 4 10	4940 19 3	491 1 10	10096	34008	107,667 46 10
The Indies,				7	2410	
Other parts,	525 4 0		6 7 15	144	142,728	2706 21 11
	104,797 4 10	9033 11 3	1142 17 5	36900	195,48	599,471 1 10

Specification of the Indian Merchandize, of which the Value is given in the Table.

1,110,143 lbs. of tea; 149 pieces of ſilk of thirteen French ells in length, and five quarters wide; 15,899 pieces of nankin; 5014 lbs. of raw white ſilk; 3197 lbs. cinnamon; 4918 lbs. rhubarb; 215 lbs. ſago; 957 lbs. rotin; 7756 lbs. galinga; 7 cans and a half of arrack; the can holds twenty-one bottles; bamboo fans to the value of 2438 r. d. 22 ſch.; porcelain, to the value of 10,232 r. d. 44 ſch. The whole of theſe goods formed but one cargo. To this is to be added, likewiſe, what is conſumed at home, and what is ſmuggled out, which is to a large amount.

Herring

Herring Fiſhery. This important branch of commerce, which for a while was annihilated, owing to the diſappearance of the herrings, has now reſumed its wonted briſkneſs; the ſale amounts at preſent to ſix hundred thouſand barrels of ſalted herrings, and thirty thouſand barrels of oil. Ten or twelve barrels of herrings yield about one barrel of oil. The price of a barrel of freſh herrings is generally four ſilver dollars; the expence of ſalting them, caſk incluſive, (which coſts about * 16 or 20 ſkillings), is five or ſix dollars: the price of a barrel of ſalted herrings is from twelve to thirteen dollars, thus leaving a profit of from a dollar and a half to two ſilver dollars per barrel for the curing. The barrel of oil ſells for 12 rix-dollars, it contains an *awm* †; that is to ſay, about one hundred and eighty common bottles. All the caſks are gauged, and uniformly contain from a thouſand to twelve hundred herrings. The fiſhery begins in October, and laſts till February, and even March, according to the ſeaſon. The greater part of its produce is exported to different places in the country, the coaſts of the Baltic, and the Mediterranean; they export alſo (particularly to the ſouthern nations), dried and ſmoaked herrings; theſe are of higher price than the former. Some adventurers at this place have attempted the whale fiſhery, but without ſucceſs.

Generally, if aſked to dine, it is an invitation for the day, and ſupper as well: this is the cuſtom throughout all Sweden, and even at Stockholm, but there it is confined to the ſecondary ranks in ſociety. Grace before and after meat, and a bow to the maſter of the houſe, are cuſtomary every where: at times indeed, the length of this ceremony, and the ſerious countenance aſſumed by the Swedes, would incline us to laughter but for the intervention of reflection. At ceremonial dinners, healths are drunk in an enormous goblet full of Rheniſh wine or Champagne; the goblet is handed round, and each takes a ſip: there are certain formalities to be obſerved, in which you are inſtructed on the ſpot, and the penalty, in caſe of omiſſion, is to empty the goblet; to our minds rather an arduous undertaking: we were preſent at this ceremony for the firſt time at the houſe of the Biſhop of Gottenburg, a well informed, and very amiable perſon: he is conſidered the beſt preacher in Sweden, and is indebted to himſelf alone for his eminent ſtation in life, being the ſon of a peaſant. Apothecaries at Gottenburg are men of better information than in other countries, and what is ſingular, they are held in higher eſteem than either ſurgeons or phyſicians.

It is cuſtomary for the band of the regiment in garriſon to come and play under the windows, or even at the door of ſtrangers who arrive: you diſmiſs them at the expence of a trifle, or without giving them any thing, (as we were recommended to do,) by deſiring them on their beginning to go about their buſineſs. There is no other than yellow bougies at Gottenburg, and it ſtruck us as ſomewhat ſingular, that at a grand ſupper, to which eighteen or a ſcore perſons were invited, given by the richeſt merchant in the town, who is reputedly worth 400,000 rix-dollars, and who in 1791 built a wooden houſe which coſt a fourth of that amount, there was none but tallow candles on the table. Many articles are dear in this town, if compared with their price in towns of ſimilar dimenſions in France.

Landing of the Dans in 1788. The Prince of Heſſe came to Gottenburg in 1788, ſhortly before the landing: on this occaſion he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of civility by the governor, and the Duke of Sudermania, who was there at the time: he took advantage of this to acquire ſuch information reſpecting the place, as might be uſeful to him. He could eaſily have plundered the whole of the Eaſt In-

* Vide table of Swediſh money. † See table of meaſures.

dia Company's warehouſes, the merchandize in which was valued at two millions of rix-dollars; but delaying too long, the firmneſs of Mr. Elliott, the Engliſh miniſter, and the arrival of the King, whom none knew where to find, and who ſuddenly arrived from Dalecarlia, put a ſtop to all he might have done, and obliged him to retire. The King on his arrival viſited the place, and found no preparations of defence: the balls were not of fit ſize for the calibres of the guns, the artillery officer was ignorant of the range of his bombs, &c. Yet notwithſtanding theſe impediments, the King reſolved on defence; he collected together as many volunteers and troops as he could muſter, and reſolved on giving battle to the Danes in a plain before the town. On the other hand, General-Armfeldt arrived with ten thouſand men, and it is highly preſumable that the bravery of his troops, joined to the preſence of His Majeſty, would have inſured victory to the Swedes. Beyond a doubt the city, and particularly the Eaſt India Company, which had moſt to loſe, owed their ſalvation to their ſovereign; yet, will it be credited, that finding himſelf in the greateſt diſtreſs, and requiring from the Company a ſum of money of no conſiderable amount, he was unable to obtain from them but a part of what he aſked? The city of Gottenburg had a medal ſtruck in commemoration of its deliverance in 1790, owing to the appearance of His Majeſty, which however is not one of the beſt executed by *Fehrman*.

Between Gottenburg and Marſtrand, you paſs through *Kunghell* and *Kjufhill*; for the firſt ſtage the road is along the river Gœutha, which flows between two ridges of rocks, the feet of which are in ſome parts cultivated. Near *Bohus*, (a ſtrong caſtle ſeized upon by the Danes in 1788,) you are ferried over two arms of the river, without unharneſſing, and for a very moderate expence.

Kunghill, formerly very conſiderable until deſtroyed by the Vandals, is now a very ſmall town, where two thouſand Danes were quartered in 1788. During their ſtay, they gave no cauſe of complaint to its inhabitants. From Kjufhill, you proceed on foot to the ſea ſide over a ſtony rocky path; there is a houſe here where you muſt ſhew your paſſport, an indiſpenſable article with which you muſt furniſh yourſelf at Gottenburg: it is uſual to give eight ſkillings to the clerk both going and coming, although there be no obligation. The diſtance acroſs to Marſtrand is about three French leagues: it took us an hour and a half to go thither, and nearly three hours returning, owing to calms and our being continually obliged to uſe oars. The paſſage lies between a number of iſlets, or rather rocks: there is an abundance of water fowl, which none are allowed to ſhoot for fear of frightening the herrings. For the uſe of the boat going and returning, (waiting a day at Marſtrand,) you pay two or three rix-dollars; but you muſt make your bargain beforehand at the poſt office of Kjufhill.

Marſtrand. This town poſſeſſes nothing intereſting, except its herring fiſhery, which employs the major part of its inhabitants. Notwithſtanding it be a free port, it is but little frequented, and its population is very inconſiderable, in ſpite of the privileges granted by government to ſuch as eſtabliſh themſelves here. The caſtle built on a rock ſerves as a ſtate priſon. The commandant has been in the French ſervice, and it is no difficult matter, particularly for a Frenchman, to obtain permiſſion from him to ſee the interior; if he be abſent, it is a more difficult affair, as the officers under him dare not take upon themſelves to permit the entrance of foreigners; this happened to be the caſe with us: it has nothing however to recommend it, except the proſpect it affords, which is highly pictureſque, owing to the number of iſles and rocks ſeen from it, and even this proſpect may be ſeen with little inferiority of advantage from a projection of the rock, without entering the caſtle. You lodge at Fyrber's.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.—*Cataracts of Trolhœtta.—Road to Stockholm through Nericia and Weſtmania. Objects on the Road and in its Neighbourhood intereſting to a Naturaliſt.*

ON our return to Kunghill we continued our journey, as deſcribed in the itinerary. At Strœum you take a ſledge, or a peaſant's cart, as the ſeaſon happens to be, to go to Trolhœtta, where thoſe cataracts are ſituated, ſo worthy the attention of travelers; as far as this ſtage you keep alongſide the river, which is on your right, and ſee ſome cultivated plains, particularly hop grounds. From Strœum you continue the high road to Wenerſborg for about ſix hundred paces; leaving it then to the left you turn to the right hand directly towards the river which forms in this ſpot a ſmall baſon, the water of which is as ſtill as the ſurface of a lake, although at but a ſmall diſtance from the cataracts: you croſs the river in very light boats, paying for the fare four ſous each perſon: for the ſpace of a quarter of a mile you then follow the courſe of the river on the oppoſite bank, along a road made of planks, conſtructed for the conveyance of iron, from the ſpot where the river ceaſes to be navigable, to that where it begins to be ſo again. You may alſo, by making a longer circuit, or in caſe of going from Wenerſborg, paſs the river above the cataracts; for it is abſolutely requiſite you ſhould keep on the ſame ſide as the hamlet of Trolhœtta, as nothing is viſible from the other on account of the mountains which form the ſide of the river: at the ſpot where you paſs the Gœutha (below the cataracts) is the iron warehouſe, which conſiſts of a tolerably large building on the ground floor, with different apartments, numbered. If deſirous of avoiding the walk of a quarter of a mile, you will find, after croſſing the river, carriages peculiar to the country, which will take you to Trolhœtta and bring you back again, charging, on account of the time they ſtop, a mile, notwithſtanding the diſtance be no more altogether than half as much. We were conducted all the way to Trolhœtta by the waterman who ferried us over, and gave him for his pains eight ſkillings, with which he appeared well ſatisfied. We adviſe beginning from above, near the village of Trolhœtta itſelf, where the ſaw-mills are, and deſcend again to below the cataracts; thus obtaining a proſpect of the whole, which is highly pictureſque, not only on account of the different falls, but of the rocks likewiſe which are ſeen on every ſide: we were there on a fine ſunny day, and the earth was covered with ſnow, which perhaps added to the beauty of this point of view: great expence has been incurred in the attempt to make this part of the river navigable, and thus opening a communication between lake Wener and the North Sea; but it is apprehended with much reaſon that this undertaking will never be brought to a favourable iſſue: it would, perhaps, be a more certain and leſs expenſive plan to dig a canal, which leaving the river above the cataracts might terminate in the baſon before alluded to: the diſtance would be little more than a quarter of a mile, and a number of locks might remedy the inequality of the ground. Your curioſity ſatisfied, you return the ſame way back to Strœum, and arrive at *Wenerſborg*, which poſſeſſes nothing remarkable but its iron market, this town being the entrepôt for all that the province of Vermeland ſends to Gottenburg; it is ſituated on the ſpot near which the Gœutha iſſues from lake Wener. There is a raiſed way of great length over the canal of Carlſgraff: it is arched at intervals, the ſame as a bridge, and is the road to Norway; it has a parapet (for what reaſon we could not conjecture) on one ſide only: in the middle is a ſtone bearing an inſcription which deſignates under whoſe government it was conſtructed. All this however but ill repays the pains of going to Wenerſborg; wherefore when at Kunghill you will do well to repaſs

the Gœutha, make for *Lahall*, follow the courſe of the river as far as Trolhœtta, and thence take the road to Stockholm by *Borſted*, &c. Near Wenerſborg, on the oppoſite ſide of the Gœutha, are mounts *Halleberg* and Huneberg, in which are found quarries of alum, trapp, black chalk, and *lapis ſuillus* in abundance. From Wenerſborg to Stockholm is forty-three miles and five-eighths. The whole of this road is excellent, particularly from Marieſtadt: in the middle of January we were not under the neceſſity of uſing a ſledge before we arrived there, and even afterwards on account of want of ſnow; at the laſt ſtage we were obliged to take our carriage off and travel on wheels; for on the 15th of January we ſaw verdure at the very gates of Stockholm. You paſs through the ſmall town Lidkœuping and Marieſtadt. You do not change horſes at theſe towns, which are neither worth the trouble of ſtopping to examine. They are pleaſantly ſituated upon lake Wener, which is viſible from the great ſquare of Lidkœuping. After paſſing *Hofva* you enter Nericia, where is a cuſtom-houſe. The province of Skaraburg, which forms a part of Weſtrogothia, and which we have been traverſing, has certain ſpots which the amateur of natural hiſtory may viſit, and will find ſome curious minerals, ſuch are *Kinnakulle*, a quarry of alum and calcareous ſtone; *Billingen*, a quarry of alum. This mountain is ſituated near the town of *Skiœufde*, between Falkœuping and Marieſtadt, three miles and a quarter from the former, and five from the latter. At this mountain many curious minerals may be procured; but, as it is of great extent, it will require ſome time to examine all its remarkable parts. Black alum is diſcovered here in ſlates, frequently encloſing petrified *enthomolithes*, *lapis ſuillus* in balls, both great and ſmall, ſolid, ſparkling, granulated, and frequently encaſing ſmall *enthomolithes* and petrified ſhells. Spar of a conic form. Indurated and lamillated marl; clayey ſlate; black ſolid trapp, granulated with fibres like ears of corn. Solid calcareous ſtone of a red, brown, and grey colour, in which are frequently found petrified *orthoceratites* and *enthomolithes*. Calcareous ſtalactites both white and yellow, ſcarcely at all porous within, although formed by depoſits in layers, and undulated at the ſurface: in theſe ſometimes leaves are found encloſed. Lamillated gypſum, both white and ſtriated, in exceeding thin ſheets between ſlates of alum. Free-ſtone of many various ſorts. Coal, ſolid and ſhining externally, met with at times between ſlates of alum at *Multhorp*. In order to collect as many of theſe minerals as poſſible, you ſhould conſtantly give the preference in your ſearch for them to thoſe places where they have been found before, ſuch as *Timurdala*, *Multorp*, *Ulunda: Beck*, *Hallevad*, &c.—*Myſſeberg*, and *Olleberg* near Falkœuping. Here are found argillaceous ſlate, mixed with various petrifactions, *enthomolithes*, and petrified ſhells; *lapis ſuillus*, both ſolid and granulated; ſolid red calcareous ſtone; ſlate of alum, &c. In this province are a number of quarries of alum. None of the ſpots above-mentioned are in the neighbourhood of the above noted road except the firſt, whither you may eaſily go from Kalangen. All the towns along this road are wretched, notwithſtanding Œurebro and Arboga be capitals. After paſſing by Lidkœuping you enter into foreſt land. Œurebro is ſituated on the extremity of lake Hielmer, (at the mouth of a river that has a trifling fall, viſible from a ſtone bridge,) which lake communicates with Mœler. Beyond Arboga you perceive the canal which joins the two lakes; there are ſome very handſome locks which are deſerving of notice. You enter Weſtmania between Fellingſbro and Arboga. From Arboga through Kiœuping to *Skinſkatteberg* is ſix miles and a quarter; hence you make a ſhort excurſion to Riddar-Hittann, the copper mines. Here yellow copper is found mixed with ore of black iron; martial pyrites; galena, ore of biſmuth in ſcales, in a rocky granulated ſtone; ore of cobalt, ſteely grained, of a rare deſcription. At *Stalſten* you meet with red ore, ſemi-tranſparent, cryſtallized in ſmall *druſes*; mineral

pitch; white and blue ſpar; potter's earth. *Baſenæs grufvan*, another copper mine belonging to Ridder Hittann, is ſituated a ſhort league from the others; here you find yellow copper ore; ore of biſmuth in large ſcales; ſcaly molybdene; tungſten, or heavy ſtone; amianthus, ſometimes blended with yellow copper, which gives it a beautiful hue; quartz in ſlender *druſes*; potter's earths, &c. as the copper ore is frequently mixed with ore of black iron, it is rather difficult to fuſe.

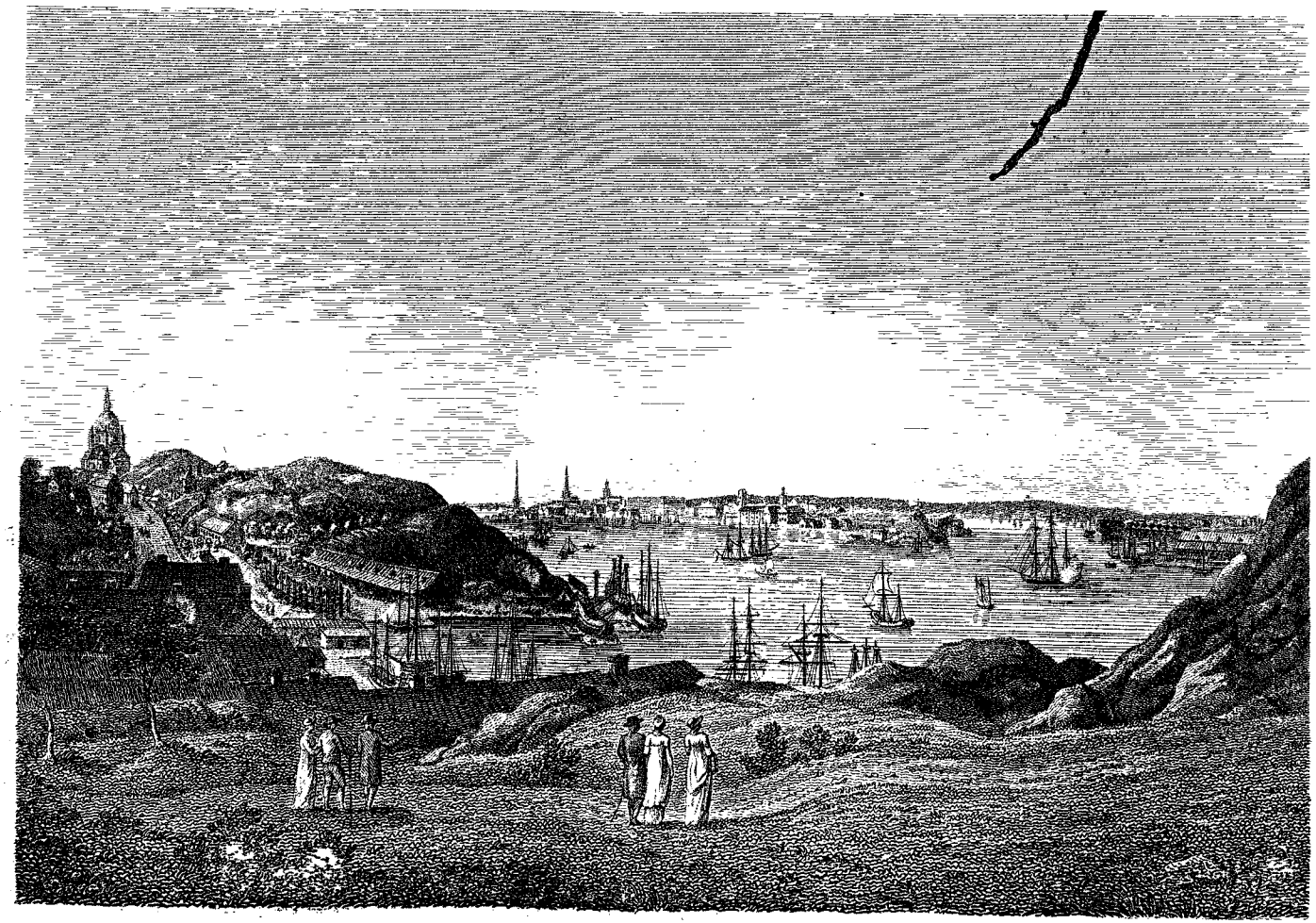
From Marieſtadt to this place, you travel over plains in an excellent ſtate of cultivation, and tolerably well peopled. This, in many reſpects, is one of the beſt diſtricts in Sweden: all Nericia is full of forges and mines. The following are the principal places: *Quiſbræu*, an iron mine; *Winteroſa*, copper and iron mine; the firſt abandoned; *Axberg*, an iron foundry; *Jarboas*, *Nora*, *Linde*, iron mines in the neighbourhood; in the two latter, which are near each other, the following varieties are found: ore of black iron, ſolid, granulated, cryſtallized in octaedra, diſperſed in potter's earth; hematites of a bluiſh caſt, lamillated, micacious and ſparkling; cloudy topazes in druſes; ſeveral varieties of druſes in quartz, and calcareous ſpar. Near to Nora is a ſmall mine of copper, in which is found ſolid copper ore, of ſteely grain; galena; granulated ore of cobalt, cryſtallized amid the copper ore; calcareous ſtone, &c. A mile and a half diſtant from Œurebro, is *Dylta*, a large manufactory of ſulphur and green vitriol. The ſulphur is extracted from martial pyrites, which abound here; it is diſtilled in caſt iron veſſels; the reſidue is lixiviated, and produces by evaporation, and cryſtallization, green, or martial vitriol: the ferruginous ochre which remains, affords a red colour, with which the houſes are painted. At *Glandſhammer* are quarries of calcareous ſtone, and ſilver mines abandoned. At *Garphyttann*, two miles further, is a large allum manufactory; the ſlate quarries are not far diſtant and well deſerve attention; here, black allum, in ſlates, is found of a bituminous quality, ſo that inſtead of roaſting it, according to common practice, before it is lixiviated, it is uſed inſtead of wood, with much ſucceſs, for heating cauldrons; martial pyrites, ſolid, globular, and cryſtallized in great variety; indurated marl, frequently of a globular ſhape; calcareous ſtone; calcareous ſpar cryſtallized in pyramids; lapis ſuillus, brown and grey, ſparkling, granulated, ſparry, rhomboidal, ſtriated, priſmatic, and cryſtallized; calcareous ſtone, of a red and brown colour, &c. From Garphyttann, by *Sanua* to *Heſſlekulla*, is a mile and a half; here you find an iron mine, the ore conſiſting of black granulated iron; calcareous ſpar, white, yellow, and of a violet hue, of a pyramidal ſhape, covered with hexagonal calcareous cryſtals in druſes; rocks of granate, cryſtallized granate; and green earth of Heſſlekulla: all the ſpots where theſe are to be found, are near enough to Œurebro; the following are much more diſtant, and thoſe deſirous of viſiting them muſt dedicate ſeveral days to the purpoſe on that account. *Liuſnarburg*, or *Nyakopperberg*, contains copper ore, formerly very rich, but at preſent very poor; it is grey, azure, and yellow; the mine yields, alſo, galena, blend, white, violet, coloured, and green ſpar; ſchoerl, fibrous, ſtarry, and cryſtallized in many different ſhapes; potter's ſtone, &c. *Hellefors* has many mines of ſilver, which have been worked for a long time, but at preſent are nearly exhauſted, yielding very little; of minerals: galena, in ſteely grains, in ſmall cubes, and micacious; yellow copper ore, blend; arſenical pyrites, ſolid, and cryſtallized in needles; martial pyrites; calcareous ſpar; rock pebbles, red, brown, and black. From Hellefors to *Saxan* is one mile, thence to *Onſhytta* another. This ſtage is preciſely at the foot of mount *Perſberg*, which is full of veins of iron ore: by viſiting theſe mines you may procure ſolid black iron ore, in ſmall and large grains; martial pyrites, granulated, cryſtallized in octaedra cubical, and in polygons in druſes; leafy ore of biſmuth; amianthus; potter's ſtone; ſchoerl, fibrous, in ſpar, ſtarry, cryſtallized, and

priſmatic

priſmatic; rock garnet; garnet in druſes; ſteatites; ſtarry aſbeſtos; calcareous ſtone, ſolid, and in grains; calcareous ſpar; quartz; druſes of quartz; mica; and rock pebbles, in ſeveral varieties. From Onſhytta you proceed to *Philipſtadt*, a town a mile diſtant: provided you have time to ſpare you may viſit ſeveral intereſting ſpots in the neighbourhood. *Longbanſhitta*, two miles diſtant, contains a rich iron mine, the greateſt part of which is in hematites: here many curious minerals are found, blue hematites in ſolid grains, ſteely grains, ſparkling, micacious, and lamellated in leaves; black iron ore of fine grain, fibrous, and cryſtallized in octaedra; martial pyrites granulated, cryſtallized in druſes; ſparry ſtalſtein of very rich quality; manganeſe, white, globular, and ſtarry within; calcareous ſpar; ferruginous gypſum, white and ſparkling; druſes of ſpar, calcareous, in pyramidal cryſtals, irregular, capillary in thin hairs; red and brown jaſper, ſometimes with ſmall veins of iron ore: it takes a beautiful poliſh; rock garnet; druſes of garnets cryſtallized; calcareous ſchoerle, in ſtars of large rays; green and yellow ſerpentine; ophites of ſerpentine, and calcareous ſtone; mountain leather; mountain cork, and amianthus. From Philipſtadt to *Normarck*, is two miles: this is a mountain full of very ancient iron mines, but does not abound in minerals: the iron ore is black, in ſmall and large grains; cryſtallized in thin druſes; galena in ſmall cubes; calcareous ſpar which doubles the object, and cryſtallized in double pyramids; joined to each other at their baſe; mountain leather; mountain cork; ſchoerle, fibrous, and ſtarry. *Taberg* is another mountain which contains iron mines, and is a great league diſtant from Normarck; it is famous for the quautity of amianthus it yields: here you may obtain iron ore, more or leſs granulated and teſſilated; blend with large ſhining ſides; martial pyrites, granulated, and cryſtallized in cubes; calcareous ſpar; micacious and leafy ſteatites; brown mica; amianthus, grey, hard, almoſt cold, coarſe, white, of a finer quality, lamellated in fine fibres, and blended with calcareous ſpar; ſchoerle, in fibrous ears; ſometimes fine ſpecimens of amianthus are found; iron ores, pyrites, and mica, united with calcareous ſpar; ſo that here a very handſome collection may be made.

You return to Philipſtadt, and on the road may examine the iron mine, *Agegrufvan*, which adjoins the road: you find here black iron ore, granulated and ſolid; ſchoerle in friable grains, and cryſtallized in priſms; mountain cork, ſometimes ſprinkled with garners; calcareous ſpar of ſeveral colours. In the weſtern part of this province, away from the road, are the copper mines of *Glafva* and *Gunarſkog*, at preſent abandoned.

From Arboga you proceed to *Kongſœur*, a ſmall town, or borough, pleaſantly ſituated at the extremity of lake Meler; we arrived there at eight o'clock in the evening, and notwithſtanding the precaution we took, of ſending before for horſes, we had to wait for them till two o'clock in the morning, owing to the ill will of the poſt-maſter; ſuch delays are very frequent in the evening, on account of the poſt-maſters being deſirous of engaging you to ſleep at their houſes, and the dread to which the country people are liable of driving by night. At times it has occurred that, with the ſix horſes we required for our carriage, ſix poſtillions came, and at others only one. In Scania and in Bleking, they are more reſolute. On the evening of our arrival there happened to be an aſſembly at the very houſe at which we ſtopped. Our dreſs appearing, doubtleſs, ſtrange to them, the whole company came in files, of three or four at a time, into our chamber, to take a view of the foreigners. After this ceremony, which ſerved to amuſe us, and exhibited the whole of the beauties of the neighbourhood, (unfortunately but few,) we ſignified our deſire of participating in an entertainment ſo much at hand; our requeſt was readily granted, and from all the company we received the greateſt civilities; at ſupper-time, but for our pertinacious reſiſtance to the challenges made us, we ſhould have been unable to continue



Engrav'd by J. Storer.

Stockholm.

nue our journey; unfortunately, it ſo happened that none out of the whole number underſtood any other than the Swediſh language; ſigns were, conſequently, of much ſervice to us; this inconvenience excepted, we paſſed the ſix hours we ſtayed in the moſt agreeable manner imaginable, and imbibed a very favourable idea of Swediſh hoſpitality.

At Torſhalla, you ſee from the bridge a number of ſmall cataracts, which have a very fine effect. Between Malmby and Lageſtrok, the caſtle of Gripſholm is ſituated, of which a deſcription at length ſhall be given. Near to Gripſholm is *Oker*, a cannon foundry, and near to Torſhalla *Eſkelſtuna*, of which, alſo, more ſhall be ſaid in another place: paſt which nothing more is met with worthy attention, before you reach Stockholm.

CHAP. III. — *Arrival at Stockholm. — General Account of that City. — The Court of Sweden. — The Royal Caſtle. — Play-Houſes.*

The entrance into Stockholm by no means announces a capital: we arrived by the ſouthern ſuburbs. The city, properly ſpeaking, is very ſmall, and ſituated in an iſland at the point of junction of the ſea and lake Meler: the ſouthern and northern ſuburbs are very large, ſince from the north to the ſouth gate is half a mile, but parts of the ſtreets are either without houſes, or covered with ſuch as have only a ground floor, which is the cauſe why Stockholm, notwithſtanding the great ſpace it occupies, does not certainly contain more than 75,000 inhabitants: part of the houſes are of wood; ſome in the ſuburbs wear the appearance of wretched cottages. Queen-ſtreet, and Regeney-ſtreet, in the northern ſuburbs, are the handſomeſt, and beſt inhabited of the whole plain: in the ſouthern ſuburbs ſome merchants reſide, but not a ſingle man of rank. The north ſquare will make a very good appearance when the bridge in contemplation is finiſhed, and in caſe of their changing the front oppoſite the caſtle. The opera and the palace form the two other ſides, and are very handſome buildings.

Few cities in Europe are ſo badly paved as Stockholm, which is the more diſagreeable from the royal garden being the only promenade within the city; and on account of that being damp and unhealthy, except in the height of ſummer, you have no other place for walking.

The ſituation of Stockholm is ſingular, and highly pictureſque, and is comparable to that of no other city; as it affords, from many ſpots, moſt charming points of view, in which you ſee a mixture of ſteeples, houſes, rocks, trees, lakes, and the caſtle, which is diſtinguiſhed from every quarter, and has a moſt admirable effect. This capital, as we have before obſerved, is built by the ſea, and lake Meler: the locks on the ſouth (which are a very handſome work) dividing them.

The port is handſome, ſpacious, and ſafe, but difficult of acceſs; it frequently takes ſeveral days to get to ſea, or to arrive thence at Stockholm, on account of the courſe to be taken between numberleſs banks, to effect which, particular winds are requiſite. The quays are of aſtoniſhing breadth.

Police. The city is but badly lighted; the police is tolerably good; a conſequence rather of the tranquil nature of the inhabitants, than any care that is taken. In the winter of 1792, ſome diſagreeable occurrences took place, on the part of Ruſſians it is true; but ſome time elapſed before means were diſcovered of ſtopping theſe diſorders, the exiſtence of which, likewiſe, the police had ſome difficulty in crediting, notwithſtanding they were repeated often enough to put the matter out of queſtion: frequently it imputes exceſſes that may be committed, to liquor, and this is the firſt inſtance we have

have met with of ſuch an excuſe being admitted by the police; it muſt indeed be allowed that thoſe who admit this plea are often drunk themſelves.

Society here is dull; it is limited to tea parties at five o'clock: the ladies have their ſet days; and at ſeven o'clock all doors are cloſed, thoſe of merchants alone excepted, who are yet accuſtomed to give ſuppers, and from whom an invitation to dine is an entertainment for the day. Through the whole of winter we never but once ſupped with a Swede, (the Grand Maſter Bonde:) ſometimes dinners are given, but very rarely; the miniſters alone keep an eſtabliſhment, properly ſpeaking, and even the greater part of theſe do not really ſo. The miniſter for foreign affairs, alone, gives regularly a dinner once a week, at which the diplomacy meet for conference, and to which ſtrangers are conſtantly invited. The diſcontent of the nobility, a part of whom has retired to their diſtinct provinces, has greatly contributed to the diminution of the company found in this city. Society (that is to ſay, of perſons liable to invitation on days of ceremony) is ſo ſcarce, that it does not exceed one hundred and fifty perſons; whereas it amounts to two hundred and fifty at Copenhagen; and at Berlin, to two hundred and twenty or thirty.

The foreign miniſters had a club in the north-ſquare, called *La Societé*, where ſtrangers and perſons well known in Stockholm were admitted. Here you read the papers, might play (but only at round games,) and dine and ſup at an ordinary at a fixed price, always ſure of meeting with good company. We are uninformed whether or not this ſociety continues to exiſt; ſhould it not, we pity the foreigners who may viſit Stockholm, as this formed the chief, and frequently the only reſource for them throughout great part of the day.

The inns are miſerable; a ſtranger, in caſe of remaining here any time, cannot abſolutely diſpenſe with hiring furniſhed lodgings; for three rix-dollars a week, you obtain tolerably comfortable apartments, and at a leſs rate in caſe of taking them by the month. Very little wood is required to heat the rooms, the ſtoves being of an excellent conſtruction. Good *laquais de louage*, as well here as elſewhere, are very rare, particularly ſuch as ſpeak French. You may hire glaſs coaches at two rix-dollars and a half per day, or at from 50 to 55 per month, which indeed is the only way to be ſecure of having ſuch as are decent, for generally they are both old and incommodious. You pay three copper-dollars for a ride from one ſpot to another, in a hackney-coach, à plotte for the firſt hour, and four copper-dollars for each ſucceeding one; but hackney coaches are not to be found at all times.

Society, which ought naturally to be gay, particularly that of women of a certain claſs, is ſerious and dull. Theſe ladies affect to give themſelves airs, expect to be treated in the ſame manner as ladies of the court, and are fond of your kiſſing their hand. It may eaſily be conceived how greatly this aſſumption of dignity, in every reſpect ſo ridiculous, muſt affect the pleaſantry of ſociety.

Although we have extolled the natural probity of the Swedes, we do not pretend in this character to include the cities, particularly the capital. That bears a perfect reſemblance to other cities of the firſt rank: every thing is very dear; here as elſewhere are robbers, adventurers, and ſharpers; in one word, it is as corrupt as a city can be that is filled with inhabitants of all nations.

The Court of Sweden. Preſentations at court take place every fortnight on Sundays, at the inſtant of the King leaving his apartment; which is uſually about ſeven o'clock. The etiquette of this court much reſembles that of the court of Verſailles formerly, and in many things is abſolutely the ſame. The King is always preceded by his grand officers;

officers; he walks round the company, embraces the wives of the ſenators, and ſpeaks to every one without diſtinction; but longeſt to the miniſters and foreigners; on our very firſt introduction, he converſed with us on the French revolution, and without heſitation alluded to that of Sweden in 1772, and the factions in his own country. Converſation ended, you ſet down to play; the game is a ſort of loto, at which every one ſtakes two and a half rix-dollars in paper, neither gold nor ſilver being ſeen at the table: the Queen only has a ſeparate table, at which ſhe plays at cards; the Prince Royal is by the ſide of the table, ſtanding, the ſame as at the levee, and retires as ſoon as the game is done. Afterwards you go to ſupper, at which every thing is conducted the ſame as was at the French court; each Princeſs has her officers behind her: the Gentleman Carver cuts for all, and hands the plates: a baliſter of wood ſeparates a third of the apartment: here the public is allowed to be: the ladies of the ſenators have ſtools to ſet on, which is the only ſeats to be ſeen. When the King is deſirous of ſpeaking to any one, he addreſſes him by name, and diſmiſſes him by a nod of the head. Supper concludes between ten and eleven o'clock. Strangers that have already been preſented, place themſelves by the diplomatic corps; it is cuſtomary to remain to the end.

The Queen embraces the wives of the ſenators upon their ſtooping to kiſs her hand; foreign ladies kiſs the hands of the Queen and the Princeſſes *. We were preſented to the Queen immediately after having been introduced to the King; as for the Princes and Princeſſes you attend on their day, and are preſented to them in their apartments.

The following is an anecdote but little known. Charles XII. wrote from Bender for an exact account of the ceremonial of the court of Louis XIV., which was ſent to him. A fugitive ruined prince, who breathed nothing but war, to require the etiquette of a court the moſt brilliant in Europe; what a ſingularity!

Even before you go to the King, you viſit and are preſented to the Prince Royal; he always ſpeaks to foreigners, and makes the circuit of his apartment in the ſame manner as the King. On Thurſdays, the Prince dines in public at one o'clock, at which time you pay your court; we never met with any ladies on theſe occaſions. His mode of conduct is the counterpart of that of his Majeſty: the miniſters are conſtantly with him, although they appear before his Majeſty but once within a fortnight; they viſit the Prince three times in that ſpace, which is ſomewhat ſingular. He is dreſt in the Swediſh manner, without a cloak, his hair cut cloſe round, and without powder. The countenance of this young Prince is intereſting, and beſpeaks a weak ſtate of health, notwithſtanding he is very well; he is extremely forward conſidering his years, and highly engaging. His hours of ſtudy are exactly regulated; every day he has eight or ten perſons to dine with him, and every thing about him is in the ſimpleſt ſtile. The Prince never dines with his Father unleſs when in the country; he is reſtrained from this privilege until he aſſumes the ſword, which he will do ſhortly; this however did not prevent his father (on his journey to Aix la Chapelle in 1791,) from declaring him regent, and upon our noticing this to his Majeſty, he replied, "Guſtavus Adolphus took a town before he was inveſted with the ſword." This required no anſwer.

* Some years ago, the lady of the Imperial Ambaſſador refuſed to ſubmit to this ceremony, and expoſed herſelf to a diſagreeable affair at the Exchange ball. Without entering into the merits of her motive, whether good or bad, it is our opinion, that he acts moſt prudent who follows the cuſtoms of the country he is in, and that all are particularly bound not to draw on themſelves in public, any odium by an untoward diſpoſition. Be that as it may, from that period the Ambaſſadors from the Emperor no longer preſent their ladies at court.

We have obſerved that the Prince dines on Thurſdays in public; he takes a circle round the room both before and after dinner. We ſaw one day a Dalecarlian who had placed himſelf behind every one; the young Prince perceiving and recognizing him on account of his characteriſtic dreſs, made way through the crowd, and coming up, took him by the hand and converſed with him for ſome minutes. As ſoon as he quitted him, we perceived this man affected by ſuch a mark of condeſcenſion, fall back to the window and ſhed tears of delight; on this occaſion we made reflection, which every one has done a thouſand times before, of how little it coſts princes to be beloved, how much the ſlighteſt kindneſs in them is valued, and conſequently how guilty, or ill adviſed they muſt be, where they fail of procuring for themſelves a pleaſure ſo gratifying and ſo eaſy, as the bleſſings of the loweſt claſs of their ſubjects. Guſtavus III. enjoys this happineſs, and his ſon follows his ſteps: he cannot have a better guide; too young as yet to calculate upon the advantage of being cheriſhed by his people, a day perhaps may come, when he will perceive the value of their affection for him. He is called to reign over a free people, and will learn from his father not to ſuffer this liberty to encreaſe at the expence of his own; like him will he unite courage with prudence, and that proportion of policy neceſſary to a throne, raiſed within theſe few years on the wreck of ariſtocracy, and we dare to prognoſticate he will flouriſh; beſides he will have the advantage of having ſtudied under an excellent maſter, and thus be enabled to fix that irreſolution of the mind natural in a matter of ſuch ſerious conſequence.

That this article was written before the King's death, will be evident; we were far from imagining that ſuch an atrocious crime would ſo ſhortly deprive the Prince Royal of a ſupport and counſellor ſo neceſſary for him: what was yet far more difficult for us to foreſee, was that ſuch an abominable action would meet with its defenders.

Suppers of the Court. The King gives a ſupper at leaſt twice, and frequently three times a week; on opera nights in the opera chamber; the other days at the caſtle or *Haga*. Foreigners admitted to his company are conſtantly invited. The King is ſeated between two ladies moſt commonly at one end of the table. At Haga you do not wear a ſword, but muſt always be either full dreſſed, or in uniform, the ſame as in the city. In the ſummer time, a part of which the King ſpends at Haga, he invites foreigners likewiſe to dine with him, which invitation is generally for the whole day. In order to be entitled to dine with His Majeſty, it is requiſite for a Swede that he ſhould at leaſt be a Lieutenant-Colonel, The King indeed, ſometimes admits young people to this honour, who are not of ſuch high rank, but this is eſteemed a ſpecial favour. As for the King's ſuppers they are without ceremony, even when the royal family is preſent, which is frequently the caſe at the opera; the Queen and Princeſſes ſeating themſelves at the middle of the table without diſtinction. You are waited upon by pages, the principal ones at the King's table are officers, and bear as ſuch a diſtinctive mark, (a handkerchief tied round the arm,) as is the caſe with the chief page of the Ducheſs of Sudermania, and the King's ſiſter.

The two Princeſſes each give a ſupper once a week, at which foreigners, who have been once admitted, require no invitation: they play at *quinze*; there is alſo a loto, at which you may game very low, if ſo diſpoſed.

The education of the pages is much neglected, at the King's table they wait on every one, thoſe who are officers only excepted, who wait on none but the Princes. Theſe latter have none of their own.

You take your leave ſeverally of all the court, conducted by the miniſter of your nation.

Firſt

First audience of foreign ministers.—During our stay at Stockholm, a new envoy from Prussia had his first audience of the King and royal family; the following is a description of the ceremony. A carriage belonging to the court, in which was the master of the ceremonies, went to bring the minister from his hôtel at about half-past seven at night; the minister got in; beside him sat the minister from Holland, and in front the master of the ceremonies. In a following carriage was the *Charge d'Affaires* of Prussia. Upon his introduction into the great dining-room, where there was a large company collected, it was announced that the King was ready to receive the credentials of the new minister; upon this the doors of the audience chamber, which adjoined, were opened. The King had his hat on; he was seated on an arm chair of crimson cloth, the back of which was ornamented with the arms of Sweden, carved in wood and gilt; he was addressed in French, and answered in the same language with inexpressible grace and dignity: he had five or six of the principal officers of his court about him. Upon the minister from Prussia leaving the presence, he was afterwards conducted successively to the Prince Royal and the other Princes and Princesses. We followed him to the young Prince, who made his speech with all the nobleness of manner and confidence that a sovereign the most accustomed to these forms could possibly shew; we were the only spectators upon the occasion. The minister was re-conducted to his hôtel in the same manner, and in the same carriage, which, by a pleasant chance, has preserved the name of a Dutch minister of whom it was purchased, and is known by no other appellation.

The coaches of ambassadors and senators only enter the court of the castle, which is very inconvenient for others, the open piazzas under which you walk not sheltering you from the wind.

The royal castle is situated within the city proper, on an eminence, so that it is visible, from every quarter, and forms a striking object. It is not large, but its architecture is good, and it is altogether one of the prettiest modern palaces in existence. *Le Voyageur Hollandais* asserts, that it is larger than that of Copenhagen, but not so handsome nor so elegantly furnished; precisely the reverse is the truth. It is built of brick, cased, the roof *a l'Italienne*, was begun by Charles XI., and entirely finished by the late King; it forms almost a perfect square. The interior court is two hundred and sixty feet by two hundred and twenty-four, and has seventeen windows by fifteen; it is four stories high, three of which are lofty and one low. The entrance court is semicircular; the front has twenty-three windows in a row; ten Doric columns, joining the wall, support an equal number of Ionic *coryatides*, and above them are ten small Corinthian pillars, which reach the top of the building. The south side, or that of the theatre, has six large Corinthian pillars half immerged, crowned with trophies, twenty-one windows, and as well as the opposite side, is three hundred and twenty-eight feet long. The fourth side, which fronts the sea, has twenty-three windows, and is three hundred and sixty-four feet long; is six stories high, three of which are lofty, and three small in the wings alone. The *corps de logis*, which is of nine windows, is but of four stories, three of which are lofty, one low, with three arcades in the midst. To the *corps de logis* there are Composite pillars, and at each window of the first story two small Ionian pillars. To the principal *corps de logis* in the court are nine arcades, the pillars of the Corinthian order, and two small columns to the windows, the same as in front; the opposite side is the same. The breadth of the building at the *corps de logis* of the principal entrance, and at two others, is 52 feet; at the two remaining, an arch serves as a gateway. The depth of the building on the side of the declivity is but forty-two feet; at the extremities of this slope are two large lions in bronze. Before one of the fronts of the castle is a

ſmall terraced court, of two hundred and ſixty feet, from one pavilion to the other, by one hundred and thirty-eight; this ought to be a garden: it has handſome marble baliſters as well on the quay (or lower) as on the oppoſite or higher ſide. The pavilions to one ſtory have nine windows inſide and as many on the quay; the lower part of the pavilions was intended for an orangery, but is appropriated to other uſes; it is in arcades.

The chapel is very handſome, and well ornamented; it is one hundred and twenty-five feet by forty-two, with a gallery all round; the ſtaircaſe leading to it is of marble. The ſtairs are moſtly very handſome; the ſlabs of ſtone of which the flights are formed (ſome of them marble) are very beautiful.

The chamber of the ſtates is oppoſite to the chapel, and is preciſely of the ſame dimenſions; it is ninety-five feet from the door to the throne, which is thirty feet diſtant from the extremity of the room. The throne is aſcended by eight ſteps, owing to the rows of ſeats with which the chamber is furniſhed, being raiſed one above the other, as in an amphitheatre, from the entrance. The nobility occupy the right of the King, the clergy, burgeſſes, and peaſantry the oppoſite ſide: it is entirely ſurrounded by a gallery with ſeats; this apartment is both elegant and noble. Adjoining is that in which the orders of knighthood meet, which is ſucceeded by the two chambers in which the ſenate formerly aſſembled. In the former of theſe three rooms are four pictures in tapeſtry, which repreſent the battles of Charles XI., given to that monarch by Lewis XIV.

The King's apartments. The apartment in which the King has his couchèe in the evening is compoſed of a grand ſquare ſaloon, adorned with pillars of wood gilt, on which are two ſtatues. Apollo and Venus *Callypigi*; the face of the latter is that of Counteſs Hœpken: theſe ſtatues are of the natural ſize in marble, and were ſculptured by *Sergell.* They front each other, with their backs towards looking-glaſſes. To this ſucceeds a large ſaloon, the furniture of which is of French velvet; this is an elegant apartment, contains a number of plates of glaſs, and ſix buſts of the reigning family by *Sergell.* From this ſaloon you enter a ſmall cloſet, which ſerves as a paſſage into the gallery; in it is a baſon of marble, ſupported by three feet of a couchant lion, a very ancient piece, and three antique ſtatues, Piſcennius Niger, Juno, and a young man with a ſwan holding a ſerpent in its beak; the gallery contains a number of fine paintings. Two children by *Rubens.* The Judgment of Paris by *Coypel.* Venus and Adonis by *Le Moine*, which with the preceding make a pair; both are beautiful, and do honour to the French ſchool. The four Evangeliſts in the ſame picture, by *Vandyke* or *Valentin*, very fine. The Virgin by *Giordani*, the colouring rather too high. Sigiſmond on horſeback, by *Rubens*, exquiſite. It was bought at an inn by Mr. de Teſſin for a ducat. A dead partridge, a finiſhed performance of *Hondecœter.* Venus and Adonis, by *Vandyke*, appears as if the painter had had ſome other intention on beginning the piece. Adonis has very much the appearance of Jeſus dead, and being carried to the ſepulchre; the head of Venus reſembles that of the Magdalen by Le Brun. A number of very pleaſing Flemiſh pieces; ſome by *Wouvermans.* St. Jerome by Vandyke; this painting had received conſiderable damage, which has been repaired. Ulyſſes and Ajax perſuading Achilles to take up the cauſe of the Greeks; a very fine painting, by *Laireſſe.* A philoſopher with a book in his hand, a precious jewel of *Rembrandt*; in this is given a moſt beautiful effect of light. Mercury, ſaid to be by *Rubens*, bought at the cuſtom-houſe at Antwerp. A fine piece of gameſters playing, *of the ſchool of Vandyke*; it is ſaid to be a repreſentation of the family of Charles I. A butcher ripping up an ox, by *Teniers*, a ſubject which he has frequently treated. A likeneſs of De Witt, the grand penſionary, a very handſome painting, attributed to Vandyke. The family of Rubens,

by *Vandyke*. Some birds extremely well executed, by *Vanacht*, 1664. An old woman, by Rembrandt. Mercury and Argus, by Simon de Pesaro. Mutius Scævola, by Pouſſin; it is a pity this little picture ſhould have ſuffered ſo much injury. Suſannah, by *Rubens*, on wood. The birth of Ericthonius, a ſketch of *Rubens*. The Virgin, by *Vouet*; an engraving has been made from this. Two beautiful landſcapes, by Berghen. A Virgin, attributed to *Holbein*. A child, ſaid to be by *Titian*, ſomewhat damaged. *Give unto Cæſar*, &c., a fine painting by Lanfranc; the colour in ſome places is faded; the heads in it are beautiful. Beſides theſe, this gallery contains thirteen antique marble ſtatues; but that incomparably the moſt valuable is Endymion, in the middle of the room. This is a piece of exquiſite beauty, and worthy of being matched with the moſt celebrated pieces of antiquity. He is in a lying poſture; one leg and one arm have undergone repair, which might indeed have been better done. The King bought this ſuperb jewel at Rome in 1784, for the trifling ſum of 2000 ducats. Undoubtedly the Pope would never have conſented to its removal from Rome, had it not been for this Prince. The nine Muſes, bought likewiſe at Rome with three other pieces for 3000 ducats, on account of the King; although the whole nine be not of equal merit, or in the moſt beautiful antique ſtyle, they are not the leſs valuable for the ſtudy of the art, each poſſeſſing ſome fine touches, particularly for the inſtruction of the natives of the country, who are deſtitute of a ſingle Greek or even Roman antique without the palace of His Majeſty. The drapery is the beſt executed part of theſe ſtatues. Polyhymnia and Terpſichore are ſuperb. Euterpe, Erato, Clio, and Urania, handſome pieces. Melpomene and Thalia, but ordinary. Calliope is the worſt of the whole. There are other paintings, which certain journaliſts have highly extolled, particularly the three Graces, and the nuptials of Amphitrite, attributed to *Rubens*: theſe we have not noticed, from our conceiving them to be only of the ſchool of that maſter, forming our opinion upon that of certain connoiſſeurs as much attached to their country as men can be, and as well inclined to publiſh whatever might juſtly tend to its glory. There is an Apollo playing on the lute, which for a length of time was taken for a woman, the head being loſt; this ſtatue has been engraven as ſuch by Cavacippi. The Pope finding a ſtatue in an entire ſtate with ſimilar attributes, the error occaſioned by his diſguiſe in woman's apparel was made evident. An ancient Prieſteſs. A Fawn couchant, a ſmall ſtatue by Sergell; the body is extremely beautiful; it is perhaps the maſter-piece of that famous ſculptor.—Leaving the gallery you enter a cloſet, which ſerves as a paſſage: here are two Fawns carrying wine budgets, with a woman holding a goblet.—Succeeds a parlour, containing a number of paintings. The gratitude of Achilles to the daughter of Nicomedes, a pretty piece, attributed to Wanderwerff. The preſentation at the Temple, by *Tiepolo* the younger. The birth of Chriſt, as a companion, by the ſame hand. The triumph of Amphitrite, ſaid to be by *Rubens*, but more truly by *Diepenbeck*, his pupil (this is the painting we have previouſly noticed). A Madona, attributed to Corregio. The conſpiracy of Ziſka, after the manner and certainly from the ſchool of Rembrandt. A portrait of Cromwell, very handſome, and in good preſervation. A head, the wife of the *Parmeſan*. A head of Chriſt, by *Albert Durer*; in which the red predominates too much. Silenus, by *Rubens*, with an epiſode of rather a looſe deſcription, has greatly ſuffered; it is engraved, and is to be found in many collections. Beſides theſe, there are a number of other paintings. Some ſtatues and ſome buſts are to be ſeen. Silenus drunk, a ſmall ſtatue. Achilles when a child, which has undergone repair. Two ſmall antique Muſes. Columns of marble in ſhape of the trunks of trees, two dog's tongues in marble, a fluted pillar, with a baſket for a capital. Two hyppogriffins. A ſmall antique goat, well executed. A large *cornucopia* ſculptured, ending with

with a boar's head; this is placed over different pieces of antique ſculpture, which form a very pleaſing whole. Two blocks of granitella, on one of which is depoſited an urn, or rather a vaſe, on which children and birds are ſculptured, by a nice hand; on the other is a piece of porphyry, formed into the ſhape of a tub. In another apartment is the portrait of Charles I., by *Vandyke*. Four beautiful heads, by *Nogari*. Chriſt being crowned with thorns, a large painting, taken from a church, the author of which is unknown; it is minutely beautiful. An urn with compartments, ſupported by four lion's feet. An antique marble ſeat. A large urn; on the cover a young lion is ſeen devouring a bull. Two ſmall baths, with hermaphrodites. A ſmall ſtatue of Paris, with one knee on the ground before the apple. A large modern vaſe of granite, unfortunately broken. A handſome antique vaſe, with ears to it, of very elegant ſhape and well preſerved. Beſides theſe, you find on the tables or mantle-pieces of theſe apartments, vaſes, buſts, and bronzes, either antique or copies.—In another apartment are a number of large diſhes of earthenware, known by the appellation of *Raphael ware*; of it there is a great collection; vaſes of Swediſh porphyry, of an elegant form and fine workmanſhip: ſome buſts, and a ſmall ſtatue of the god Pan. The whole of this ſuite of apartments is ſuperb; at the end is a tolerably large dining-room, which, however, does not correſpond with the reſt. On the ſide is a ſmall theatre, where formerly plays in French were acted; at preſent it ſerves as an occaſional muſic room. We heard a woman ſing here, who muſt needs be ſixty years of age, ſince ſhe ſang at the conſecration of His Majeſty's father in 1751; notwithſtanding this her manner of ſinging was excellent, and much ſuperior to that of the ſingers of the opera of the preſent time.

From the firſt ſquare ſaloon which we have previouſly noticed, you paſs through a narrow paſſage to the King's bed-chamber, in which is the buſt of Madame de Brionne; this chamber has a communication with a ſmall apartment, ornamented with the portraits of the Kings and Queens of France, done with a pen; the portrait of a lady in black, and that of the Baron d'Armfeldt, in a warrior's dreſs, by *Vertmuller*, a Swede, member of the Royal Academy of France. You afterwards aſcend, by a very narrow ſtaircaſe, to a ſmall room between the two floors, the ornaments of which are perfectly beautiful; the deſigns by *Maſrellier*: it contains a number of bronze figures from the antique, prettily diſtributed in little niches; from this room you paſs into a chamber which the King calls his *divan*; it is extremely ſmall, and decorated very richly in the Turkiſh ſtyle; it is lighted by two lamps of much taſte, ſupported by tripods from three to four feet high. When lighted, this divan is beautiful. As we entered theſe apartments we left our ſwords.

The ſecond ſtory conſiſts of a number of rooms; in one of them the King holds his levée, the caſe commonly every other day from eleven to twelve. The apartment has a grand and ſmaller entrance, and every thing here is regulated upon the ſyſtem of the court of Verſailles. Afterwards follows a very long gallery, in which the court aſſembles on Sunday evening every fortnight, and next the card-room; the grand gallery communicates with the Queen's apartments; from the anti-chamber, through which you enter to the levee, and in which their Majeſties dine in public, you paſs into the council-chamber; this contains a number of paintings; one of ſize, a very fine piece, by *Laireſſe*, repreſenting the detection of Achilles. The four fathers of the church, in one beautiful piece, by Rubens. Suzannah and the elders, by the ſame, very natural, fine, and well preſerved. The family of Darius at the feet of Alexander, by *Treviſani*, one of his beſt works. The portraits of Guſtavus Vaſa, of Charles XII., and a beautiful one of Chriſtina, by *Beck*. A buſt of Guſtavus Adolphus, and the Prince Royal,

by *Sergell*, about whom a child on foot encircles a garland. A bronze buſt of Charles XII., by *Bouchardon* the younger. This apartment was to be enlarged; the deſigns for the purpoſe, projected by *Maſrellier*, were ſhewn to us. It is to be connected with the neighbouring chamber, that contains a painting by *Gagnerot*, which repreſents the Pope accompanying the King to the Muſeum.

It is in contemplation to eſtabliſh a Royal Muſæum, which is to hold all the collections made by the celebrated *Nicodemus Teſſin*, to whom are owing the handſomeſt buildings in Stockholm; by his ſon Charles Guſtavus, of equal celebrity as a connoiſſeur of the arts and ſtateſman; by Queen Louiſa Ulrica, the worthy ſiſter of the great Frederic; and by Guſtavus III., the firſt King who travelled to promote the arts, which formed his chief delight. In this Muſæum is to be depoſited the whole of the antique ſpecimens collected by them, than which, out of Italy, it would be difficult to produce a more precious collection. The Endymion, Apollo, Minerva, and the nine Muſes, will form its chief beauties in ſculpture. It is to contain paintings; drawings by great maſters, of which there are thirteen enormous volumes; engravings, moſtly proofs; the beſt works on the arts; Etruſcan vaſes, bronzes, medals, and ancient and modern coins, the number of which amounts to twenty thouſand, the union of three valuable collections, &c.

From this proſpectus one can but form a favourable idea of the intended Muſæum. Mr. de Fredenheim, whom we ſhall ſhortly mention, is occupied with this eſtabliſhment, as intendant of all the King's collections in the department of the arts. This appointment does him honour, and will certainly not be blamed by thoſe who, like us, have the happineſs of knowing him.

Theatres. They have four theatres. The grand opera in the Swediſh language, at which there are performances on Mondays, and occaſionally on Thurſdays; the actors are pretty good; Mr. *Kaſten* is the firſt ſinger, who is of impoſing appearance, and plays in a noble ſtyle; notwithſtanding which one ſtill feels there is ſomewhat in his manner to look for. Madame *Muller* is poſſeſſed of great talents, but withal has a Daniſh accent, in our opinion, very diſagreeable: her huſband is an excellent violin player. The dancing part, managed by a Frenchman, is very tolerable. Mademoiſelle Baſſi (who, however, we believe has ſince left them) was the firſt dancer; ſhe performed at Paris ſome years back. The dreſſes are extremely rich, and propriety of coſtume moſt critically adhered to; as for ſcenery, they may in this article vie with the moſt elegant theatres; and in point of machinery, the moſt difficult ſpectator has nothing to condemn. Within five months, that is to ſay, in courſe of two or three-and-twenty nights' repreſentations, we were preſent at nine different operas, three of which national. *Guſtavus Vaſa* in particular is extremely curious; the ſcenery of the firſt act, which repreſents the court of Chriſtiern, is exquiſitely beautiful. The ſubject is, for the natives of the country, of a very intereſting nature, and is compoſed by him the beſt qualified to appreciate the great qualities of this Prince*. The muſic of the piece by *Naumann*, is frequently very fine; of the merit of the compoſition we were unable to judge, but were told that the verſes were excellent. In the opera of Electra, likewiſe, there is a beautiful ſcene; one of a new deſcription, and extremely rich in Thetis and

* The King has framed the ſkeleton of ſeveral operas and many Swediſh pieces; he is extremely partial to the ſtage, is well acquainted with it, and an excellent judge particularly of French pieces; often is he the only perſon who feels and applauds certain paſſages; much of the delicate ſtrokes of a language eſcaping thoſe who even ſpeak it fluently, unleſs it be fundamentally acquired; but the King underſtands the French language equally well with the beſt-informed Frenchman. (This article we have left exactly as it was originally compoſed.)

Peleus,

Peleus, a very old opera, the muſic of which is but indifferent, notwithſtanding the production of an Italian, but remarkable on account of its being rehearſed on the evening of the memorable day on which the revolution took place in 1772, at which rehearſal the King was preſent till eleven in the evening, evincing the greateſt tranquillity, and apparently intent on nothing but the opera, ſo much ſo, in ſhort, that many perſons who had heard a rumour of it, could not be perſuaded it would take place on the morrow.

For the chief ſeats at the opera you pay thirty-two ſkillings. Provided you have no ſeat in the boxes, it is uſual to ſit in the pit; but a foreigner of any notoriety eaſily obtains a place either in the box of the miniſter of his nation, or in ſome other. In the winter on thoſe days on which there are performances, the King ſups at the opera, with a great company, and thoſe ſtrangers admitted to his ſociety, are conſtantly invited. He has reſerved for his own uſe a very elegant apartment there, in which is a painting by Deprés, (an artiſt of whom we ſhall ſpeak as we proceed:) it repreſents the Emperor Joſeph and the King of Sweden in the church of St. Peter, at Rome, with the Pope officiating. A number of figures are very ſtriking likeneſſes.

The theatre is handſome, and the coup d'œil it affords very pleaſing; the ſtage is large. This building forms one of the ſides of the north-ſquare, and has a very fine effect. The palace of the Princeſs Sophia Albertina, the only one who has apartments without the palace, is oppoſite, and in architecture perfectly correſponds. The capitals of the columns of the front are of iron, founded by *Aſplund*. In the veſtibule are to be columns of granite, now poliſhing near the north-bridge.

The French theatre is only comparable to one of our provincial ſtages; but for a Frenchman it muſt be pleaſing to meet with performances of his nation, in the very boſom of the north. M*** was for a long time the principal actor at this theatre, and it was imagined that the unmeaſured bounty of the King would have induced him to remain, but M*** has demonſtrated, that ſenſe and conſiderable talents can be united to a corrupt heart, and the foulеſt ingratitude. His behaviour towards the King, and the manner in which he left Sweden (to pace the boards of the fifth play-houſe in Paris,) would have diſgraced any one but himſelf. They play on Wedneſdays and Fridays at the French theatre. On the other days of the week, in the ſame houſe which is built of wood, is very mean, and very inconvenient *; the company of national actors perform; this company was lately compoſed under the auſpices of His Majeſty, and has already arrived at a ſingular degree of perfection, the ſhortneſs of the time conſidered; the King intereſts himſelf greatly in the improvement of the actors, to which circumſtance the ſpeed of their progreſs is to be attributed. Coſtume is always rigidly attended to among them, and their dreſſes are very good. They perform both tragedy and comedy. For the chief places at them, as well as the French performances, you pay twenty-four ſkillings. The latter company, ſince the death of the King, has been diſmiſſed.

The fourth theatre may be compared to that of our boulevards, as well for the place itſelf, as the company which reſort to it; at this they play trifling pieces and comic operas.

In ſummer they only act once in a fortnight, as almoſt every body at this ſeaſon is in the country; this is but a ſlender privation.

During carnival a maſqued ball is given every Friday, at leaſt this was the caſe during our reſidence there; the price of a ticket of admiſſion is twenty-four ſkillings. You cannot enter the theatre unleſs in a maſk or domino, but may go into the upper boxes,

* It was deſtroyed in 1792.

whence

whence you enjoy every thing, that is to ſay, plenty of duſt, and ſcents; theſe are not reſorted to by good company. The King never miſſed a maſked ball: although ſoon diſtinguiſhed, he was friendly to the licence afforded under a maſk, and was not diſpleaſed when directed on himſelf.

The wardrobe of the opera is immenſe. In no theatre are the actors, dancers, &c. better dreſſed; nay many of the characters, habited in ſerge at Paris, are dreſſed in ſilk here. The orcheſtra is compoſed of more than forty muſicians, who play tolerably well; without including theſe, there are nearly two hundred perſons attached to the theatre as actors, chorus-ſingers, dancers, &c. The corps de ballet alone, is compoſed of ninety performers, who all appear when neceſſary. This play-houſe occupies, almoſt continually, ninety tailors.

This was the ſtate of the theatres in 1791. We cannot anſwer for changes which may ſince then have happened, and have no doubt that many will have taken place ſince the death of Guſtavus III.; views of œconomy (certainly very wiſely conceived) will have induced the Regent to diminiſh expences, regarded as futile and ill-placed by the partizans of the preſent government, willing, upon all occaſions, to condemn what was inſtituted by the laſt. They cannot imagine that the ſums of money, employed in ſupporting ſeveral theatres, are as wiſely expended as upon miſtreſſes; yet muſt it be allowed, that by the firſt method of ſquandering more people receive advantage than by the latter.

The Abbé Vogler, in general, leads the band at the opera; he poſſeſſes a great portion of talent; is an excellent muſician, but excentrically original, nay even to charlataniſm. To give an idea: We were preſent at a concert, (abſolutely given by himſelf,) on the organ of the German chapel; among other things announced was, *The people's love for a patriot King*, which he pretended to expreſs on the organ.

The following are the exact dimenſions of the opera:

It was erected between 1776 and 1782. It is a ſquare building, two hundred and ten Swediſh feet in length, by one hundred and fifty in width, and fifty-ſeven high. Its front is with columns and pilaſtres of the Corinthian order. The theatre is in the middle of the building, and on each ſide are apartments. It is in the ſhape of a truncated ellipſis, the greateſt diameter or length of which is fifty-ſix feet, the ſmaller diameter, which makes the breadth, being forty-eight; there are four rows of boxes, each row conſiſting of twenty-one; the ſtage is eighty-two feet deep, and as many broad.

On each ſide of the theatre is an apartment for the King, one for the director, one for the manager, two tiring rooms, and twenty-four cloſets for the actors; a painter's room, a carpenter's, two coffee-rooms, and a tavern.

This theatre, with all its appendages, coſt building 180,000 crowns banco *, (nearly a million French,) the machinery, the furniture of the King's apartments, and the ſcenery of the firſt opera, included.

In 1792 the building of a new play-houſe was begun, to replace the French opera, the deſtruction of which has had a good effect for the proſpect of the ſquare before the caſtle. The new theatre is to be in the ancient arſenal, near St. James's.

* 40,000l. ſterling.

CHAP. IV.—*State of the Arts and Sciences.—Academies.—King's Library.—Cabinets of Natural Hiſtory.—Cabinet of Models.—Gymnaſia.—Public Schools.—Academy of Painting.—Patriotic Society.*

It cannot be diſſembled that the number of learned Swedes is very inconſiderable; people read but little in general in Sweden, and are at very little pains for information; the nobility eſpecially may be looked upon as ignorant; the clergy there, as almoſt every where, are the beſt informed; yet in this claſs few are conſpicuous. The late King, however, left the ſciences in a far more improved ſtate than that in which he found them; the academies, gymnaſia, and ſchools, all felt the benefit of the enlightened taſte of the ſovereign.

The academies of Stockholm are three in number, excluſive of that of painting.

The Academy of Sciences, founded in 1739, conſiſts of a hundred Swediſh members, and a conſiderable number of foreign aſſociates. Every three months it publiſhes its memoirs in the Swediſh language; its Preſident, likewiſe, is nominated every quarter; it has no honorary, that is to ſay uſeleſs members, a ſingularity we much admire. It has two perpetual ſecretaries; the cabinet of natural hiſtory, and the obſervatory, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently, belong to the academy. The only fund it receives from government, conſiſts in its excluſive privilege of ſelling almanacs, which produces annually about two thouſand rix-dollars: its other revenues are derived from the generoſity of a number of citizens in eaſy circumſtances, among which M. Sahlgren, of Gottenburg, ſtands foremoſt. A part of the library of the academy is a donation of M. *Roſenadler*; it contains ſome valuable works—a Swediſh Bible, in ſmall folio, printed at Upſal, in 1541, with wooden prints; a New Teſtament, in quarto, Stockholm, 1549; wooden prints, very rare; a New Teſtament, the firſt printed in Sweden, Stockholm, 1521, very rare; this is a ſmall folio, has ſuffered from fire, and is not complete—the Battles of Duke Charles (Charles IX.), rare, on account of its being prohibited: the whole of its firſt apartment is filled with books in the Swediſh language. It is affirmed, that it contains all the works publiſhed in that tongue, but for this we are far from vouching. In a ſmall room adjoining, are the memoirs of different academies, ſome voyages, works on natural hiſtory, phyſics, &c. Such as treat of aſtronomy are at the obſervatory.

The cabinet of natural hiſtory is confided to the care of M. *Sparmann*, Doctor of Phyſic, known by his travels in Africa, and his reſearches into natural hiſtory; he has enriched this cabinet with a number of curious objects collected in his travels, either when by himſelf or with Captain Cook. The cabinet is claſſed according to the ſyſtem of Linnæus. When any ſubject occurs which is poſitively new, M. Sparmann explains it at the ſittings of the academy, at which the Swediſh language alone is ſpoken*. In this collection we ſaw a great number of animals preſerved in ſpirits of wine.—The member of a rhinoceros.—*Mus pumilio* from Africa.—An amphibious mouſe.—The

* We remarked before that the tranſactions of the academy were publiſhed in the Swediſh language. It is our opinion that the Swediſh language is not ſufficiently diffuſed, not well enough known, even to the literary world, to juſtify the omiſſion on the part of the academy, of publiſhing them in two languages, or at leaſt in one more generally known. Many Swediſh authors have to attribute to this circumſtance the ſmall ſale of their publications, and the little fame they acquire. If Linnæus had written in his own tongue he would not have had leſs merit it is true, but certainly leſs celebrity.

fœtus of a Hottentot.—*Lacerta ſputator*.—The venomous lizard of Africa.—A flying lizard.—*Rana typhonia* with large ears.—*Rana paradoxa* in its different progreſſions, from its firſt formation to its perfect ſtate.—A lizard, which M. Sparmann informed us he was unable to kill by piercing its heart and brain ſeveral times with a ſharp piece of ſteel; nor could he ſucceed but by immerſing it in ſpirits of wine. *Lacerta Amboinenſis* very rare.—A Fœtus.—A mouſe.—Several caſes of lizards and frogs.—Serpents from America, the Indies, and the South Sea, many of which of the moſt venomous kind, with very flat heads.—*Fiſh*.—Flying fiſh from the Red Sea, (of Egypt) and others.—Worms of all ſizes, a very complete collection.—Scorpions.—Heads of African wild boars, with ivory horns, brought by M. Sparmann.—Pieces of cloth made from the bark of trees from Otaheite and North America.—Boxes of ſtones taken out of the bladder.—*Animals*.—Elephants' teeth.—Elephants' tails with branches of hair at the end, very rare.—Inſects of Japan in copper, ſo well painted and imitated as to deceive examination.—Shells, a ſmall collection, but which comprizes nothing curious.—Arms of the iſlanders of the South Sea.—A large piece of red coral. In this ſame apartment may be ſeen the *Muſæum Carlſonianum*, a very valuable work; it is the collection of birds of M. Carlſon, engraved and illuminated with the niceſt care: many birds to be ſeen there were never drawn before. In 1791 four volumes were publiſhed, each volume at 10 rix-dollars. In another room we ſaw ſhoes, caps, &c. of Americans and Hottentots, Chineſe inſtruments, a box of Chineſe medicines, with an explanatory book by a French miſſionary; arms, jewels, and ornaments of Hottentots, the inhabitants of New Zealand, and the South Sea. A necklace made of the legs of the red parrot, &c. The cabinet and library are in the houſe belonging to the academy in the city.

The Obſervatory. It is at a diſtance in the northern ſuburbs, and placed on an inconſiderable eminence: M. Nicander, the aſtronomer, has the direction of it. Its horizon is of no great extent, ſcarcely commanding a ſcope of more than a Swediſh mile, on account of the rocks with which the neighbourhood is ſurrounded. The inſtruments are on the ground floor; they are contained in ſeveral apartments, are few in number, and none any wiſe notable; a fourth apartment, which is very ſmall, holds a library analogous to the inſtitution but of no great extent. Wintry nights are the beſt for obſervation, the ſky being ſeldom free from clouds at any other time; the exceſſive cold however is an obſtacle which frequently impedes the neceſſary attention to obſervations, on account of there being no fire allowed. There are no funds attached to the obſervatory; it participates (as forming part of the academy) in the produce of the ſale of almanacks; the profeſſor had not a ſingle ſtudent.

Extract of the Meteorologieal Obſervations make at Stockholm, according to the Thermometers of Celſius and Reaumur. The firſt marks nothing at the freezing Point, and 100° at that of boiling Water; that is to ſay, that 5° of Celſius make 4° of Reaumur.

The greateſt Cold and Heat from 1770 to 1790 *.

Years.	Dates.	Degrees of cold.		Dates.	Degrees of heat.	
		Celſius.	Reaumur.		Celſius	Reaumur.
1770	16 March,	23	18⅖	9 Aug.	27	21⅗
1771	7 Feb.	21	16⅘	7 June,	27	21⅗
1772	14 Feb.	26	20⅘	30 July,	28	22⅖
1773	3 Feb.	16	12⅘	22 July,	29	23⅕
1774	17 Jan.	23	18⅖	18 June,	28	22⅖
1775	25 Jan.	19	15⅕	7 Aug.	29	23⅕
1776	27 Jan.	22	17⅗	27 July,	31	24⅘
1777	20 Feb.	20	16	28 May,	27	21⅗
1778	26 Jan.	19	15⅕	22 July,	29	23⅕
1779	22 Jan.	10	8	10 Aug.	28	22⅖
1780	12 Jan.	19	15⅕	23 July,	27	21⅗
1781	24 Jan.	18	14⅖	12 Aug.	31	24⅘
1782	15 Feb.	23	18⅖	27 July,	24	19⅕
1783	19 Jan.	19	15⅕	30 July,	31	24⅘
1784	30 Jan.	23	18⅖	9 July,	29	23⅕
1785	27 Feb.	27	21⅗	1 July,	27	21⅗
1786	5 March,	22	17⅗	22 June,	29	23⅕
1787	27 Jan.	11	8⅘	14 June,	25	20
1788	3 March,	23	18⅖	15 July,	29	23⅕
1789	12 Jan.	24	19⅕	15 June,	30	24
1790	5 March,	11	8⅘	30 July,	23	18⅖

The greateſt variations of the barometer take place in the four firſt and four laſt months of the year: they are between 24° 20′ and 26° 46′: the ſcale of the barometer being divided into digits and hundredth parts. It muſt however be remarked that theſe digits are ſuch as are uſed by the engineers and geometricians, and of which the Sweediſh foot contains ten; workmen divide the ſame foot into twelve digits.

The

* Note of tranſlation. The ſcale of Celſius is in uſe in Sweden, partly in Denmark, and in ſome other countries of the north; that of Reaumur in France and many parts of the continent. As in England the ſcale of Fahrenheit is principally in uſe, its correſpondence with that of Celſius is given below.

The freezing point of Celſius is 0°, and that of boiling water 100°; as therefore the freezing point of Fahrenheit is 32°, and that of boiling water 212°, making a difference of 180°; it follows that the degrees of Fahrenheit's ſcale will be in addition or ſubtraction from 32°, as 180° to 100°, or as 9 to 5; upon which computation the ſubjoined ſcale is calculated.

Years.	Dates.	Degrees of cold.		Dates.	Degrees of heat.	
		Celſius.	Fahrenheit.		Celſius.	Fahrenheit.
1770	16 March,	23	9⅖ below 0	9 Aug.	27	80⅗
1771	7 Feb.	21	5⅘ below 0	7 June,	27	80⅖
1772	14 Feb.	26	14⅖ below 0	30 July,	28	82⅖
1773	3 Feb.	16	3⅕°	22 July,	29	84⅕
1774	17 Jan.	23	9⅖ below 0	18 June,	28	82⅕
1775	25 Jan.	19	2⅕ below 0	7 Aug.	29	84⅕

Table

The same observations made at Upsal has given the following result.

Years.	Dates.	Degrees of cold. Celsius.	Reaumur	Fahrenheit.	Dates.	Degrees of heat. Celsius.	Reaumur.	Fahrenheit.
1774	17 Jan.	15°	12°	5°	15 June,	28°	22 3/5 °	82 2/5 °
1775	25 Jan.	26	20 4/5	14 4/5 below o	7 Aug.	31 2/5	25 1/5	89
1776	27 Jan.	21	16 4/5	5 4/5 below o	8 July,	31 1/2	25 1/5	88 3/4
1777	19 Feb.	27	21 3/5	16 3/5 below o	28 May,	28 1/2	22 4/5	83 1/5
1778	26 Jan.	23	18 2/5	9 2/5 below o	22 July,	31	24 4/5	87 4/5
1779	22 Jan.	14 1/2	11 3/5	6°	21 July,	28	22 2/5	82 2/5
1780	5 Feb.	25	20	13 below o	4 Aug.	28	22 2/5	82 2/5
1781	25 Jan.	26 1/2	21 1/5	15 3/4 below o	7 Aug.	33	26 2/5	91 2/5
1782	15 Feb.	27 1/2	22	17 1/4 below o	20 June,	25 1/2	20 2/5	77 9/10
1783	29 Dec.	22	17 3/5	7 3/5 below o	20 July,	30	24	86
1784	4 Jan.	25 1/2	20 2/5	13 1/2 below o	4 June,	28	22 2/5	82 2/5
2785	27 Feb.	27	21 3/5	16 1/5 below o	25 June,	25	20	77
1786	7 Jan.	24	19 1/5	11 1/5 below o	22 June,	29	23 1/5	84 1/5
1787	27 Jan.	15	12	5°	12 June,	26	20 4/5	78 4/5
1788	17 Dec.	26	20 4/5	14 4/5 below o	22 June,	30	24	86
1789	12 Jan.	28 1/2	22 4/5	19 1/5 below o	8 July,	29	23 1/5	84 1/5
1790	18 Dec.	22 1/2	18	8 1/2 below o	30 July,	26 1/2	16 2/5	79 7/10

The mean height of the thermometer for the whole year at Upsal, is nearly + 5 1/2; it varies between + 7, 26 and 4, 43 *.

Academy of belles lettres, history, and antiquities. From its title this academy ought to have full employment; it is however far from being much occupied, if report speak true; it corresponds with our academy of inscriptions, to which it may be compared, with this difference only, that in our opinion we have the advantage in the number of good works (respect being had to proportion) which have been published by the two societies.

Table—continued.

Years.	Dates.	Degrees of cold. Celsius.	Fahrenheit	Dates.	Degrees of heat. Celsius.	Fahrenheit.
1776	27 Jan.	22	7 3/5 below o	27 July,	31	87 3/5
1777	20 Feb.	20	4 below o	28 May,	27	80 3/5
1778	26 Jan.	19	2 1/5 below o	22 July,	29	84 1/5
1779	22 Jan.	10	14°	10 Aug.	28	82 1/5
1780	12 Jan.	19	2 1/5 below o	23 July,	27	80 3/5
1781	24 Jan.	18	1/5 below o	12 Aug.	31	87 3/5
1782	15 Feb.	23	9 2/5 below o	27 July,	24	75 1/5
1783	19 Jan.	19	2 1/5 below o	30 July,	31	87 3/5
1784	30 Jan.	23	9 2/5 below o	9 July,	29	84 1/5
1785	27 Feb.	27	16 3/5 below o	1 July,	27	80 3/5
2786	5 March,	22	7 3/5 below o	22 June,	29	84 1/5
1787	27 Jan.	11	12 1/5	14 June,	25	77
1788	3 March,	23	9 2/5 below o	15 July,	29	84 1/5
1789	12 Jan.	24	11 1/5 below o	15 June,	30	86
1790	5 March,	11	12 1/5	30 July,	23	73 2/5

* Corresponding to 9 9/10° of Fahrenheit for the mean heat, and 13° and 8° for the extreme variations in different years.

The

The Academy of eighteen. This was founded by the late King in 1786, on the model of the French academy: it has frequent meetings in the great hall of the exchange; the King is generally preſent, and, notwitſtanding viſible to all, is conſidered to be in a cloſe box. Theſe aſſemblies are badly attended, at leaſt ſuch was the caſe the day on which we were preſent, although the King was there, and it was his birth-day: a poetical work received a crown. This academy is compoſed as all academies ſhould be, not a member but is a man of ſenſe and intelligence.

The King's library is at the caſtle, in an angle of the ſmall court which forms a terrace towards the river; it is open to the public, and conſiſts of three galleries of tolerable length. Its ſituation will doubtleſs be changed, as it is not that deſigned by the King for this collection; it contains no more than about five hundred manuſcripts, and twenty thouſand volumes. The moſt valuable manuſcripts are, *Codex Evangeliorum*, bought at Madrid in 1690, and eſteemed a work of the ninth century; it is generally called *Codex aureus*, on account of the number of golden letters it contains; the leaves are alternately purple, with gold letters, and white; the capital letters are all of them black. This manuſcript was bought by Sparwenfeld, a Swede, who travelled by order of Charles XI.: he journied as far as Africa in ſearch of monuments which might elucidate the hiſtory of the Goths and Vandals. Two other very curious manuſcripts of which we ſhall ſpeak at large at the cloſe of this article. Of the books the moſt valuable are, the Vulgate uſed by Luther; the margin and every part which could be written on, covered with notes in his own hand writing; it was printed at Lyons in 1521, and taken at Wittenberg. The firſt edition of Homer, printed at Florence in 1488, in good preſervation, the margin moſt beautiful on paper. *Speculum humanæ ſalvationis*, with figures in wood, printed on one ſide only. Cicero de officiis, on vellum, 1466 Mentz, by Fuſt and Schœffer. The fourth volume of the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck, as far as page two hundred and ten, the reſt wanting, 1702; this volume is exceſſively rare, the work being burnt in the printer's hands; at moſt there are but three copies of it extant (preſently we will give a diſſertation on this work). *Liſeri Polygamia triumphatrix*, printed at Lund in 1682, and publicly burnt at Stockholm.

By the ſide of the library is a ſmall chamber, in which are thirteen large volumes in folio, containing original drawings of different ſchools, claſſed; the moſt ancient are of the ſchool of Florence, by Giotto, born in 1276; of that of Sienna, the adoration of the Kings, in biſtre, a capital deſign of *Balthazar de Sienna*; of that of Bologna, of *Francis Francia*; of the ſchools of different cities of Italy, of *Francis Morazzone* in the ſixteenth century; of the Genoeſe ſchools, the Neapolitan, and Spaniſh, of *Luca Cangiaſi*, born in 1527; of the Flemiſh, German, and Dutch ſchools, of *Albert Durer* in 1470, and *Lucas of Leyden* in 1494; of the French ſchool, of Vouet, born in 1522. Of the Roman ſchool are twenty-ſix pieces by *Raphael*, ſixteen by *Giulio Romano*; the Lombard, ſix by *Corregio*; the Bologneſe, fifty-five by *Annibal Carracci*, ten by *Lewis*, thirty-two by *Auguſtin*, twenty-ſeven by the *Guido*, four by the *Dominicini*, thirty-ſix by *Guercino*.—Of the Venetian ſchool, ſixteen by *Titian*, five by *Tintoret*, and twelve by *Paul Veroneſe*.—Of the Spaniſh and Neapolitan, one of Salvator Roſa, three of *Solimène*, one of *Murillo*. Of the Flemiſh and Dutch, twenty-two of *Rubens*, twenty-one of *Vandyke*, and ten of *Teniers*: there is none of Rembrandt's. Of the French, twenty-three by Le Pouſſin, a hundred and twenty-ſeven of Callot, nine of Le Sueur, twenty of Le Brun, ſeven of Le Moyne. The whole collection conſiſts of three thouſand and twenty-five pieces. The moſt ancient drawing made in Sweden, in 1631, by Philip Lembke, is of the number.

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We promiſed to ſpeak of two very curious manuſcripts: theſe the librarian had the diſcretion to prevent our ſeeing; what we have to ſay of them, was communicated to us by the Abbé Abertrandi, the librarian of the King of Poland, whoſe knowledge of bibliography can leave no doubt as to the exactitude of the detail: they are both in Latin.

The firſt of theſe manuſcripts is of an extraordinary ſize, ſuch in ſhort, that the vellum on which it is written can have been made of nothing but aſs's ſkin. It conſiſts of forty quires, each of four ſheets; the two leaves being of a ſingle ſheet make eight leaves, conſequently ſixteen pages, and altogether ſix hundred and forty.

Nearly two leaves are wanting; the hiſtory of the deluge is in the firſt page. The order and number of the books it contains are as follows. The ſingularity of the diſtribution appeared to us ſo extraordinary, as induces us to give the whole. The Pentateuch.—Joſhua.—Judges.—Ruth.—Iſaiah.—Jeremiah.—Ezekiel.—Daniel, *the two laſt chapters of which are included.*—The twelve Prophets.—The book of Job.—The four books of Kings.—The book of Pſalms, a different verſion to that of the Vulgate.—Proverbs.—Eccleſiaſticus.—The two Parallipomena.—The book of Eſdras, which includes the two of the Vulgate.—Tobit.—Judeth.—Eſther.—The two books of the Maccabees.—Twenty books of the Hebrew Antiquities of Joſephus. This tranſlation has many paſſages which differ from that of Gelenius, and contains the celebrated paſſage reſpecting Jeſus Chriſt.—The wars of the Jews by the ſame Joſephus; this tranſlation exactly correſponds with that attributed to Ruffin. To this ſucceeds *Sancti Iſidori epiſtola ad Branlionem.*—His *etimologiæ libri XX.*—*Iſagogæ Johannicii, Johannis Alexandrini diſcipuli tegni Galieni de phyſicâ ratione.*—4 *Evangelia.*—*Acta Apoſtolorum.*—*Epiſtolæ Jacobi.*—*Petri duæ epiſtolæ.*—*D. Johannis tres epiſtolæ;* in the firſt, thus runs the celebrated paſſage *: "*Et ſpiritus eſt qui teſtificatur quia Chriſtus eſt veritas, quia tres ſunt qui teſtimonium dant, Spiritus, acqua, et ſanguis, et tres unum ſunt.*"—*Epiſtola beati Judeæ.*—*Apocalypſis.*—*Pauli epiſtolæ ad Romanos, ad Corinthios, duæ ad Galatos, ad Ephæſios, ad Philippenſes, ad Theſſalonianſes duæ, ad Colocenſes, ad Timothæum duæ, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, ad Laodicences;* it is well known this laſt is apocryphal.

At the end of this work is a confeſſion in red letters on a brown ground; it ſpeaks of an infinity of abominable ſins, without detailing the number or circumſtances, other than the following: *Peccavi in fornicatione diverſâ cum animalibus multis exceptâ cane.* Afterwards follows a ſuperſtitious exorciſm. *Coſmæ Pragenſis chronica Bohemiæ libri tres:*—*Monaſterii Bremnowienſis, et in Bramow Martinus abbus miſit hunc codicem Pragam verſus*, 1594. This manuſcript was doubtleſs taken by the Swedes at Prague, and comes from that convent. In the calendar *Sanctus Benedictus* is written in large letters, which gives reaſon to conjecture that the convent in which it was found was that of St. Benedict. St. Adalbert is marked in the calendar, but St. Staniſlaus is not there. The viſitation, the commemoration of the dead, and the feſtival of *Corpus Chriſti*, are wanting. Eaſter and Whitſuntide are inſerted, it therefore muſt be † poſterior to the eſtabliſhment of the moveable feaſts in 1260 or 1264. It contains moreover the ſignatures of a number of princes and lords.

The ſecond manuſcript is entitled: "Magiſtri Johannis Arderum de Stewark, de arte phyſicali et de chirurgia, quus ego prædictus Johannis fervente (doubtful) peſtilentiâ, quæ fuit anno domini milleſimo CCCXLIX. uſque annum Domini M.CCCCXII. mo-

* And it is the Spirit that bears witneſs that Chriſt is the truth, for there are three which give teſtimony, the ſpirit, water, and blood, and the three are one.

† The author appears to have put poſterior for anterior.

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rem (or moram) egi apud Newerk in comitatu Slothingui, et ibidem quamplures de infirmitatibus ſubſcriptis curavi." This manuſcript is in vellum; it is rolled up, is of great length, and divided into columns thus,

Repreſentations of the ſick perſons.	Account of their complaints and remedies.	Anatomical figures, &c. for labours, &c.	Account of diſeaſes.	Figures.

By the ſide of each repreſentation of a ſick perſon, the nature of the malady is deſcribed, with the remedy uſed. Above the repreſentations of labours, are explanatory notes.

In the number of complaints, of which he has written pretty much at large, few are omitted. One is mentioned, rather extraordinary for the time in which it was written, the following is an exact copy of the original text: *Pro morbo qui dicitur chaud piſſe*, (the adjective in the maſculine gender.) The author thus ſpeaks of a cure that he effected. *Quidam miles nobilis Ducis Lancaſtriæ apud Algezir (in Hispaniâ), Hiſtoria curatæ a Johanne Arderiam torturæ oris.*

Cabinet of natural hiſtory; it is under the direction of M. Engeſtrœum, before whoſe appointment there was none; he is a profeſſor of chemiſtry, and has to teach gratis four pupils: at the time we were there he had but one, which tends to confirm what he obſerved to us, that chemiſtry and mineralogy, ſciences of the utmoſt importance to Sweden, are very little regarded. This cabinet when we ſaw it, was not yet arranged: it is in the building where the mint is kept, the edifice is new, tolerably ſpacious, and ſituated at the end of the bridge, at the entrance of what is, properly ſpeaking, the city: the portal has four columns ſunk in the wall, without any pedeſtal; they are too large for the building, and fail of effect. In the ſame building is the magazine of poliſhed porphyry and granite; the former from the quarries of Elfdel. The council of mines alſo hold their ſittings here. In the hall are the portraits of Charles XI. the founder, and of all the preſidents of that department. In one of the antichambers are a number of paintings repreſenting different views of the inſide of Swediſh mines: the artiſt has managed the ſubject extremely well, and ſo as to have a very fine effect. In order to obtain a ſelect collection of Swediſh minerals, you have but to addreſs yourſelf to Mr. Engerſtrœum, if the ſpecimens be ſmall the price is four ſkillings each, if large, ſixteen ſkillings, or a plotte. A thouſand ſpecimens form a very handſome collection.

Cabinet of Models. This is adjoining the church of Ridderholm, in the former palace of the King, a place which now ſerves for a court of juſtice. This cabinet conſiſts of a ſpacious hall, in which are ranged the models of various inventions, of greater or leſs antiquity, and of improvements to different previous diſcoveries: among the œconomical models, you ſee mills, machines for ſowing grain, threſhing, cutting ſtraw, &c. There are hydraulic engines, furnaces uſed in the mines, plans of the manner the pumps are acted upon, and the mineral drawn up. Models of light-houſes for the ſecurity of navigation. An arm chair, in which you may readily wheel yourſelf about. A machine which points out the range of a ſhot or bomb when fired from gun or mortar, and many others too tedious to enumerate, but which merit obſervation. Many pieces are the invention of the famous engineer *Polheim*, and a ſtill greater number by M. *Norberg*, father of the preſent director, who has travelled a great deal in Ruſſia, particularly in Siberia, and is conſidered as very well informed in whatever regards mechanics. You pay 24 ſkillings to the porter on admittance to the cabinet.

Gymnaſia. Gymnaſia are eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the provinces, and are general in the capital. Young people in theſe, ſtudy an abridgement of the theological works

of Benzelius, and to learn latin, explain Virgil, Titus Livy, Quintus Curtius, and Salluſt. The inſpection of the gymnaſia, and other ſubaltern ſchools, is the province of the biſhops. The progreſs of the ſcholars depends very much on the attention paid to their charge by theſe eccleſiaſtics: proofs of which we ſaw. The courſe of ſtudy in theſe gymnaſia was appointed by Frederic the Firſt in 1724; thoſe perſons called profeſſors in univerſities, are here called readers; each gymnaſium has ſeven or eight, they are paid from the corn which the King receives out of the tythes paid by the farmer, of which tythes two thirds belong to the King, the remaining third to the rector.

Public Schools. Each pariſh church has its public ſchool: the Swediſh ſchools are ſubject to particular inſpection, divided by dioceſes, and are independent one of the other. The German ſchool at Stockholm is under the inſpection of two German paſtors; in theſe are taught religion, geography, the Grecian and Roman hiſtory, and the French language. One general law regulates the whole of the Swediſh ſchools with regard to inſtruction; the courſe to be purſued in the education of the pupils is preſcribed, and the ſalary to be paid is eſtabliſhed, although it varies according to the deſcription of ſchools. Scholars are admitted at eight or nine years of age, and remain until eighteen or nineteen. The young people generally go from theſe to college, and particularly to the univerſity of Upſal; rarely finiſhing their ſtudies at ſchool. The current charge of education is from one to two rix-dollars per quarter: families in eaſy circumſtances, inſtead of paying any rate, make preſents to the profeſſors or inſpectors.

Academy of Painting. This was founded by Count Teſſin; the director goes out every three years, and is nominated by the members of the academy. It has four profeſſors, each of whom acts during his quarter, and receives, during this ſervice, 100 liv. monthly. The profeſſors in 1791 were Meſſrs. Maſrelier, Sergell, Guilbert, and Paſch. The regulations of this academy are modelled pretty cloſely after thoſe of Paris; the diſtribution of prizes is after the ſame manner preciſely. It is a gratuitous ſchool, the pupils providing themſelves only with crayons and paper; the King gives 12,000 livres annually to this eſtabliſhment; the houſe was left as a legacy by Mr. Meyer, the ſame who caſt the ſtatues of Guſtavus Vaſa, and Guſtavus Adolphus. The latter was ſo badly caſt, that it would poſſibly have been cheaper to have re-founded it, ſo much chipping did it require. The academy has a moſt beautiful collection of models from the antique in plaiſter, preſented to Charles XI. by Lewis XIV., and part of the basreliefs of Trajan's column, which were modeled entire by order of the King of France. During our ſtay, there was an exhibition of paintings; among them were eight or ten portraits by *Breda*, the chief merit of which were their reſemblance. Except theſe, there was not one picture worthy of notice. There were many architectural pieces of deſigns and ſtudies of the pupils, and a handſome picture in embroidery, repreſenting a naval engagement, an aſtoniſhing performance.

Certain amateurs at Stockholm have founded an *Academy of Muſick*; for ſome years it has ſuſtained itſelf, which is as much as can be ſaid. During part of the winter months, it gives a concert once a week at the exchange hall.

Patriotic Society. This was founded by individuals, and is occupied in œconomical matters alone. The acting ſecretary in 1791, was Mr. Fiſcherſtrœum; he was employed on a large œconomical dictionary, three volumes of which had made their appearance. The tranſactions of this ſociety fill ſeveral volumes in 8vo. in the Swediſh language; the number of its members is unreſtricted; the ſociety augmenting it at pleaſure. Its revenue is derived from the annual contributions of its members; each upon his admiſſion ſpecifying the ſum he can afford. The number is pretty conſider-

able, as the ſociety has eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with many provinces of the kingdom. It diſtributes prizes annually among huſbandmen and ſervants.

We deem this a proper place for the inſertion of the following diſſertation on the *Atlantica* of *Rudbeck*, a work but little known out of the ſphere of the learned—

Ol. Rudbeckii Atlantica, Pars I—IV.—*Upſaliæ*, 1675—1702, *folio.*

Olf Rudbecks Atland Mer Manheim etc. Olavii Rudbeckii Atlantica ſive Manheim, vera Japheti poſterorum ſedes ac patria, ex qua non tantum monarchæ et reges ad totum ferè orbem reliquum regendum ac domandum ſtirpeſque ſuas in eo condendas, ſed etiam Scythæ, Barbari, Aſæ, Gigantes, Gothi, Phryges, Trojani, Amazones, Thraces, Libyes, Mauri, Tuſci, Galli, Cimbri, Cimmerii, Saxones, Germani, Suevi, Longobardi, Vandali, Heruli, Gepidæ, Teutones, Angli, Pictores, Dani, Sicambri, aliique virtute clari et celebres populi olim exierunt. Upſalæ. excudit Henricus Curio, S. R. M. et Academiæ Upſal. Bibliopola. A. 1675, *in folio, pp.* 891, *excluſive of the dedication and preface in three pages.*

Olf Rudbecks. Atlands eller Manheims *andra deel.* &c. *Olavi Rudbeckii* Atlanticæ ſive Maheimii *pars ſecunda*, in quâ ſolis lunæ, ac terræ cultus deſcribitur, omniſque adeo ſuperſtitionis hujuſce origo parti Sueoniæ ſeptentrionali, terræ puta cimmeriorum vindicatur, ex qua deinceps in orbem reliquum divulgata eſt: idque ſcriptorum non tantum domeſticorum, ſed etiam externorum, maximè verò veterum atque doctiſſimarum fabularum fide, quarum explicatio genuina nuſquam ante hanc noſtram in lucem prodiit. Accedunt demonſtrationes certiſſimæ quæ ſeptentrionales noſtros in maximè genuinum ſolis ac lunæ motum, indèque pendentem accuratiſſimam temporum rationem, multò et priùs et feliciùs, quam gentem aliam ullam olim penetraſſe, ac etiam alia multa ad hanc uſque diem incognita declarant. Upſalæ excudit Henricus curio S. R. M. et Acad. Upſal. Bibliopola. anno 1689, *in folio, pp.* 672, *without the preliminary matter.*

Olf Rudbecks. Atlands eller Manheims *tridie Deel* &c. *Olavii Rudbeckii* Atlanticæ ſeu Manheimii *pars tertia*, in quâ vetuſtiſſima majorum noſtrorum Atlantidum lapidibus, fago atque cortici Runas ſuas incidendi ratio, unà cum tempore quo illa primum cœperit, exponitur. Deinde aurei numeri ſingulis annis tributi, et ſignorum cœleſtium, quæ hinc ad Græcos et Latinos ſunt tranſlata, vera origo ac ſignificatio traditur. Tum ſex illæ a diluvio Noachi proximæ ætates, atque in illis prima Atlantidum noſtrorum reipublicæ forma deſcribuntur; quæ migrationes et bella ſub Boreo ſeu Saturno ejuſque filio Thoro ſeu Jove geſta ſunt recenſentur: et denique Scytharum, Phœnicum, et Amazonum hic ducibus in Indo.—Scythiam et Phœniciam ſeu Paleſtinam a Sueonia factæ expeditiones enarrantur. Quibus omnibus Mythologiæ per plures, quarum ſenſus in hunc uſque diem incognitus heic demum delectus prodit, jucundæ ſanæ et perquam utiles adjunguntur.

"*Photius ex oratione Diogenis in quemdam Cappadocem:* non venit Scytha telo vectus per Iſtrum aut Tanaim, ſed in univerſam terram et mare."

Upſalæ, Typis et impenſis autoris. Anno MDCXCVIII. (1698) *in folio, pp.* 762, *excluſive of preliminary matter.*

Olf Rudbecks Atlands eller Manheims, *fierde del. Olavi Rudbeckii* Atlanticæ ſeu Maheimii, *pars quarta*, (Upſalæ typis et impenſis autoris, 1702,) *in folio*, pp. 210.

Johan. Molleri ad Sueciam litteratam Jo. Schefferi Hypomnemata, page 415. *Bibliotheca hiſtorica Struvio-Buderiana 2d book, page* 1602. *Lenglet du Freſnoy*, catalogue des principaux hiſtoriens, methode, &c. Paris 1735, in quarto, tom. 4, pp, 285. *Niceron*, memoires, tom. 31, p. 159. *S. J. Baumgarten's Nachrichten von Merkwür. digen Buchern,*

2 *Band,*

2 *Band*, Halle, 1752, *in* 8vo. *pp.* 98. *Jo Vogt, catal. libror. varior*, p. 589. *Joh. Ihre. differt. duo de cauſis raritatis librorum, Upſal*, 1743, *in* 4to. page 19, 20. *Dan. Gerdes Florilegium libror. varior. Groningæ*, 1747, *in* 8vo. p. 313. *Biblioth. Uffenbach. univerſ. libri* 2, *pp.* 478. *Bibliotheca Selectiſſima*, (Jo. Theod. de Schoenberg) Amſt. 1743, in 8vo. liber. 1. p. 88. lib. 2, p. 584. *Biblioth. Breitenaviana Lubeca*, 1747, in 4to *book* 2, p. 427. *Catal. biblioth. Voogianæ*. Dreſden, 1755, in 8vo. p. 465 and 597. *Biblioth. Ad. Rud. Solger*, p. 1. Norimb. 1760, *in* 8vo. *p.* 130. Catal. libror. Comitis Caroli Ehrenpreus Holm, 1761, in 8vo. p. 11.

I have actually before me two copies of the *firſt* book of the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck, one of which is dated 1675, the other 1679, in vain have I turned over the leaves from beginning to end; I have been unable to diſtinguiſh any difference except that at the bottom of the title page of the copy dated 1679, the following is printed: Editio ſecunda, multis in locis emendata et avita. Accedunt judicia et variorum doctorum inſignium: in every thing elſe the two copies perfectly reſemble, correſponding with each other, page by page, and line by line, as well in the Swediſh language, as in the Latin verſion; nor is there any addition, corrections, or opinions of learned men. It may, therefore, be the caſe as aſſerted by *Struve*, and after him by *Vogt*, that nothing but the title page has been renewed, firſt in 1679, and afterwards in 1684. I have not, indeed, hitherto ſeen any copy bearing the latter date, but, on the other hand, I have ſeen one in which the year of its being printed was entirely omitted. Poſſibly theſe copies might have been intended particularly for foreign countries.

However that may be, for certainly it was in contemplation in ſome part of Germany, to reprint the *firſt* volume. This impreſſion, however, is unknown in Sweden, where I was unable to ferret out any more than a ſingle copy. It was in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Baumgarten, who informed me that it contained the Latin verſion only, and that eſpecial care had been taken to indicate in the margin, the pages of the original edition.

The dedication at the head of this volume is addreſſed to *Olaus Verilius*, a celebrated antiquary, and particular friend of the author. Rudbeck in this explains the motives which induced him to undertake this work, and annex a Latin verſion, the labour of which, he allows, was participated by one of his friends. *In Joach F. Felleri, Otium Hanoverianum, Lips.* 1718, 8vo. p. 146.; the illuſtrious Leibnitz is ſtated to have ſaid, "*Rudbeckius* curabat per Schefferum ſua omnia verti latinè, non enim libenter hâc lingua ſcribebat, Germanicâ libentius." I know not from whom Leibnitz received this anecdote, but it appears to me a bold charge; for however poorly informed on ſubjects of literature, it is known to the mereſt novice, that Rudbeck and Verelius were far from being on friendly terms with Scheffer: moreover, ſhould Scheffer have acceded to the requeſt of Rudbeck, to tranſlate his Atlantica into Latin, it would have been impoſſible he could have given more than the firſt volume, as he died the 26th April, 1679. On my part I ſhould more willingly credit with the famous Eric Benzelius, that Profeſſor Andrew *Norcopenſis*, ſince known by the name of *Noordenhielm*, was the tranſlator at leaſt of the firſt volume, the ſucceeding one being attributable to another friend of Rudbeck's, that is to ſay, *Peter Salan*, mentioned by M. Celſius, Hiſtor. biblioth. Upſal, p. 116.

Bayle and Tentzel have given extracts from this volume; the former in the *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres*, Jan. et Feb. 1685; the latter in *Monalt. unterredungen*, Feb. and March, 1690.

I ought not to omit that ſeveral geographical and chronological charts belong to this volume, with ſeveral engravings from wood. As both one and the other are of much larger ſize than the book, they are bound up by themſelves, and form *a ſeparate volume*.

The second book of the Atlantica was published in 1689. The dedication to Charles XI. and the preface fill seven pages; at the end of the book four pages are reserved for the *emendata*, as well of the first as the second volume. The table of contents for the two volumes fills thirty-six cyphered pages.

It is commonly at the beginning of the second volume, that the opinions of different learned men on this work of Rudbeck are collected. In the copy in my possession it fills thirty-eight pages, fifteen of them in small type, in double columns: at the head is a sort of preface, signed H. Z. that is to say, Heitrig, an officer in the guards, afterwards ennobled under the name of Riddarstiern, a man well versed in the history and antiquities of Sweden. *V. P. Salani notæ ad Egilli et Asmundi historiam.* Upsal, 1693, in 4to. p. 160.

This collection was also printed separately, at Frankfort, *in folio*, in 1692, under the following title: "Judicia et testimonia illustrium atque clarissimorum virorum de celeberrimi Sueonis Olavi Rudbeckii (Senioris) medicinæ professoris Upsalensis Atlanticâ, aliisque incomparabilis ingenii Rudbeckiani monumentis. Recusa Francoforti juxta exemplar Upsalense, anno MDCXCII." (1692.)

As the advertisement to the printer, at the head of this collection, contains some literary particularities, I shall copy the whole of it; it is conceived in the following terms:

"Admonitiuncula typographica ad lecterom benevolum.

ATLANTICÆ RUDBECKIANÆ tomus 1. edictus est Upsalæ, anno 1679, in folio Suedicè et Latinè, unà cum peculiari volumine tabularum geographicarum, aliorumque curiosæ antiquitatis monumentorum. Tomus 2 lucem vidit itidem Upsalæ, anno 1689, in folio, insertis figurarum tabulis in ipso operis contextu. Quæ hic sequuntur judicia de labore herculeo, ATLANTICÆ RESTITUTÆ aliisque clarissimi Rudbeckii meritis in rempublicam literariam collatio, per amicum quemdam veritatis in gratiam antiquarii *Adorphii* et aliorum quorumdam nobilissimi Rudbeckiani nominis ocorum atque obtrectatorum, Upsalæ Sueonum publicata sunt. Prima vice anno 1681, duabus chartis, in folio. Postea semel iterumque novo cum auctorio et classe alia testimoniorum de solertissimi Rudbeckii ingenio atque laboribus anatomicis, botanicis, physicis, mathematicis, edita sunt ibidem non modo seperatino, sed et in fronte tomi secundi ipsius Atlanticæ. Tandem elapso integro decennio multo auctiora nunc prodeunt, et oculis benevolis lectoris subjecta vel consensum ejusdem desiderant in exornandis magni Rudbeckii meritissimis elogiis, vel correctionem expectant doctam atque candidam, si fortè uno vel alio loco præ magna estimatione in tam longinquo incertæ atque fallacis antiquitatis itinere aberraverint auctoris oculi. Vale *mi lector*, et vitam valetudinem que longam Rudbeckio nostro precare, ut reliquos Atlanticæ tomos atque stupendi operis botanici magna volumina, quæ multis jam annis sub manibus ejus sudaverunt, felici auspicio in publica orbis eruditi commoda edere possit antequam pedem cymbæ Charontis intulerit nunquam nos postea revisurus elysius ille Atlas hyperboreorum, &c. Makelos Reipublicæ litterariæ ornamentum."

Extracts from the second volume of the Atlantica, are to be seen in Tentzel. *Monalt. Unterred.* May and July, 1690. and in *L'Histoire des ouvrage des savans* par Basnage, Dec. 1690. *Theoph. Sincerus*, otherwise J. G. Schwindelius, reviewed the two first volumes. *Vochente. Nachrichten von alten und raren Buehern.* 1747, in quarto, p. 78, and following.

The third volume of the Atlantica was not published before 1698; it was dedicated to Charles XIII. The dedication, table of contents, and preface, take up thirty-four pages. The authors of Nova liter, Maris Balthici, summarily point out the contents in their journal of the month of December, 1698, and in the Nachrichten von merk würdigern

digern Büchern, of S. J. Baumgarten, book ii. p. 318, and following pages, is found a sufficiently ample and impartial extract of these three volumes.

The fourth volume of the work of Rudbeck has no distinguishing title: it was set to press in the author's own printing-house, but scarcely was the third sheet of the second alphabet completed, before the printing-office and all its contents were consumed, owing to a fire, which destroyed a considerable part of the city of Upsal, in the month of May, 1702. Not only were all the remaining copies of the third volume (of which but very few had been delivered) burnt in this conflagration, but also the different sheets already struck off of the fourth volume, together with the manuscript of the author. Of the sheets printed, three or four copies were saved according to some, according to others, five. *V. Hamb. Beytraege*, 1741. p. 458. One is preserved in the King's library, another in that of *Count Ehrenpreus*, and this copy, which I frequently had opportunities of seeing, was sold in 1761, at an exorbitant price, to Mr. *Rosenadler*, Counsellor of the Chancery.

The curious, in order to render this work as complete as possible, cause it to be copied in manuscript. *Mr. John Thierri de Schoenberg*, a Saxon gentleman, possessed a manuscript copy of this work; in the *Biblioth. Selectissima*, Amst. 1743, in 8vo. book ii; p. 584, this part of the Atlantica is improperly stated to be *inedita* et *preco-parata*. Another manuscript copy of the same fourth book is quoted in the *Catalog. biblioth. Woogianæ*, p. 597. Mr. Boze moreover shortly before his death had farther a copy sent him from Stockholm, to my knowledge.

Rudbeck in the two first chapters of this fourth volume, treats *de consensu sacri codicis et Scriptorum profanorum in rebus ultimæ antiquitatis*; in the third chapter he treats of matters relative to the 1800th year of the world; and in the fourth, which however is not complete, *de iis quæ Nachori Tarachi atque Manni et quæ proximâ sequebatur ætate ad A. M.* 1900, *illustriora habentur*. He has added to this a chronological and geographical illustration of the system he endeavours to establish.

As the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck was difficult to be met with, and very expensive, a bookseller of Rotterdam, named *Hofhout*, conceived the design of publishing a new edition of the Latin alone, so reducing to two volumes, the three of which he had any knowledge, being utterly a stranger to the fourth. The prospectus he published for the annunciation of his intention, was as follows: "*Sciagraphia Atlanticæ sive Manheimii Olavi Rudbeckii—Duo volumina, in folio, cum tabulis varii generis, et figuris innumeris antiquitatem tum Suevicam tum Gothicam pectantibus. Ut et conditiones quæ elegantioris humanitatis cultoribus proponantur et ad quas de novo in publicum prodibit—Rotterdam, &c.* 1726, in 4to. pp. 12. In the *France literaire* of the Berlin edition, 1757, in 8vo. p. 131, this prospectus is attributed to M. *Cartier de St. Philip*, who probably had engaged to superintend the edition, and correct the proofs. This project was not carried into execution.

Of the fourth volume it has several times been in contemplation to give a new edition. The first person who projected this was the author's own son, as may be seen in the Acta liter. Sueciæ 1720, p. 57, and by a letter of the celebrated *Wolfius*, of Hamburg, written the 14th October 1722, and inserted in the Thesaurus epistolicus Lacrozianus, b. ii. 181, and following pages. It appears that Doctor *Heubel*, of Kiel, had the same intention. Neither the one nor the other succeeded any more than the printer Salvius, at Stockholm, who attempted the same a-fresh in 1743. Some years afterwards Mr. *de Westphalen*, Chancellor of the court of Holstein, Gotterp, determined on re-printing these sheets, for the purpose of enriching one of the volumes of his grand collection, entitled

titled: *Monumenta inedita rerum Germanicarum*, &c.; but whether he changed his mind, or ſome other cauſe prevented him, M. de Weſtphalen died without fulfilling his intention, and the printed ſheets of the fourth volume of the Atlantica are at preſent as rare as they were ſixty years ago.

Many learned men, principally in Germany and Denmark, ſuch as *Præſchius*, *Leibnitz*, *Tentzel*, *Spener*, *Loeſcher*, *Keiſler*, *Vachrer*, *Beyer*, *Dithmar*, *Mœuller*, *Sperlingius*, and others, have upbraided Rudbeck with being blinded by an ill-founded zeal for the glory of his country, and attributing to Sweden prerogatives and advantages of which it was never in poſſeſſion. Notwithſtanding this cenſure, many of theſe gentlemen have followed his ſteps and profited by his labours. The author of the obſervation, *de incertitudine hiſtoricâ*, which was inſerted in the *additamenta ad obſervationes Hallenſes*, book ii. p. 156, is not more favourable to Rudbeck; and more recently, to wit, in 1745, a counſellor in Pomerania, of the name of *Hoefer*, formed a ſimilar deſign of refuting our antiquary, and ſpecially demonſtrating in a publication, that all which the learned Swede alleges in favour of his own country, is only ſuitable to the provinces in the north of Germany, along the ſhores of the Baltic. I am ignorant whether this book, advertiſed in our literary news as ready for the preſs, has ever come to light; but I am perſuaded that if it ſhould have been publiſhed, it will in no degree have injured the work of Rudbeck. The celebrated Sperlingius has gone ſtill farther, and, on account of the *Atlantica*, has nearly been prompted to condemn the whole Swediſh nation, as may be ſeen by reference to ſome of his letters to *Giſb. Cuper*, printed in the fourth volume of *Jo. Poleni Theſaurus novus antiquitatum*, Venet. 1737, *in folio*.

Two celebrated French writers have examined with more judgment and equity the work of Mr. Rudbeck. The firſt, Mr. *Freret*, a member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, ſays: "It muſt be allowed that Rudbeck frequently goes too far through an ambition of rendering his country illuſtrious; nevertheleſs, not all his conjectures are on this account undeſerving; ſome of them are certainly ingenious, and ſome far from improbable." See the Tranſactions of the Academy alluded to, book ix. p. 340, of the Amſterdam edition. The ſecond is the Abbé Banier; he thinks "that few will follow the ſyſtem of Rudbeck; a ſyſtem which after all, *addeth he*, is ſo ſtrongly ſupported by conjecture, that notwithſtanding one may be of a different way of thinking from the author, one cannot yet refuſe him the honour of having employed the moſt profound erudition for the purpoſe of glorifying his country." This opinion is given in *les Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature*, by Mr. de Vigneul Marville, book iii. p. 5, and following pages; Paris edition, 1725, 12mo.: and I attribute it not to Vigneul Marville, or as that author was properly called, D. Bonnaventure d'Argonne, but to the Abbé Banier, on account of the third volume of *les Melanges* being almoſt wholly written by that learned man, according to the Abbé d'Artigny, *Nouveaux Memoires d'Hiſtoire*, &c. book i. p. 312.

I ſhall not repeat the praiſe which the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck has acquired in Sweden; let it ſuffice to obſerve, that our moſt modern hiſtorians have given it attention. *Bicurner* is of opinion: *cuivis diligenti et frugi antiquario omninò convenire diurnâ nocturnâque verſare manú incomparabilis hujus viri Atlanticam.* Mr. *Wilde*, a competent judge, eſteemed it highly, notwithſtanding he differed from him occaſionally, particularly with reſpect to ancient geography. M. *Dalin*, even although he varies ſtill more than Mr. Wilde in opinion from Rudbeck, and notwithſtanding he follows a ſyſtem of chronology perfectly oppoſite, yet allows that he throws great light on different points of hiſtory in the early ages, and that none can read the Atlantica without admiration of the profound genius of the author, his prodigious learning, and keen penetration.

Olaus

Olaus Rudbeck, the father, Doctor and Profeſſor of phyſic in the univerſity of Upſal, born at Weſteros in 1630, died at Upſal the 7th September 1702. His funeral oration was read by John Eſberg, Profeſſor of theology, and printed in 1703, in 4to. It is to be ſeen in *Chriſt. Nettelbladt. Memoria virorum in Suecia eruditiſſimorum rediviva Semi-decas*, IV. Roſtock, 1731, in 8vo., p. 161—208. Father Niceron has made uſe of it in giving the life of our Rudbeck, *Memoires*, book xxxi. 153. and following pages. Being a foreigner, Father Niceron has committed ſome errors, which require rectification.

Fifty-one years after the death of Rudbeck, a ſmall medal was ſtruck in honor of him, on one ſide of which was a profile of that learned man, encircled with this inſcription: Olaus Rudbeck Pater. Prof. Upſal.; and on the other, the conſtellation of the leſſer bear, with theſe words: Tot Fulgent Lumina in Uno. On the exergue is written, VIVO DECR. HONORES REDDITI A° MDCCLIII. AB. EXITV. LI.

This article, relating to one of the rareſt works that has appeared in Sweden, and deſigned for the library of the late Mr. *Clement*, under the head of

RUDBECK, (Olaus,) the father,

was compoſed by Mr. Charles Guſtavus de *Varmholtz*, Aulic Counſellor of His Majeſty the King of Sweden, the greateſt bibliographer that ever was in Sweden; he died the 28th March 1785. It has never till now appeared in print; and the underſigned, who is in poſſeſſion of the original memoir, has the honour to preſent this copy to Meſſrs. B. .... and F. ...., on their travels in the North, knowing them to be curious reſpecting rare editions. Stockholm, 18th June 1791.

(Signed.) CHARLES GJŒRWELL, librarian to His Majeſty.

N.B. It is plain that the article of Mr. de Bure, in his Bibliography, No. 5578, is not correct, any more than that of Cailleau in his Bibliographical Dictionary, p. 522, book ii.

CHAP. V.—*Learned Men.—Artiſts.—Cabinets of Individuals.*

MR. *LUDEKE*, paſtor of the German chapel, is a very learned man; he reſided a length of time at Conſtantinople, and has gathered ſome valuable information reſpecting Turkey: he has publiſhed ſeveral works in the Swediſh and German languages, and poſſeſſes ſome valuable books. *Orationes dominicæ, Orationes ferme centum: Berolino.* (Berlin.) Compoſed and publiſhed by the poſſeſſor's great uncle. *Biblia Malabarica*, Tranquebar: the firſt part 1723, the ſecond 1727; the interior title is *Biblia Damulica*. The New Teſtament, printed alſo at Tranquebar in 1715, although of the ſame ſize as the Bible, and in the Malabar language, the characters are of a larger type than thoſe of the Bible; the whole forms three volumes in 4to. The firſt edition of the *New Teſtament* in the Finniſh tongue, in 4to. Stockholm, 1548. *Bible Francaiſe, in folio*; Stockholm, 1642. A fine manuſcript of *the Alcoran* on vellum, with the various readings in the margin.

Mr. Swartz is the director of the King's cabinet of natural hiſtory at Drotningholm: although very young, he has yet travelled a great deal, and has added conſiderably to the knowledge of moſſes, which has been his principal ſtudy; he poſſeſſes the moſt perfect collection of them in exiſtence: he has publiſhed a work entitled, Nova genera et ſpecies Plantarum, ſeu prodromus deſcriptionum Vegetabilium, in maximam partem incognitorum, quæ ſub itinere in Indiam Occidentalem, annis 1783—87, divenit Olaff

Swartz: M. D. Holmiæ, 1788. He has ſpecified more than three hundred ſorts of *lichen*, one hundred and thirty of which only are deſcribed by Linnæus. A ſmall number is peculiar to Sweden, no more than five or ſix. *Vulpinus*, a kind of moſs found in Finland: the country people make uſe of it to poiſon wolves; it is found in Sweden alone, and yields a very pretty green colour. *Tartareus*, a moſs which the Engliſh formerly purchaſed to extract a dye: a manufactory thereof has been actually eſtabliſhed at Stockholm. *Impreſſus*, a new ſpecies, found hitherto no where but in Sweden, gives a red colour. Mr. *Veſtring*, a doctor of phyſic at Norkœuping in Oſtrogothia, has made a number of experiments on the colouring principles of moſs; he is ſhortly to give a diſſertation on the reſult of his reſearches, which will be read at the Academy of Sciences. Already from different moſſes the following colours have been extracted; yellow, red, and green of different ſhades, brown, black, and violet. Hitherto none has been diſcovered that have given blue, which appears a difficult matter to find. Mr. Swartz imagines, dyes among them may be found capable of vieing in brilliancy with cochineal; experiments tried on ſilk and wool have ſucceeded, but not with cotton. The *raugiferinus*, & *iſlandicus proboſcidens* ſerve for food. The Laplanders eat the *raugiferinus* boiled in water and milk; it is excellent for phthiſicky coughs and conſumption. Mr. Swartz brought with him from the Weſt Indies more than a thouſand new plants, the deſcription of which may be ſeen in his work; he met with the ſame kind of moſs in Jamaica, that ſerves as food for rein-deer, which is rather ſingular.

Mr. *Fredenheim*, knight of the polar ſtar, and member of ſeveral academies, poſſeſſes intereſting collections of manuſcripts, engravings, &c. of which the following are the moſt remarkable. Among his manuſcripts, thoſe of Baron *d'Adler Salvius*, Swediſh ambaſſador at the treaty of Weſtphalia, and afterwards ſenator. It comprizes minutes of his diſpatches and other writings, even of ſeveral articles of the above-mentioned treaty of peace, and a number of memorials and original letters addreſſed to himſelf or others by celebrated characters of paſt times, ſuch as the Emperor, Guſtavus Adolphus, Queen Chriſtina, the Princes of the empire, a number of learned men, and particularly Swediſh generals and miniſters. This collection extends from the year 1624 to 1652 incluſive; the number of different pieces that it comprizes is two thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven. The owner has cauſed a table of them to be made with notes, which alone fills a large folio. The pieces already publiſhed in the extracts given to the world relative to this peace, are carefully noted. The greater part of theſe are not among his collection; this includes even the letters which had been intercepted and decyphered. A ſimilar *ſuite* of manuſcripts belonging to a Swediſh nobleman, who acted a great part on the ſtage of the world between 1700 and 1727. The collection conſiſts of ſix hundred and ſeventeen pieces, moſtly letters, the great part originals of Charles XII., Frederic I., the Queen Ulrica Eleanora, Lewis XV., Staniſlaus of Poland, his Queen, the Princeſs *Czartoriſky*, Cardinal *Judice* the Spaniſh miniſter, of generals, and particularly Swediſh miniſters; and beſides the minutes of this nobleman himſelf, a table with notes.

Theſe two collections form a ſucceſſion the more precious, from its containing ample memoirs of the two moſt intereſting epochs of the hiſtory of Europe and Sweden. In the courſe of his travels, Mr. F. employed himſelf principally in ſearch of hiſtorical pieces not in print in different libraries. Many were ſhewn him, which he copied; among others, the life of Cardinal Mazarin, in the *Ricardian* library at Florence. As for the library of the Vatican, he took particular account of all that it contained relative to the hiſtory of Sweden, from part of the manuſcripts of Queen Chriſtina. The Pope had the unuſual civility to cauſe extracts to be made for him from the archives, and gave him copies

copies of nearly four hundred papal bulls, bearing relation to the political or religious affairs of Sweden, the originals of which, in the revolutions of time, had been loſt. Theſe bulls begin with the twelfth century, and end with the reign of John III. Mr. de Fredenheim brought back with him many obſervations on the countries through which he travelled, particularly Italy, in maps, plans, drawings, and deſcriptive books, with his own marginal notes. Different other manuſcript deſcriptions, and views drawn in his preſence on the ſpots, are either framed in his ſtudy, or depoſited in his port-folio. Amongſt antique marbles; *Hercules*, *Juno*, *Titus*, *Virgil*. With theſe a numerous and ſtill more ſelect collection of geographical maps; Sweden and Italy perfectly complete, and many not yet printed. A map of South America, notwithſtanding it is engraved, yet very ſcarce, publiſhed in 1775, in twelve large ſheets, with notes ſufficient for an entire atlas. *Medals*; in the number, that of Anthony and Cleopatra, extremely rare. A ſucceſſion in bronze, of a large ſize, of the different Emperors, in excellent preſervation, &c. *Acta publica* between Sweden and other powers, printed at the period on which they occurred, comprizing more than forty volumes in folio. A ſelect library of ſome thouſand volumes. Manuſcripts on the hiſtory of Sweden. Engravings, particularly Italian. Portraits of Swedes and remarkable perſons of all countries. Portrait of Guſtavus Adolphus, taken from life. A manuſcript life of Linnæus, noted and preſented by himſelf to the father of the preſent owner, the Archbiſhop of Upſal. Mr. de Fredenheim, during his reſidence at Rome, by reſearches he made, determined the exact extent of the Forum Romanum. He cauſed a monument to be made in that country to the memory of his father, by Angelini the ſculptor, in fine Carrara marble, which is placed in the cathedral at Upſal. In the piece, Religion marks the ſoul's abode, and at the ſame time points to the urn ſuppoſed to contain the aſhes of the dead; below on the pedeſtal is a *bas relief*, which repreſents the Archbiſhop foſtering the ſciences; the inſcription is elegantly ſimple: *Carolo Frederico Menander eccl. Suegothicæ archiepiſcopo pietas filii P. nat.* 1712, *ob.* 1786. His tranſlation of Tacitus into the Swediſh language is very highly eſteemed. The lady of Mr. Fredenheim cultivates muſic with great ſucceſs; ſo that his houſe may be looked upon as the rendezvous of the fine arts. For our part we muſt add, that it is equally the court of complaiſance, and with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, here proclaim our gratitude for all the kindneſs we individually experienced, renewing at the ſame time thoſe expreſſions of our regret ſo often repeated before, at having reſided ſo long in Sweden before we made his acquaintance.

Mr. *Nordin*, member of the academy of eighteen, paſſes for the beſt-informed man in Sweden, on what regards the hiſtory and antiquities of his own country. He has compoſed a work entitled, *Directorium chronologico-diplomaticam Sueciæ*, in two volumes. The earlieſt diploma and other acts, which relate to Swediſh affairs, begin in 800. Theſe are letters of the Popes, the greater part of which are alluded to by different authors; their names are indicated, as well as the part of their works wherein mention of them is made. He is in poſſeſſion of many valuable manuſcripts. *Exemplar epiſtolarum Chriſtinæ*; a work written by that Queen herſelf in her youth. It contains copies of letters in the Swediſh, German, Latin, and French languages, in ſmall *folio*, three fourths margin.—The eccleſiaſtical ſtatutes of Archbiſhop *Eſkils* of *Lund*, in 1124. Mention is made of this in the appendix of the laws of Scania in the Swediſh language. —A code of laws for the whole kingdom, a manuſcript of 1347 on vellum, incomplete: in this the Runic letter *th* is found; it is in Swediſh, and never was printed, the clergy continually oppoſing its abſolute recognition: this code was partly adopted in 1444, and was in exiſtence until 1734. *Priſcianus*, a Latin grammar in manuſcript, in-

complete. A manuſcript of 1227, on a ſheet of parchment; this is a letter of Pope Gregory IX., addreſſed generally to the Jacobin monks, and permitting them to have a cemetery for the burial of their dead; dated Perouſe, the 10th of the Kalends of February, the ſecond year of his pontificate; the ſeal is on lead, and very well preſerved; it repreſents the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, without the double keys.—Hiſtory of Count *d'Ulfeld*, Grand-maſter of the kingdom of Denmark, an unique, which has never been printed.—Original code of Swediſh laws made by King Chriſtopher of Bavaria, on vellum, almoſt complete.—An abridgment of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Sweden, from the origin of chriſtianity in the kingdom to the preſent day, compoſed on account of the celebrated jubilee this year of 1693, by order of the moſt pious and magnanimous King Charles XI., by P. de Beaumont; in form of a dialogue between Alitophile and Romain. Such is the head of a French manuſcript, the ſame as was preſented to Charles XII., then Prince Royal; it contains a dedication to Charles, the hereditary Prince of Sweden, in large quarto, thirty-ſix pages, at Upſal, the 20th May 1693.—L'Hiſtoire de France, by the ſame Beaumont, continued to 1697: the ſame volume comprizes a ſuccinct abridgment of the hiſtory of Germany, which fills nearly half the volume; it is *in quarto*.—A copy of the journal of Charles XI. from 1676 to 1697; the original is in poſſeſſion of Count de Cronſtedt, governor of Gefle.—Hiſtorical anecdotes: *Saga*, in the Swediſh language, an Iceland manuſcript; the name is *Eigil*, ſon of Skaldagrim. A *marine chart* in manuſcript, made for Charles V. in 1540; moſt particularly deſigned for the Mediterranean ſea. *The plan of the city of Mexico*, on vellum, the ſame as was preſented to Charles V. by Alfonſo de Santa Cruz. *Urbs Tenuxlitana* is its title, which was the ancient name of that city: the plan is coloured; the dedication to the Emperor is upon it. Mr. Nordin preſented a map of the world, to the King made at that time, that is to ſay in the reign of Charles V. Theſe maps are ſuppoſed to have been taken at Prague by Count Koningſmark in 1648.

Mr. *Giœurwell*, librarian to the King, poſſeſſes a fragment on the diſcovery of Norway, which is the moſt ancient manuſcript that relates to the hiſtory of the North: it was found in Iceland, tranſported to Denmark, and thence carried to Sweden; the author is unknown, but from the ſucceſſion it gives of the ancient Princes of the northern countries up to the tenth century, it is conjectured to be of that age. This fragment has been printed in a collection of the moſt ancient monuments of the early hiſtory of the North, publiſhed by Bjœurners, antiquary to the King of Sweden, Stockholm, 1737, *in folio*. In compoſing this edition, the piece was copied, which was depoſited in the archives of the kingdom. The ſame fragment was printed before in 1689, at Skalholt in Iceland.—A new Swediſh Teſtament, Stockholm, 1526, *ſmall folio*, with a figure of Chriſt for the frontiſpiece, and the arms of Guſtavus Vaſa at the end.—A Swediſh Bible, 2 vols. *in folio*, Upſal, 1541. John III., ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, being deſirous of introducing anew the Catholic religion into Sweden, made uſe of two liturgies, one printed in Latin and one in Swediſh, the firſt at Stockholm, *in folio*, 1576, the other alſo in Stockholm, *in 4to.* in 1589; both were proſcribed by Charles IX., and are extremely rare; both, however, are in the collection of Mr. Giœurwell. Mr. Charles Guſtavus *Warmholtz*, aulic counſellor of His Swediſh Majeſty, has occupied himſelf more fully on the hiſtory and hiſtorians of Sweden than any other perſon; his work is after the plan of *Lelong* on the hiſtorians of France; it is in the Swediſh language, with hiſtorical and critical remarks by Mr. *Dewarm*. The fifth volume appeared at Stockholm in 1790, *in 8vo*. The manuſcript in 15 vols. *folio*, written by the author, is in the hands of the editor, Mr. Giœurwell. The five volumes already printed, reach as far as the fifth of the manuſcript. This author was born at Stockholm in 1713, and died on his

own eſtate of Chriſtiernholm in 1785. He had a fine library, and in courſe of a long reſidence there, compoſed this work. At his death, he confided to Mr. Gioeurwell the manuſcript and edition. He had travelled a great deal, ſojourning the longeſt in Holland; he married a French woman at the Hague, *Marguerite Janicou*, daughter of a miniſter of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, known by his letters on the United Provinces. His library conſiſted of ſix thouſand volumes; thoſe which regarded hiſtory were bought by Mr. Gioeurwell, who has augmented their number.

Guſtavus III., an enlightened protector of the arts, invited artiſts of great merit to Sweden; it may be boldly advanced that the kingdom is indebted to him for the poſſeſſion of a *Sergell*, a *Deſprès*, *Maſrellier*, &c. What clearly verifies this aſſertion, the Swedes themſelves, far from attracting great artiſts, did not even profit by their preſence, or give them any encouragement: they were never employed by any but the King; and we have no doubt that ſince his death they will have abandoned a country which will no longer afford them any reſources, a court which, from its ſyſtem of economy, (certainly well imagined,) will look upon, as fooliſhly expended, thoſe ſums requiſite for the recompenſe and encouragement of genius.

We ſhall now take a view of the artiſts of Stockholm, whoſe talents appear to us to lay claim in a greater or leſs degree to public eſteem.

Mr. *Sergell*, a Swede, is the moſt celebrated ſculptor of the preſent day; *Canova*, a Venetian, being the only one in any degree comparable to him. This artiſt is in high eſtimation; the King frequently reſorts to his work-ſhop, in which he is imitated by the nobility, and even the ladies; but theſe viſits have become ſo tireſome that his door is frequently cloſed; ſo that it will not be amiſs for any one deſirous of ſeeing him to adviſe of his intention before hand. He is employed on the ſtatue in bronze, deſigned by the citizens in honour of their King: the model of the proportions of which was ſhewn to us; the King is upright, as if walking, his left hand leaning on the rudder of a ſhip, (an attribute which accords equally with the ſpecies of victory obtained by him, as with his having the conduct of affairs ſince the revolution;) and in his right hand an olive branch, the ſymbol of peace: it fronts the church on the ſide next the caſtle, with its back to the ſea, very near to which it is placed; thus wearing the appearance of being juſt landed and bringing peace to his people. The height of the ſtatue is to be eleven feet; the ſculptor has varied as little as poſſible from the Swediſh coſtume, which, thanks to the cloak, has a very good effect; he has only taken ſmall licenſe in altering the manner in which it is faſtened. This ſtatue, which he expects will be finiſhed in 1796, is full of grace and life. In his work-ſhop we ſaw the group of Cupid and Pſyche in marble, large as life, deſigned for the King, who means to place it at Haga. This is one of the fineſt pieces of modern ſculpture; Pſyche is on her knees before Cupid; the poignard and lamp by his ſide deſignate the inſtant choſen by the artiſt. At firſt he intended that Cupid ſhould have turned his head aſide in repulſing Pſyche; it would have rendered the work more eaſy; the expreſſion of his countenance as looking on Pſyche, however difficult to give, was preferred, and is admirably conceived by Mr. Sergell: Cupid regards Pſyche with a cold and tranquil diſdain, ſuch as is ſuitable to an offended deity. The two figures are naked, and the whole of the group poſſeſſes ſtriking beauties; it is a maſter-piece which well deſerves minute attention: it was originally intended for Madame du Barry. The ſame groupe was executed on a ſmall ſcale for Baron Armfeldt, to whom His Majeſty made a preſent of it, and for the Duke d'Infantado. The price of the ſmall work is 1000 rix-dollars. Mr. Sergell had alſo two beautiful buſts in his ſhop, the one of Guſtavus Vaſa, the other of Guſtavus Adolphus, ordered formerly by the King of France; not knowing any longer to whom to

addreſs himſelf on account of them, he preſerves them until a more favourable opportunity may allow of their proceeding to their deſtination. Events having happened to annul every ſuch expectation, we are ignorant of what has become of them *. A buſt in bas relief of the Prince-royal is the moſt ſtriking reſemblance that poſſibly can be. It would be difficult to find an eſtabliſhment more commodious or more complete than that occupied by this artiſt; he has ſome charming paintings, moſtly of the French ſchool; he places great value on the head of an old man, by Guido, and a Cupid playing with a Satyr, by Carlo Cignani. The figure of Love is beautiful. He is in poſſeſſion of an antique ſtatue of a fawn which he prizes highly; it is ſtanding with its legs acroſs, leaning againſt the trunk of a tree, at the foot of which lays a young child; the head as well as the right arm have been repaired, the remainder is in the higheſt preſervation. Mr. Sergell joins to his eminent talent for execution, that of converſing on his art in the moſt engaging and inſtructive manner; and what in our eſteem is a great merit, he ſpeaks with equal complaiſance to artiſts, and thoſe who have no other title to his notice than a deſire of information or mere curioſity; a ſingular merit even among artiſts of the ſecondary ſtamp, much more in a man of ſuch ſuperior abilities.

Mr. *Deſprès*, a Frenchman, a painter and architect: the King meeting with him at Rome in 1784, engaged him in his ſervice. He has the ſuperintendance of the ſcenery and dreſſes of the opera, of every thing conſtructed by His Majeſty, and at this inſtant of the building of the new palace of Haga. This artiſt poſſeſſes the richeſt and moſt lively imagination, and is even reproachable for the too great diverſity he introduces in ſuch little ſpace. He has painted a large piece repreſenting the battle of the Crotoniates and Sybarites, in poſſeſſion of the King. He is at preſent employed in painting the principal actions of the war in Finland. The following are the whole: the naval battle at Hogland, on the 17th July 1788; Poruſalmi, on the 6th June 1789; Uttiſinalm, 28th June 1789; Parkumacki, 21ſt July 1789; the affair of Valkiali, 29th April 1790; Pardakoſki, 30th April 1790; the barracks of Kettis, in May 1790; Peſtimacki, 5th May 1790; the battle of Frederichamm, 15th May 1790; the retreat from Wybourg, 3d July 1790; and the battle of Svenkfund, 9th and 10th July 1790. Mr. Deſprès is likewiſe charged with the erection of the intended obeliſk at Haga, where the model in wood is to be ſeen, and generally of whatſoever relates to the architecture of that palace; he has moreover been drawing-maſter to the Prince-royal ever ſince 1791.

Mr. *Maſrelier*, a Frenchman, a charming artiſt in drawing, is the author of all the deſigns of the pavillion of Haga, and has executed them with a degree of perfection which does him the greateſt honour. He is poſſeſſed of exquiſite taſte: it is a great pity that an artiſt of ſuch excellence ſhould be without pupils to aſſiſt him; for want of them he is obliged to draw the outlines, and give the different ſhades; his pupils afterwards copy very well, and apply the colouring. As this artiſt moſt commonly works *in moriſco*, or pictures which ſerve for the internal decorations of apartments, ſome judgment may be formed of the extent of his labours: in one piece there are frequently from one to two hundred figures. Mr. Maſrelier was eleven years in Italy, and has brought thence an immenſity of drawings, taken on the ſpot, and which are well worthy of inſpection. Many of theſe views have been very little regarded. He has a brother who is a carver: for the ſake of diſpatch he makes uſe of a proceſs which imitates caſts in a very nice manner, and is much more œconomical; this conſiſts in the employment of a paſte which hardens of itſelf, receiving whatever impreſſion may be fancied,

* We have reaſon to believe they have been purchaſed by the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

and

and being ſuſceptible of taking any colour. It looks extremely well when gilt, and on it the gilding is capable of high poliſh. This ſecret he learned at Paris, and hitherto it has perfectly well ſucceeded. *Young*, who ſhall be mentioned preſently, pretends that wood ought to have the preference; the former, however, is cheaper, more eaſily repaired, more ſuſceptible of receiving any form, and has in fact preciſely the ſame effect as wood. This proceſs moreover is in high eſtimation with the King, ever anxious for the completion of his fancies, as it gratifies them with greater promptitude. The workſhop of this artiſt is on the ground floor of the caſtle, in the pavillion of the library: he employs very few workmen.

Mr. *Young*, an excellent carver, has a fund of taſte, and a perfect comprehenſion of every thing that regards the decoration of apartments. We ſaw him intent on ornamenting the exterior of an organ; his work was beautifully deſigned, and executed with aſtoniſhing exactitude. He has a number of ſcholars to inſtruct in this line, in which the Swedes excel, as well as in gilding on wood.

Mr. *Guilbert*, an engraver, is employed in engraving all the medals of the preſent reign in copper. This collection, already very numerous, cannot be complete until the death of His Majeſty, who reſerves for himſelf the plates and proofs, ſo that it is no eaſy matter to procure them; they are rather harſhly engraved. The vignettes from deſigns of Mr. Maſrelier are principally in the beſt ſtyle; each plate is to have an explanation, on two columns, in French and Swediſh. The engraver of the medals is Mr. Fehrmann; he is a good artiſt, but not equal to his predeceſſor. The collection of the laſt reign is conſiderable on account of medals being ſtruck on occaſion of the moſt trifling events, ſuch even as by no means deſerved commemoration.

Mr. *Martins* is engraving the views of Stockholm: many are completed: he afterwards illuminates them; they are ſold at about 2½ ducats each. They clearly evince the precipitation with which this artiſt works; being very incorrect and badly finiſhed; nevertheleſs, as he is not void of genius and taſte, they are pleaſing and have a good effect.

Mr. *Breda*, the younger, has been in England: his portraits afford hopes of his excelling at ſome future period in this line. His father has ſome pictures; among the moſt remarkable are the portrait of *La Foſſe*, by *Rigaud*. A deſign, attributed to Raphael, repreſenting the ſubmerſion of Pharaoh; this is a very valuable piece, and came from the cabinet of Mr. Crozat. A ſea piece, by T. Wouvermans. The maſſacre of the innocents, a pretty ſketch, by *Peter de Cordone*. Two fine portraits by *Francis Halle*. Two ſea pieces by *Simonini* the Venetian; theſe two pictures have great merit, and are very rare of their kind, this artiſt having painted ſcarcely any thing but battles. The flight into Egypt, by Guido, in his beſt ſtyle, very dark: it poſſeſſes a fund of beauty. Cain and Abel, ſaid to be by *Andrew Sacchi*. An old woman warming her hands, a ſmall picture, accurately finiſhed, which the owner aſſures is by *G. Dow*, notwithſtanding it bears the name of *G. Schalken*, which is viſible. A fine portrait of *Merian*, a painter and burgomaſter in Holand, by himſelf.

Mr. *Graaff* is one of the beſt portrait painters in Stockholm; he has the reputation of taking exact likeneſſes. We yet have ſeen at his houſe the portraits of the King, and ſeveral perſons of our acquantance, which bore not the leaſt reſemblance. His pencil is far from poſſeſſing any delicacy; and in any other country he would be eſteemed an ordinary painter.

Mr. *Paſch* is a portrait painter, in high eſteem in this country; he has alſo the character of giving very exact reſemblances.

Mr.

Mr. *Adams* works at the larger caſts in bronze, under the inſpection of Mr. Sergell: it was in his work-ſhop, which communicates with that of Mr. Sergell, that the ſtatue of Guſtavus Adolphus (of which we ſhall ſhortly ſpeak) was chizelled. This artiſt works in bronze in the moſt elegant and finiſhed manner. The King poſſeſſes ſome works of this deſcription which would do honour to the beſt artiſts in this line in France.

Mr. *Rhun*, a young Swede, is an excellent workman in bronze; he has made four candelabras for the King, which are of the higheſt taſte and moſt admirable finiſh.

Mr. *Pilau*, a Swediſh painter, was, in 1791, director of the academy. This artiſt, already advanced in years, was employed on a large picture of nine feet by eighteen, repreſenting the coronation of His Majeſty: it was not then completed. He ſhewed us ſome deſigns of the higheſt finiſh, particularly one repreſenting the parliament of Vaſa receiving its regulations from the King upon its eſtabliſhment. This painter has been much employed in Denmark.

Mr. *Lawrence*, a Swede, well known at Paris, where he reſided a number of years. Many engravings have been taken of this painter's works: they are in high eſteem. His ſtyle is very graceful, and replete with taſte.

Mr. *Hollblad*, a Swede, is famous for his ſkilful manner of reſtoring damaged paintings. He had a number belonging to Count Brahé, one of which was Judith, holding the ſword in her hand with which ſhe has cut off Holofernes' head. Mr. *Maſrelier* eſtimates it a work of *Caravaggio*. The head of Judith is beautiful. The baptiſm of Clovis, a large picture of no great merit. There is another at Stockholm for ſale, repreſenting the ſame ſubject, which is much ſuperior; it belongs to Count de la Gardie. It is preſumable that Mr. *Hollblad* uſes a ſimilar proceſs with *Picault* at Paris; however this may be he has been eminently ſucceſsful: from a number of proofs of this we ſhall cite but one; he has taken a ceiling painted on a wall, twenty-one ells long by fourteen, and fixed it in perfection on canvas.

Mr. *Hillerſtrœum*, a painter in Adolphus Frederic's ſquare *, on the ſouth ſide. In this ſquare it was (the ſame as was uſed for the carouſals) that the King, on occaſion of the peace of 1790, diſmiſſed the citizens of Stockholm who had volunteered for the protection of the town in abſence of the regular troops. This artiſt, in a picture which he has in his houſe, has repreſented this ceremony with excellent effect. It was intended for the city, but doubtleſs he will take a copy of it, the King, as is ſuppoſed, intending to have this. Mr. Hillerſtrœum is in poſſeſſion of a number of works of different deſcriptions, among others of a likeneſs of his daughter, with a mark on her boſom, where ſhe was ſtruck by lightning, without receiving any injury: we enquired if the mark remained yet as repreſented in the painting, ſhe aſſured us it did not; as ſhe was a very pretty girl we willingly would have had other proof beſides her ſimple aſſertion. This artiſt inhabited the houſe of a perſon who died but a ſhort time before, leaving behind him a magnificent collection of pictures, of which we were unable to get ſight, as they had been packed up to be ſent to England for ſale. It is a very handſome houſe, and was planned to have five-and-forty windows in the front looking on the ſquare; but it was ſcarcely more than half erected, and whether it will now be finiſhed or no appears doubtful.

Private cabinets are very few in number, as the reader will be enabled to judge by the enumeration of the whole, comprizing even thoſe of medals, ſtones, &c.

* In the neighbourhood of this ſquare is the priſon for debtors, where it is rather a difficult matter for a perſon to gain admittance merely for the ſatisfaction of his curioſity; it is however but little deſerving of attention.

Cabinet

Cabinet of Count Brahé. This contains ſome paintings, three or four of which only are deſerving of mention. The Magdalen reclined on a mat rolled up at one end, leaning on her elbow, with a book in her hand; a light veil of blue and white thrown over her, ſerving, with her long looſe hair, which is very handſome, in part to cover her, is very graceful. This picture is attributed to *Mignard*, and is ſuppoſed to be the likeneſs of the miſtreſs of ſome one of the Kings of France. David erect, holding in his hand the head of Goliah, of natural ſize; he wears a red cap, in which are two feathers, the one white the other yellow: this is ſaid to be by *Guido Reni*; but is a copy of that in the capitol, and has nothing ſuperior to boaſt. Our Saviour and the Holy Virgin in a building, with an aſs and two cows or bulls, by J. Jordaens, in 1652, an original. Our Savious paying tribute; a much eſteemed piece, the heads in it are beautiful.

Mr. *Bolander*, a painter, has a picture of the Virgin, with the infant Jeſus and St. John, which he pretends is by Raphael, and formerly belonged to the Counteſs Koningſmark; although many doubt its authenticity, the painting is certainly good, and much in that painter's ſtyle. He poſſeſſes likewiſe a game piece by *Snyders*, with that maſter's likeneſs, in a corner of the picture, done by Rubens, and ſome other leſs valuable pieces.

Cabinet of the Bank. In the building belonging to the bank is to be ſeen a handſome collection of medals, almoſt entirely Swediſh, contained in two hundred and twenty drawers; it is nearly complete: ſome, but a very ſmall number, are foreign. The moſt ancient, the authenticity of which is indiſputable, is a very ſmall one of Eric IX. in 1150. A medal of John II. in 1497, never publiſhed. A rix-dollar of Sten Sture, 1512, very rare. A very rare medal repreſenting Charles Guſtavus on one ſide, on the reverſe *Dei Gratia et Chriſtinæ Rex*, 1654: another was ſtruck which has for legend, *A Deo et Chriſtinâ*. A medal of Brahé, 1665, very rare. A very conſiderable and almoſt perfect collection of medals of famous private characters. This collection was begun and ſold to the Bank by Preſident *Rolamb*. Its directors continue it. The ſtructure of the bank was begun in 1668, under the reign of Charles IX.

The bank lends money on ſecurity of moveables and merchandize at four per cent.; every year two per cent. of its capital is paid off. There are nine commiſſaries who have the direction of its affairs, three from the claſs of nobles, and as many from that of the citizens, and as many of the clergy. Of one of theſe it is requiſite you ſhould aſk permiſſion to view the medals.

Meſſrs. *Grill* and *Charles de Geer* poſſeſs fine collections of Swediſh medals. Mr. de Geer has one in gold of Sten Sture, which is exceedingly rare; Mr. Grill one, ſaid to be of Odin, which is however thought to be Armenian. Theſe two cabinets we did not ſee. Mr. Grill, after having treated us very courteouſly at Suderfors, felt himſelf under no obligation of repeating his civility at Stockholm. As for Mr. Geer we made no attempts to ſeek a favour at his hands. There are people to whom a man is loth to be under obligation. Our thanks might have been ſuperfluous to a man who ſhews himſelf *ſo grateful* to the King for the many favours beſtowed on him, and whoſe opinions, unfortunately for us, were ſo much at variance with our own.

Mr. *Quiſt* has adopted a ſyſtem of claſſification entirely novel, in the department of precious ſtones, and which bears no reſemblance to that hitherto uſed. He pays no reſpect to colour, but only to the weight, ſhape, and hardneſs. He has given a detail of his ſyſtem in the memoirs of the academy for 1768. His collection is contained in a very ſmall cabinet, and is worthy of notice on account of the novel manner of its claſſification. The firſt place is aſſigned to white diamonds, and diamonds of all colours, as well in the rough as cut;—next, rubies and ſapphires, among theſe is an *aſteria*, in which, on holding it to the ſun, you diſtinguiſh a ſtar: opals, one called the *Nonnius*, is

with

with the exception of its fellow, in poſſeſſion of the Emperor, an unique, it weighs about two carats: topazes, rough rubies, rough emeralds, chryſolites, beryls, *aigues marines* in the rough, as well as cut: garnets and hyacinths; amethyſts, chryſtals; he pretends that amethyſts are only coloured chryſtals. Chryſopaſes tranſparent quartz from Finland. Cat's eyes. Cornalines. Onyx, ſardines, agates; which however he ranks in the firſt claſs. Jaſper, malachites, opals; amethyſts, toarmalins, and other ſtones are not yet claſſed. Mr. Quiſt poſſeſſes a piece of regulus of antimony found in Sweden, extremely rare, ſo much ſo, that none is any longer to be found. He has adjoining to his houſe, a pretty conſiderable extent of ground, and a terrace which commands the ſea, whence is a moſt ſuperb view, ſuch even as much ſurpaſſes the moſt celebrated in point of extent and pictureſque effect. It is in itſelf enough to induce a traveller to go to the extremity of the ſouthern ſuburbs along the ſea, where it is ſituated, even ſhould he be void of curioſity of examining the collection of ſtones.

Mr. Daniel George Neſcher, of Queen's-ſtreet, poſſeſſes a curious and ſingular collection of portraits of Kings and individuals of Sweden, of all ages; it conſiſts of about four thouſand pieces; at moſt, no more than fifty are wanting to render it perfectly complete. What renders this collection ſtill more intereſting, the proprietor has written at the bottom of each of the portraits of individuals, an account of his life. We noticed with ſurpriſe, that many Swedes had never heard either of Mr. Neſcher, or his collection.

Thus have we given the whole we have to notice of private cabinets, and believe we have omitted nothing of intereſt: the number muſt needs be conſidered very trifling; yet have we to obſerve, that the Swediſh nobility being in general very poor, and very ill informed, it is not aſtoniſhing that valuable cabinets ſhould be leſs frequent here than elſewhere; the firſt reaſon alone appears to us unanſwerable.

CHAP. VI.—*Churches.—Public Edifices.—Statues of Sovereigns.—Arſenal.—Park of Artillery.—Priſons.*

THE churches of Stockholm, conſidered as edifices, deſerve no attention: the two following are the only ones worthy of being viſited.

Riddenſholm Church. It is far from handſome, but it may be well to ſee it, on account of its being the place of interment of the kings, a number of the principal families in Sweden, and all the knights of the order of the Seraphim. At the extremity of the church, before the altar, are the tombs of Canateſon and Magnus Ladulos, between them is a ſmall cloſed coffer, containing the ſtatutes of the order of the Seraphim. Guſtavus Adolphus is inhumed in the vicinity, but no monument is yet erected to his memory; it was then under the workman's hands. In a chapel are Charles XII. with his club and lion's ſkin, in bronze gilt. On a bier of black marble, Frederic I. and Queen Ulrica Eleanor. In another very ſmall chapel raiſed a few ſteps, is the great *Banner*, born in 1601, died in 1641: in another ſpot, *Fortenſon*, born in 1603, died in 1651, and the tombs of the Ferſens, the Levenhaupt, and other families. Guſtavus III. in 1791, formed the project of building a rotunda for the Kings, on a plan by Deſpres.

The Church of Queen Chriſtina. This is in the form of a croſs, with a rotunda in the middle, rather pretty, and very neat; at the principal altar is a bas-relief in plaſter, by Sergell, repreſenting the aſcenſion; it has a very fine effect. A monument in lead by the ſame hand, raiſed in 1770 to the memory of Deſcartes, by the late King, then

Prince Royal. In the cemetry, the place is ſtill pointed out where his body was firſt depoſited, before it was ſent to France.

The Exchange. A pretty building near the caſtle, on the market place; the merchants aſſemble on the ground floor, which is adorned with the buſts of Baron de Sparre, High Governor of Stockholm, and Mr. Alſtroemer, a celebrated merchant; above is a long gallery, wherein public balls are given every fortnight on Sundays, the price of admittance is 24 ſkillings each perſon: the court is generally preſent. The academy of eighteen holds alſo its public ſittings here.

The Hall of the Nobles is in a large ſquare, by the ſide of Ridderholm (the iſland of knights); the building is handſome, the ſtaircaſe of noble appearance. The ground floor contains the portraits of the marſhals of the diet from 1632, in number twenty-eight; thoſe of the diets of 1786 and 1789, were not yet there: the hall in which the nobles aſſemble is on the firſt ſtory, it is tolerably handſome, notwithſtanding its only ornament is the eſcutcheons of the nobility which cover its walls. Thoſe of the moſt ancient families are placed at the extremity, the others by gradation of anceſtry, on the right and left up to the door, where thoſe of the earlieſt exaltation are placed. The Count de Brahé occupies the moſt eminent ſtation *. It is in this hall that the monarch gave proof of much addreſs and preſence of mind at the diet of 1789.

The Town-Houſe. The court of the magiſtrates, at which the burgomaſters preſide, is held here; the hall has nothing in it remarkable. The portraits of the high governors, and ſeveral pleaſing views of the neighbourhood of Stockholm, drawn by Martyns, being the only objects of notice.

Statue of Guſtavus Vaſa (ſub pede). This is a bronze on the ſquare of the nobles, and before their manſion; it was erected by the body of the nobility, although, as its inſcription imports, this mark of reverence was not afforded till after the lapſe of two centuries; it was executed by the French *archbiſhop*, and poſſeſſes nothing ſtriking.

Equeſtrian Statue of Guſtavus Adolphus. This is before the opera houſe, in the northern ſquare: it was erected the 15th May, 1791; the expence of tranſporting it from the workſhop of the ſculptor to the place where it ſtands, notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of the diſtance, was 6000 rix-dollars. The proportions of the horſe and ſtatue are preciſely the ſame as thoſe of the ſtatue of Henry IV. now thrown down at Paris. Its whole weight is 150 ſchippunds †. Behind it, below the ſtatue, a large trophy is to be raiſed, on which the bucklers and arms of the different people conquered by Guſtavus Adolphus, are to be ranged; around it will be placed medallions, repreſenting the five principal generals of this Prince: *Banner*, *Tortenſon*, *James de Langardie*, *Horn*, and *Saxe Weimar*. They are finiſhed (the whole by the *archbiſhop*), except the ornaments below, and what remains to be fixed, which latter are by *Sergell*, who gave the deſign, and has taken upon himſelf its completion. Below is to be the ſtatue of Oxenſtiern, dictating the life of the King to hiſtory, which altogether, when finiſhed, will have a

* His father was beheaded in 1756, on account of being a chief of the conſpiracy formed in favour of the King: the ſon has not inherited the ſentiments of his father, for he has conſtantly acted in oppoſition to Guſtavus III., notwithſtanding his being indebted to that Monarch for his recognition as firſt Count in Sweden, and notwithſtanding the exiſtence of a *Brahé* depended on a marked and very powerful protection. What perhaps, without excuſing him, may render him leſs culpable, is the aſſurance of his being ruled and perſuaded by his wife to follow a line of conduct no ways glorious for his reputation: it is alſo fit we ſhould remark here, that Madame de Brahé, a poor provincial gentlewoman, deſtined apparently to vegetate in obſcurity, has to thank the King for her being brought to court, and afterwards married to the firſt noble of the land. On this ſubject we ſhall make no reflections, leaving to the reader to comment on ſuch conduct as he will.

† Vide table of weights, 25,500 lbs. Engliſh.

very fine effect. The ſtatue, as it is at preſent, is not void of grace; it appeared to us in the workſhop, to much leſs advantage. It ſeems extraordinary, that the ſcarf of Guſtavus Adolphus ſhould hang from the left to the right; as it is deſigned to hide the ſword, we conceived that the object of the artiſt was not effected; the pedeſtal is of granite. The adventurers who have ſet on foot the manufacture of Dalicarlian porphyry, being deſirous of affording it a conſpicuous diſplay, offered to undertake it at the ſame price, but this offer was not accepted, the reaſon why we cannot conceive, as it would have been much more handſome; for in ſhort, as to quantity, if not always for beauty, granite in Sweden is as frequent as common ſtone elſewhere.

The Arſenal. It formerly was in the neighbourhood of North place; at preſent it is transferred to Fredericſhoff, at the park gate, where the Queen Dowager reſided, and where thoſe noblemen were confined, who were arreſted by the King during the diet of 1789. The building has twenty-nine windows in front, by four deep; it is compoſed of two wings, forming a right angle. On entering, (the ſecond ſtory,) you find a hall in which the Kings of Sweden are ſeen on horſeback in armour, reſembling the Kings of England in the ſame ſtile, in the tower of London; the helmet of Guſtavus Adolphus, of an enormous weight, and a great number of colours taken at Narva; in another ſmall chamber round a turning, a number of arms formerly uſed, and ſome ſmall pieces of artillery, with which Charles XII. amuſed himſelf when a child. A model of the new bayonet, twenty-three inches long *. Others not ſo long, ſword-edged, for the dragoons (the muſquets of the dragoons are four feet four inches in length, and weigh eight pounds). Hats and cartridge boxes. A ſecond hall, furniſhed with Saxon colours taken by Charles XII., together with ſome Ruſſian. A third hall contains the colours taken from the Ruſſian fleet at Fredericſham. A boat built by Peter 1ſt. taken on its paſſage from Saardam. In a fourth hall, colours taken by Guſtavus Adolphus, and one taken from the Saxons by Charles XII.'s own hand, in 1703. A general's ſtaff of the Calmucks, taken by Charles XII., together with cymbals and drums. A gallery communicating with this hall, containing all the inſignia neceſſary at a coronation; chairs, furniture, &c. Dreſſes and equipages for carrouſals; a gilt ſledge, preſented by Maria Thereſa. At each extremity are three ſmall apartments. In the firſt are portraits of Swediſh generals, and materials requiſite at carrouſals. The ſecond muſquets, piſtols, poinards, and other ſingular weapons: the ſword of Charles XI.; that of Charles XII., not too heavy; a very handſome double fuſil, preſented to Charles XI. by Louis XIV. The third, Turkiſh preſents of houſings and horſe accoutrements; the horſe equipage of ſeveral Kings, enriched with pearls. In a wardrobe, the gloves worn by Charles XII. when he was ſhot †, his ſaſh, (four feet four inches in length), his plain hat: the ſhot was received juſt below the button. A coat of coarſe blue cloth, with plain copper buttons. A very fine ſhirt without ruffles, ſtained with blood below the collar. A pair of leather breeches with ten pockets. A blue cloak, three feet eight inches long, no more than two inches longer than the coat. Very ſhort boots. The fourth is a ſmall apartment, containing the ſhields of ancient Kings, and arms of earlier

* Theſe bayonets will be eſteemed ſomewhat too long; they have been in uſe among the Swedes only ſince the laſt war. The practice to which they are accuſtomed, of charging the Ruſſians with the bayonet, (a manœuvre in which they have almoſt conſtantly ſucceeded,) called for an encreaſe of the length of this weapon.

† We viſited this arſenal in company with a Ruſſian general, whoſe grandfather ſerved in the army of Charles XII. Notwithſtanding he was attached to a different power, and had himſelf recently been oppoſed to the Swedes, General P—n took hold of Charles's glove and kiſſed it with reſpect, obſerving, "I do homage to the memory of a brave man."

times.

times. The ſhirt worn by Guſtavus Adolphus when wounded in the neck at Deſchau. The breeches he wore when ſhot in the thigh in Pruſſia, with ſeveral parts of his dreſs. In a fifth, ancient arms; the ſtuffed ſkin of the horſe on which Guſtavus Adolphus rod at the battle of Lutzen. The ſucceeding apartments are full of ſaddles and equipages for carrouſals: in one are the arms of the different provinces. The number of colours in this arſenal is immenſe: the firſt ſtory is a counterpart of the ſecond; here the muſquets are kept, apparently to us, in very indifferent order: as we ſaw them at the concluſion of a war, there were conſequently very few of them new. All the apartments, and even the veſtibules, were full of bales of cloth for the ſoldiers.

Note.—In order to be allowed the inſpection of this part of the arſenal, permiſſion muſt be obtained from the preſiding general.

Park of Artillery. The place in which it is kept is very handſome, encloſed by three ſides of buildings three ſtories high; a fourth ſide is to be built to complete the ſquare. The great pile of buildings fronting the entrance, contains the artillery and its pertinencies, ſuch as carriages, &c. In the third ſtory are the tents, &c. Of the two other piles of building, one is ſet apart for the harneſs of horſes, ſaddles, bridles, &c; the other ſerves for workſhops. In the court are kept balls, bombs, mortars, and cannon without carriages. The number of cannon was inconſiderable, the whole of the battering train being left in Finland. Each battallion has one ſix-pounder and two three-pounders when they take the field, with four men on horſeback to each ſix-pounder, and two to each piece of three pounds. The men do not diſmount when the cannon is fired, but merely open from before its mouth. The quantity of powder uſed is always equal to half the weight of the ball; this however is well underſtood to be more than ſufficient, its ſtrength being ſuch as to make three eighths enough; it coſts the King 10 rix-dollars the cwt. The muſquets, five rix-dollars 16 ſkillings. There are three manufactures of them, Norkiœuping, Nortelje, and Sœuderhamn, to the north of Gefle. We ſaw in the court a Poliſh cannon of braſs, terminating in a ſquare, it appears to have burſt, and been tied together with cords. The workmanſhip of it is ſingular; it is not uſed. There are twelve companies of artillery at Stockholm, conſiſting of nine hundred and ſixty men; they are diſperſed over the town in ſuch manner, that the officers are not obliged to have a general review of them more than once a month. There are eight artillerymen to each tent, but no more than ſix foot ſoldiers, however their tents are ſmaller. In order to ſee the park, you muſt get allowance from General *Sinclair*, the commanding officer.

Priſons. Theſe are three in number: that which we ſaw in the north ſuburbs is ſmall; it is very near the large aſylum for orphans. The crown allows two ſkillings daily for the maintenance of each priſoner. The priſons are built of brick, and are vaulted. We ſaw ſome men who had fetters on their legs, but this was not for puniſhment but ſecurity's ſake; they take an airing twice daily. Their rooms are very neat, we entered all of them, and particularly one in which were two men under capital charges for murder and forgery, one of whom had already been ſentenced; their countenance was tranquil, notwithſtanding their apartment was the condemned hold. The whole guard conſiſted of a baggage-maſter and two ſoldiers *. Theſe priſons have not that ſhocking appearance which priſons almoſt generally have. The greateſt puniſhment

* Upon this occaſion, we could but reflect on the difference of national characters. In France, a priſon no better guarded, would inſtantly be broke; with us both an internal and external guard are neceſſary, good locks, and ſtout gratings. In ſpite even of theſe precautions, how frequent are attempts to eſcape, and how often do they ſucceed! This is not the only opportunity afforded us of making ſimilar reflections.

in the prifon, is keeping the offender on bread and water, but this is never for a greater ſpace of time than eight and twenty days, as it has been proved, that in ſo cold a climate, there would be danger of culprits periſhing in caſe of longer abſtinence from ſubſtantial food, a matter more neceſſary in the North, than in warm, or even temperate climates.

CHAP. VII.—*Hoſpitals and Mad-Houſes.*

THE hoſpital or lazaretto at Kongſholm, is capable of containing one hundred and fifty ſick, forty-ſix of which are maintained gratuitouſly; the reſt pay two rix-dollars per month, and ſix if they have an apartment to themſelves; when we ſaw it it contained no more than forty-nine patients; they always ſleep by themſelves. The funds of the hoſpital are no more than 40,000 rix-dollars *Rikſens* *; the ſick on their entrance are clothed in the linen and dreſs of the hoſpital, their own being reſtored to them upon their departure; their linen is changed every week, and oftener if it be neceſſary. There is a principal phyſician, who is at the ſame time director, a ſecond phyſician, and commonly three ſurgeons; if more be neceſſary, the aſſiſtance of the young ſtudents is called for, who attend the hoſpital for inſtruction. The anatomical theatre is at Ridderholm, and the ſchool of ſurgery in the South; thus do theſe eſtabliſhments form preciſely a triangle, which appears to us a poor contrivance. The internal maladies, which are moſt common, are inflammatory fevers; there are many caſes of the venereal diſeaſe, and hemorrhoidal fiſtulas: thoſe afflicted with the venereal diſeaſe are below in a ſpecies of cells, the men ſcarcely ſeparated from the women; ſalivation is ſtill very frequently uſed here. The meat in the hoſpital is good, the bread tolerable, every thing very decent, and nothing further; the uſe of ventilators, other than fans, is unknown to them; there is at the door a box, in which it is cuſtomary to drop ſome money.

Lying-in hoſpital. This is ſituated nigh the north ſquare, in a private houſe; it is an eſtabliſhment on a very ſmall ſcale, which has yet its uſes, and which poſſibly may be the cauſe of a larger inſtitution of the ſort being one day founded; indeed many Swedes at Stockholm are ignorant of its exiſtence; and ſo little accuſtomed are the attendants to the viſits of foreigners, that we were obliged to negociate a long time before we could gain admittance, they conceiving that we wiſhed to throw ridicule on the inſtitution. The eſtabliſhment conſiſts of eighteen beds for *gratuitous* patients in three chambers, and two for women unwilling to be known, and who are not ſuffered to be ſeen. Theſe latter pay for their beds 4 rix-dollars per month, and maintain themſelves. The King pays 3 copper dollars daily for each woman who comes to lye-in here; but this only for nine days, at the termination of which ſhe muſt leave the hoſpital, unleſs ſhe be too weak, in which caſe ſhe is kept till ſhe recovers ſtrength. In this houſe there are born yearly from three to four hundred children. The bedſteads are of iron, with a ſmall one at hand for the infant, two feet and a half long by eighteen inches wide, covered with the ſame ſheets and blankets as the larger. If a nurſe be wanting, ſhe is engaged at an office for this purpoſe. There is only one midwife in the houſe, whoſe ſalary is 50 rix-dollars: the country women come hither to practiſe, and pay for entrance two rix-dollars 20 ſkillings to the College of Phyſic, remain there for three months at their own expence, and on their departure pay for their diploma a rix-dollar and a half. The profeſſor gives two leſſons weekly, and the provoſt private leſſons, which the wo-

* Notes which loſe about 12 per cent. in change againſt ſpecie.

men

men pay for according to agreement and their ſeveral capacities. The lying-in women have three meals a-day. This eſtabliſhment ſome years ago was on the firſt ſtory; it is now kept on the ground-floor, which is not ſo well, as it is more liable to damp, the effects of which, indeed, we were able to diſtinguiſh.

Spinhaus. A houſe of correction: at the time we ſaw it, it contained one hundred and eighty-ſeven women, more than forty of which were Fins, and twenty-two men, chiefly children or lame perſons. Moſt of theſe women were confined for theft, ſeveral for more heinous offences, the moſt common of which is child murder; in ſuch caſe their impriſonment is perpetual; the unfortunate wretches guilty of this crime are not allowed admiſſion into the court, but to make amends their lodgings are better and more clean than the others: on Chriſtmas-day they are treated with fiddles at the King's expence, which is the only recreation they enjoy throughout the year. Every one without exception is obliged to ſpin two pounds and a half of wool per day on account of the houſe. The crown allows two ſkillings * per day for their food; ſuch as are confined for ſix years, or longer, or for life, are clothed in blue every three years; the others wear their cloaths as long as they will hang together. No perſon can be confined here without an order from the high governor or the police, when an arrangement is made with the company of directors reſpecting the manner in which the party is to be treated. The women lay two together, except when ill, in which caſe they are kept by themſelves in a ſeparate building; men, women, and children together; the beds are all on one ſide of the apartment, and the ſink on the other, near the windows, which in ſome degree contributes to the bad ſmell; the beds are bad. There are but three men to guard this houſe; in order to reach it you paſs a ſmall lake, which communicates with the larger one, over a bridge, whence you have a charming ſlant view of the city. The chapel belonging to the houſe is a tolerably handſome building; the foundry of Mr. Aſplund, which we ſhall deſcribe, is oppoſite.

Dannwiken. A mad-houſe is ſituated in a pleaſant poſition on the ſea-ſhore, towards the ſouth; it contained, when we were there, fifty-two perſons; more women than men. On placing a madman in this houſe, you pay a plotte † weekly. On one ſide of this building is a houſe capable of receiving a hundred perſons, men as well as women; upon payment of 50 rix-dollars ‡, a man rendered incapable of work, or an idiot, is admitted and maintained for life; an old man paſt labour is received there for 16 rix-dollars, and occaſionally for nothing. In the morning they have a pound of bread, beer, ſoup, and meat. In the evening bread and gruel with milk. From this houſe there is a charming proſpect of the ſea.

Widows of citizens. The aſylum for citizens' widows is the moſt remarkable of any of this deſcription at Stockholm; it is imitated no where to our knowledge, however deſerving of imitation; you enter by an iron gate from the ſtreet into a ſmall court, almoſt ſquare, with a raiſed footway: it contains ſixty two women, which number is never exceeded; upon a vacancy occurring, whether by death, or inheritance of property, thoſe who replace ſuch as go out, enter either at Eaſter or in October. Maſters in different trades and profeſſions pay annually a certain ſum, and their widows alone are admitted; it is requiſite they ſhould be fifty years of age; on their admiſſion they may bring with them whatever they will for the encreaſe of their comfort and accommodation, but at their death, whatever they bring belongs to the houſe. They are obliged to clothe themſelves and bring furniture for their bed; they pay nothing on entrance, have three meals a-day, two plates at dinner, and as many at ſupper. They each have

* About two-pence halfpenny ſterling. † 1s. 7d. ſterling. ‡ About 12l. ſterling.

a bed

a bed to themſelves; the rooms are very decent, and the widows appeared to us well contented with their lot and the treatment of the houſe, a peculiarity we never met with any where but in this eſtabliſhment; they have four large waſhes annually; they are not ſeparated in caſe of ſickneſs, except when contagious. The aſylum has ten adminiſtrators, whoſe functions are for life; they are either merchants or opulent tradeſmen.

Aſylum for the orphans of free-maſons, near the north place ſquare. This has been founded about thirty years; occaſionally it has contained five hundred children, and ſometimes more; when we ſaw it there were no more than four hundred and ninety, fifty-five of which only in the houſe itſelf, the reſt being in the country: thoſe in the houſe are at an expence of three copper dollars a week, and are cloathed twice in the year; ordinarily they quit the aſylum at twelve years of age, and are bound to trades. Before the war the children were admitted gratis, but now (in conſequence of the additional charge it has occaſioned) 25 rix-dollars are paid on entrance. Children of both ſexes are received, but muſt not be more than one year old. They are diſtinguiſhed by marks the ſame as in Foundling hoſpitals. They lay two together; their bedſteads are of wood. The only employment taught in this houſe is to knit tricotu: the chambers are neat; the children have a change of linen once a week, the ſhirt they ſleep in being different to that they wear by day: in ſeveral rooms there was a diſagreeable ſmell, notwithſtanding they had ventilators, their number being too ſmall. The children have four meals per day, two plates at dinner: they are allowed as much beer as they can drink, and have no ſalt meats. The houſe is but one ſtory high, and has a very pretty court in front. In the ſchool room are liſts of donations. This houſe has nine directors, named by the auxiliary lodge of St. John, the moſt ancient in the country; that is to ſay they ſelect one out of three perſons recommended by the other directors. The expence of this eſtabliſhment is annually from 7 to 8,000 rix-dollars. Formerly there was an arrangement between this and the grand aſylum for orphans, hereafter to be mentioned, which was uſed to ſend to the other the children it knew not what to do with, as poſſeſſing greater facility of diſpoſing of them.

The grand aſylum for orphans. This is ſituated in Queen ſtreet, has a large court, ſurrounded by irregular buildings. It maintains two thouſand two hundred children, of which forty to fifty and not more than eighty are in the houſe. They are received at every period of age, without regard to whence they come: for urgent caſes there is a wet-nurſe or two; otherwiſe they are carried to the office, where the children are put out to them at the rate of ſix copper dollars per month. Such as are kept in the houſe are equally well attended, and furniſhed with food in addition to the breaſt. The children do not remain above twelve months with the nurſe, after which they are placed with farmers in the country at ſix rix-dollars per annum: this arrangement is followed with one thouſand of the children, the other one thouſand two hundred are placed in houſes in the city, at ſix rix-dollars per annum: the utmoſt œconomy is uſed. Great numbers remain with their relations, who on account of their being poor receive half a rix-dollar monthly. When the children are firſt ſent to farmers in the country they are cloathed, but this only once: they are not maintained at the expence of the eſtabliſhment after they become fourteen years of age. The farmers may however, if they pleaſe, keep them until eighteen, but they no longer are paid the ſix rix-dollars; all they obtain is an exemption for three years, that is from their becoming fifteen to eighteen, from the impoſt they would have to pay for them; and an obligation on the part of the children to remain ſo long with them. The farmers are overlooked to ſee that they take proper care of the children, who have a mark given them which their parents

are obliged to bring back in caſe of death. If this mark ſhould be loſt on viſiting the child, he is eraſed from the liſt, and the parents no longer receive the ſix rix-dollars. On one ſide of mark is a No. in Roman characters; on the reverſe a crown: it is a ſmall piece of lead, like a ſlug, which cannot be ſpoiled but by cutting. The funds of this inſtitution are, 1. three thouſand tons of wheat, furniſhed by the crown, equivalent, *communibus annis*, to 9000 rix-dollars. 2. By legacies of individuals, and œconomy, a capital has been raiſed of from 50 to 60,000 rix-dollars. 3. The College of Juſtice, which receives in depoſit the property of the miners, paying no more than 4½ per cent., and making a far greater profit, is obliged to pay over to this inſtitution a proportion of its ſupplies, which ſeldom amounts to leſs than 3000 dollars per annum. All theſe, addeed to voluntary contributions, form an annual revenue of about 20,000 rix-dollars. The King has delegated the ſuperintendance of this eſtabliſhment to the High Governor of Stockholm, who appoints three councillors of the city as directors. The have no honorary managers.

The Hoſpital of Sabbatſberg, at Kongſholm, near to mineral waters for poor and infirm old women, is in a ſtate of great neglect.

It will be ſeen that ſomething further is deſirable on all theſe eſtabliſhments; but it is well known that good is done but by ſlow degrees; there has been great improvements of late years, and every thing tends to ſatisfy the mind that objects of ſuch importance will not continue diſregarded: the poverty of the country is in oppoſition to a rapid progreſs, or at leaſt one ſo rapid as humanity requires; and if the government does all it can, no one can complain.

CHAP. VIII.—*Manufactories and Manufactures.* — *Merchants.* —*Workmen.*

Swediſh manufactures are yet very wide of perfection; the workmen are negligent, idle, and void of emulation; they ſometimes begin their week's labour on Wedneſday, and never before Tueſday, or if they go to their workſhops, it is but to ſleep over yeſterday's debauch. This, however, does not prevent their inſiſting on high wages; the more they gain, the more they drink, and the want of money alone can make them reſume their occupation.

Glaſs Houſe. The glaſs-houſe is ſituated at Kongſholm, and belongs to a ſubſcription; it is under the direction of Mr. Lindblom: glaſs ware of all deſcriptions is made here, drinking glaſſes, decanters, and ſome few bottles. The pot-aſh is produced in Scania, the flint is from Pomerania (it is 16 ſkillings the ton); the mineral ſalt from Tripoli; the Soda from Spain. The glaſs is ſold by weight; the cleareſt at 16 ſkillings per pound. The only wood uſed in the furnace is pine and fir, which coſt from one to two rix-dollars the cord, according as the winter may happen to be for cold: its annual conſumption is ſix hundred cords; this meaſure is ſix feet broad, as many deep, and only three feet long, which is the length of the billets. This manufactory has but one furnace in conſtant work; it laſts at moſt but two or three years: within it is conſtructed of hewn ſtone, from the iſland of Œland, which tends to ſave the wood, without, it is caſed with brick, and coſts for its conſtruction about 200 rix-dollars. It requires three or four days to heat it; nine hours, at three expoſures, to calcine flint, which, at each ſeveral time of its being withdrawn, is plunged into cold water. It takes five or ſix days to melt the white glaſs in the furnace; other glaſs leſs time according to its having more or leſs colour. It requires three hours to liquify the ſoda. The clay of which the moulds are made comes from Cologne: it is half burned, and half unburned, mixed; theſe moulds

moulds will laſt for four, five, nay even ſix months. The price at preſent is from five to ſix ſkillings the piece, of fifteen pounds weight; each furnace has ſix moulds, one at each opening: they are twenty-five inches in diameter, ſixteen deep, and two and a half thick: they require to dry for a year in the open air, and afterwards for ſome days in an oven before they can be uſed. The ſtones with which the glaſs is poliſhed, comes from the iſland of Gothland, and ſometimes from Dalecarlia. The number of workmen is above thirty, ſo many being employed on drinking-glaſſes; their pay is eight ſkillings per day. The annual amount of ſale of its manufactured articles, is from 50 to 60,000 rix-dollars.

Foundry of Mr. Aſplund. This foundry is ſituated oppoſite to the *Spinhaus*, on the other ſide of the lake, it is very handſome, and very compleat. Mr. Aſplund engages to execute any orders committed to his care. He makes uſe of no other iron than ſuch as has been once before caſt. The furnaces, of which there are three, are of brick, made by the proprietor; he uſed formerly to import bricks from England; but they coſt him a dollar per hundred nearly, and his annual conſumption was fifteen thouſand. At preſent he has managed by grinding the bricks of which the former furnaces were compoſed, and had been thrown aſide as uſeleſs, and mixing the powder with earth from Germany, to make very good ones, more laſting than the firſt; by this means he is no longer under neceſſity of importing more than about a thouſand every three years. His furnaces laſt for about four months, melting in them two or three times a day. Each fuſion conſiſts of from three to eight ſchippunds of iron. The iron fuſes in about an hour. He works up annually one thouſand five hundred ſchippunds. None but mine coal from England is uſed, which coſts 9 rix-dollars, 18 ſkillings per laſt; his annual conſumption is two hundred laſt. When the object to be caſt is of ſmall ſize, the metal in fuſion is carried in ladles to the moulds; when of conſiderable ſize the metal is conducted to the mould through a hole made in the furnace. When pans or other articles are caſt, they are ſmoothed, and the work is finiſhed. If there ſhould chance to be a hole or any conſiderable defect in the work, it is then broken. A hollow column of iron, thirty-four feet high, without the baſe or capital, an inch and a half thick, would coſt 10 rix-dollars the ſchippund, and would weigh 115 ſchippunds; a Corinthian capital would coſt two hundred rix-dollars, the whole one thouſand three hundred and fifty rix-dollars. Mr. Aſplund has commenced a manufacture of ſteel, on which he already employs more than a ſcore of workmen. We ſaw ſome very pretty buttons there, of much better poliſh than thoſe of the manufacture of Elvius, but he is reſolved on ſelling none until he ſhall have a conſiderable aſſortment finiſhed. Sixty men, altogether, are employed in this manufactory, (excluſive of thoſe in the ſteel works,) forty of which, or thereabout, are at the furnace; according to the work they do, they earn from 16 to 20, and even 30 ſkillings a day, at leaſt four copper dollars.

Mr. *Ekerman*, a maſter weaver at Kongſholm, has diſcovered, he ſays, the ſecret of twiſting and ſpinning, at the ſame time, thread and ſilk together, which renders the whole not only ſtronger, but the operation much more eaſy: he readily ſhewed us the work itſelf, but not the machinery he employed; and in order that none may diſcover it, he employs no workmen; after this the public muſt form what opinion it pleaſes of the merit of the diſcovery.

The ſteel-works are in the north ſuburbs, and belong to Mr. *Elvius*. This is a new eſtabliſhment, at which but little is manufactured of much importance. The ſituation even is bad enough, and ought to be changed. The proprietor complains greatly of his work people, who, ſo ſoon as they get a little money, never come back again until the whole is expended: and after acquiring a little information, they feel diſpoſed to leave

him, expecting to get more with ſome other maſter: they are paid by the taſk. At this manufactory we met with neither handſome workmanſhip nor magazine; much is yet to be done ere it become of any conſideration. However Mr. Elvius has a fund of hope.

The ſo called *Porcelaine manufactory*, is a very indifferent manufactory of ware, ſimilar to that called Delf, and ſituated at Kongſholm. The warehouſe makes a very pretty figure indeed: a complete ſervice for a dozen, in this ware, in the Engliſh taſte coſts from 30 to 40 rix-dollars. The manufactory occupies a conſiderable extent: part of the clay comes from Upſal, and ſeveral pieces even receive their firſt burning there; they uſe likewiſe clay brought from France and England. The number of workmen employed is twenty-four, ſeven of which are painters, and four turners.

Cloth manufactory. We ſaw that of Mr. *Hebbé* adjoining the *Dannwiken*. This is not the moſt conſiderable, Mr. *Barkins* having more than forty looms, Mr. Hebbé no more than thirteen; each of which produces annually ſixteen pieces of cloth, from eighty to ninety ells in length. The deareſt cloth they manufacture is blue; it coſts 3 dollars the ell; fine cloth, in other colours, from 2 dollars, 15 ſkillings, to 8 plotts; common cloth from 4½ plotts to 7; ſtriped woollen cloth from 7½ plotts to 8; ſoldiers cloth 40 to 42 ſkillings: the credit three months. In every manufactory there is a certain number of looms uſed for making of cloth for the troops on account of the crown: the cloth is dyed on the premiſes. Thoſe employed in winding and twiſting in the manufactory earn at moſt but 5 or 6 plotts in a week, working very hard: the ſpinners earn a great deal, in gaining a plott. All hands counted, three hundred perſons find employment here. The fine cloths are ſometimes eleven quarters wide, but the common breadth is nine quarters. The wool is imported from Poland and Holland; it coſts five dollars the liſpund, and loſes 15 per cent. in waſhing. Spaniſh wool, according to the current price, (1791,) coſts from 22 to 24 copper-dollars, and loſes 16 to 20 per cent. on account of its being more carefully waſhed. The wool of the country is at 24, 28, and 32 ſkillings.

Manufactory of Colours. For a long time the Engliſh carried on a conſiderable traffic for moſſes, at Gottenburgh, produced in abundance in that part of Sweden: people were at a loſs to know what uſe they could be put to; at length it was diſcovered, that they extracted from them colours for dyeing: the Count de Ruuth, then miniſter of finance, reſolved on ſupplanting the Engliſh in this commerce, and enriching his own country by the acquiſition: he in conſequence induced the King to make experiments, which ended in the foundation of the eſtabliſhment in queſtion, entirely upon the royal account. The greateſt part of the moſs called *lichen Tartareus*, comes from Marſtrand and its environs: when dry, it is put under a large wheel with ſtone edges, after having been ground by it into tolerably ſmall duſt, it is thrown into large wooden tubs, with lime, urine, and other ingredients which remain a ſecret. The mixture remains in theſe for ſix months, during which it is ſtirred every day; by degrees it thickens, the watery particles evaporate, and it becomes at firſt thick as mud, and afterwards of the conſiſtence of the marle of grapes; as ſoon as arrived to this ſtate, it is cut into ſmall pieces, and expoſed to dry in a large covered apartment. When dried and hardened, it is pounded in mortars, reduced to a very fine powder, and packed in caſks. It is not intended that the ſale of it ſhall begin until 150,000 pounds weight ſhall have been prepared. It is reckoned, it will obtain five rix-dollars 26 ſkillings the liſpund (eighteen and a half pounds Engliſh). A number of experiments have been made with it on woollen cloths, which have perfectly ſucceeded: the fineſt colours yet extracted are a violet, a flaxen grey, (gris de lin,) and a plumb colour (prune de Monſieur).

This manufactory employs no more than five or ſix hands. The warehouſe is very extenſive. There are a conſiderable number of tubs, and an immenſe ſtock of urine. The moſs is ſtirred about in the tubs with large ſticks, formed at the end in ſhape of an oar. When we ſaw this manufactory, permiſſion from Count Ruuth was requiſite; but the ſecret aſſuredly cannot long remain ſuch.

Manufactory of Silk Stockings; and price of Silks. M. *Maezre*, a Frenchman, has a manufactory of ſilk ſtockings, with but four and twenty looms: could he find workmen, he might employ more; thoſe he has ought to make a pair of ſtockings daily, but never do ſo; they are paid a plott per pair for the coarſeſt ſtockings, and for the fineſt, as much as 36 ſkillings. M. Mazere manufactures ſix dozen pairs weekly: he is in poſſeſſion of two looms, newly invented in France, much leſs complicated than others, and capable of making two pairs per day. One pound of ſilk is ſufficient at leaſt for five pair. Silk loſes from 28 to 30 per cent. in the ſpinning, dyeing, &c. He imports his ſilk from different places. All the other manufactories receive theirs from *Burſa*, moſtly through Marſeilles, whither it is brought from the Levant. The charges on it are five per cent. inſurance, and three per cent. freight and commiſſion, in the whole about eight per cent. Theſe are the only ſilks allowed to be exported from France. Their coſt at Marſeilles is from 13 to 15 livres, this year, 1791, 17 livres. The ſilk employed in the manufacture of ſtuffs, handkerchiefs, and ribbons, is partly organized and partly thrown, brought for the moſt part from Bazano, ſome little from Leghorn. The manufacturers of gauzes employ organized and thrown ſilk in their black gauze, but China ſilk alone for their coloured gauze; they receive it from Gottenburg, whither it is brought by the veſſels of the Eaſt India Company. Commonly the thrown ſilk of Bazano and Leghorn, coſt at Hambro' from three and a half to four rix-dollars banco. The organized from four to five, and raw ſilk from three to four, according to quality. China ſilk coſts uſually at Stockholm from three and a half to four rix-dollars in ſpecie, according to the ſeaſons abroad, and the quantity brought by the Company. In 1791, it coſt four and a half rix-dollars. The ſilks which come from Hambro', are expedited by way of Wiſmar, at an expence of five per cent. for freight, inſurance, and commiſſion. The courſe of exchange between Stockholm and Hambro', before the creation of *Rikſens* notes, was from 44 to 47 ſkillings per rix-dollar banco of Hambro'. At preſent paying in *riks gold*, it is 54 ſkillings and 10 per cent. agio. The duty on the importation of ſilk ſtockings, is 21 dollars per dozen: ſilk ſtuffs pay 12½ per cent. all other ſilk manufactures are prohibited. If the King or his miniſters by licenſe import any of theſe articles, they pay 75 per 100 duty.

The Manufactory of Mr. Appelquiſt. Mr. Appelquiſt is a ſkilful mechaniſt, poſſeſſed of a very fine eſtabliſhment at Kongſholm: he manufactures in iron, ſteel, copper, and wood, and undertakes any orders in theſe articles that are given to him. His warehouſe is very handſome, and all its contents appeared to us of excellent workmanſhip. You might here conceive yourſelf even in an Engliſh warehouſe of the firſt conſideration: this artiſt has travelled to England twice, and ſojourned eight years in that country. From his warehouſe we went into his joiner's ſhop, and a large apartment containing ten benches, a lath, and a furnace. Here it is where any delicate works in iron, ſteel, or copper, are manufactured. On the ground floor is a forge, with eight anvils, and a machine for boring cannon: another forge with a large furnace, acted upon by three pair of bellows, and four anvils. The cannon foundry joins the forge. It contains two reverberating furnaces; in the next room there is a furnace, a lath, a large anvil, and two ſmaller. Cannon are founded here of a new deſcription, they are of two pieces; the breech of the cannon being made to take off when charged, and put on

again; it is faſtened by a very ſtrong bar, which paſſes through a hole bored through the whole breadth of the piece. An iron handle ſerves to work this part of the cannon with facility, a ſingle man ſufficing; this method is however practicable only with ſmall pieces. Nothing of any deſcription has hitherto been exported from this manufactory; every thing is extremely dear; it employs no more than forty workmen, who earn a plott per diem.

There are nine *ſugar refineries* here, one of four boilers, the others of but two or three.

We have before obſerved that labour is very dear at Stockholm; tradeſmen are conſequently obliged to ſell in proportion. Generally ſpeaking their work is well done, leſs ſo however than in France; and oftentimes you are obliged to wait a long time for what you order. Frequently the workmen exact part payment in advance, and afterwards furniſh their job at leiſure; this may appear a hardſhip, but it is unavoidable. They never, however, deny the receipt of the money advanced, nor was it ever known here that a tradeſman changed the goods you have bargained for to ſubſtitute inferior, as is frequently the caſe in a ſtate, the neighbour of Sweden.

In almoſt all trades, the journeymen have a box to which they monthly ſubſcribe a certain ſum. From this box, when ill and unable to work, they are paid 24 ſkillings weekly, and in caſe of death their friends receive 20 rix-dollars for their interment*.

There were in Stockholm, in 1790, five hundred and ſixty-four manufactories of ſilk, cotton, wool, thread, iron, and ſteel, which gave employment to eleven thouſand two hundred and fifty perſons, maſters, and journeymen, and furniſhed goods to the value of 1,200,000 rix-dollars.

CHAP. IX.—*Different Orders of Sweden.—Ceremony of 13th February* 1791.

IN Sweden there are four orders, one of which open to civil and military characters, one purely military, and two to civil alone.

Feſtival of the order of the Seraphim. On the 28th April (1791) the miniſters and foreigners went at eleven o'clock in the morning to the apartment of the Marſhal of the court, to breakfaſt. The maſter of the ceremonies coming to inform us that we might attend the *lever* of the King, we croſſed the court of the caſtle with the diplomatic body, without any attention to ceremony. We paſſed through two ranks of ſoldiers on carpeting, to the ſtaircaſe which leads to His Majeſty's chamber. As we entered the room, we were ſtruck by the various ceremonial dreſſes worn on that day; each order wearing one peculiar to itſelf: the Swedes preſent not belonging to any of the orders, were either full dreſt, or in uniform; of the latter but few. The dreſs of the *Order of the Seraphim* is white with black ſtripes, the ſhoes black and white, a round hat, covered with a white plume of feathers. (The King alone was dreſt in cloth of ſilver.) The dreſs of the *Order of the Sword* is of ſky-blue, and differs immaterially from the court dreſs, which is ſtriped with white ſilk. The dreſs of the *Order of the Polar Star* is crimſon, with white ſtripes. All the dreſſes are ſhaped after the national cut, and their diverſity has a ſingular and very pleaſing effect; the blue colour alone

* Is it not ridiculous that 20 rix-dollars ſhould be expended for the burial of a workman; would not this ſum be infinitely better diſpoſed of if given to his family? The Swedes indeed are bigotted to ſplendid funerals, and every one muſt have his whim! Nothing can be imagined more curious than their coffin ſhops; ſome of them are gilt, ſome carved or painted: a ſpectator in one of theſe, would, in ſhort, conceive himſelf rather in a furniture warehouſe than an undertaker's ſhop.

being rather too gay for the Commanders and Grand Croſſes of the *Sword*, who cannot be young people. The coat, waiſtcoat, breeches, and cloak, are ſeverally of the ſame colour in each of the orders: all the knights wear white ſtockings, with white roſes in their ſhoes. The Prince Royal alone wore a coat of cloth of gold, on account of his not having yet been inveſted with the Sword. The levee being ended, we repaired to a gallery in the chapel, ſet apart for miniſters and foreigners who had been preſented at court. The King entered in all the luxury of royal pomp, announced by muſic, and ſeated himſelf in a ſilver chair, beneath a canopy fronting the church. (This ceremony ought to have taken place in the church of Redderholm, but the King prefers the chapel of the caſtle, as being more near and more convenient.) On the left, beneath a canopy, were three chairs with the arms of the Empreſs, the King of Pruſſia, and King of Denmark: on one ſide upon a turning, chairs of a ſmaller ſize for princes of royal blood, not yet ſovereigns. On the right and left of the King, were His Majeſty's two brothers, with their officers behind them, and an officer belonging to the guards; the other Knights were afterwards placed on the right and left according to their anceſtry, each ſeated on a cuſhion of crimſon velvet, and bearing above his arms. In the middle of the choir, the four novices to be inſtalled awaited the ceremony, ſeated on raiſed benches, each between two Knights who were to ſerve for their ſponſors; on a line fronting the altar, were the Knights of the other orders with their heralds at arms, the dreſs of whom is abſolutely the ſame as that of the heralds of France, with the exception of crowns inſtead of fleurs de lys. Service being finiſhed (a ceremony, which, thanks to the ſermon of the Biſhop of Weſteros, Grand Almoner of the order, was of ſufficient duration), the three grand officers approached the altar to receive the cordons laid on cuſhions, as well as the book which contains the form of oath to be taken on the occaſion. One of the Knights then roſe for the ſword of the kingdom, and placed himſelf by the ſide of the King, holding it drawn. It is cuſtomary for the Chancellor of the order to make a ſpeech, in which he expreſſes the motives which have induced the King to grant the Order of the Seraphim to ſuch and ſuch Knights; as His Majeſty himſelf executed the function of Chancellor, he put on his hat and made a ſpeech of nearly half an hour's duration. The four Knights inſtalled, were General *Platen*, Baron *Armfeldt*, Count *Munok*, and Count *Oxenſtiern;* the two latter fill civil appointments; the two former general officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late war, which His Majeſty did not fail, in his addreſs, to notice with his uſual grace.

The four new Knights knelt and took the oath, they were then admitted one after the other. The King ties the chain of the order round the neck, and afterwards ſtrikes the novice three times on the ſhoulder with the flat part of the ſword, then drawing off his glove, preſents his hand to be kiſſed. The Knight then embraces every fellow Knight in ſucceſſion, and after embracing the Princes of the blood, kiſſes their hand: he is conſtantly attended by his ſponſors. The King withdrew with the ſame parade he entered, and dined in public with the Knights of the order, who, during the whole of dinner, remained covered. The carving ſquire alone ſerved all round the table. In the evening a court is held; the Knights of the Seraphim on this occaſion wear a crimſon coat with gold facings, and two ſimilar ſtripes at the two corners of their cloak. After cards, a grand ſupper was given: except on this occaſion, we never ſaw the two princes of the blood royal at the ſame table with His Majeſty in public. The Knights of this order, if of the military profeſſion, wear as well the croſs of the Order of the Sword, and of the Polar Star, if in civil life. The number of them is twenty-four, excluſive of the King, the Swediſh and foreign Princes. The inſignia are a large bright blue-

blue-ſhot ribbon, faſtened from the right ſhoulder to the left ſide, and a ſilver plate on the left ſide, on which is engraven, I H S. with a croſs above, ſurrounded by the three crowns of Sweden. The chain is formed of croſſes and heads of cherubims alternately. The Knights admitted wear the plate without the ribbon until the period of their inſtallation.

The Order of the Sword. This order confined to the military alone, is divided into three claſſes, exactly in the ſame manner as was the order of St. Louis in France: the ribbon is yellow, edged with blue, and is worn from right to left; the plate on the left ſide is of gold. The croſs repreſents on one ſide the arms of Sweden, and in the midſt a ſword upright. On the reverſe, a ſword run through a crown of laurel, with theſe words, *Pro Patria.* The reigning Sovereign has inſtituted a fourth claſs, to which none are admitted but in the time of war; it requiring the companion propoſed ſhould firſt have gained a victory either by ſea or land as commander in chief. The King himſelf could not obtain this diſtinction but by the ſuffrage of the army, and Guſtavus III. was unwilling to aſſume this honourable order before the third campaign, although he had well deſerved it previouſly; he ſtood in the liſt for reception only according to the date of his pretenſions. This order is worn, (by ſuch as have no other than the ſmall croſs, and wear it in its place,) *en ſautoir*, on the neck. Thoſe who are decorated with the large ribbon, wear a ſmall ſilver ſword on the left ſide, ſuch as wear the plate, have two ſilver ſwords below, croſſed. The caſe is the ſame with the Knights of the Seraphim, who moreover wear the cordon croſſed at the neck: the number of Knights of this order is not limited for either of the claſſes.

Order of the Poliſh Star. This is a civil order, deſigned for the reward of miniſters, ambaſſadors, and other perſons employed by the government. It is divided into two claſſes, Commanders and Knights; the former wear a grand white croſs on the breaſt, faſtened to a black ribbon, and a ſtar embroidered with ſilver on the left ſide. The Knights have only the ſmall croſs, faſtened with a black ribbon to the button hole: the number of the order is unlimited.

Order of Vaſa. This was eſtabliſhed in 1772, by Guſtavus III. It is intended as a diſtinction for ſkilful artiſts, merchants of merit, and perſons employed in mining, manufactories, &c. The Knights wear a golden ſheaf, (the arms of Guſtavus Vaſa,) ſuſpended from the neck with a green ribbon, of that colour to ſpecify that this honour is ſpecially intended for the encouragement of agriculture. The Grand Croſſes, which are four in number, and the eight Commanders, wear a large green ribbon from right to left, and the plate on the left ſide, or the ribbon by itſelf. The Marquis de Mirabeau was made a Grand Croſs at the firſt inſtitution of the order, and was not replaced until 1791. The two firſt claſſes are obtained at once, without paſſing from the third, of which latter claſs, few are promoted to the others.

Ceremony of the 13th February, 1791. In commemoration of the two victories of Fredericſhamm and Svenkund, on the 15th May and 9th June, 1790, the King ordered a medal to be ſtruck, deſcribing the number of ſhips taken from the enemy in theſe two engagements, in order to decorate therewith the officers who were preſent. The ſuperior officers (of the ſtaff) wear it ſuſpended from the neck, as well as the King's aides de camp: the other officers, of a ſmaller ſize, at their button hole; each faſtened to a gold chain. In order to make this ceremony the more ſplendid, the King, in the uniform of the navy, (blue waiſtcoat and breeches,) entered the chapel with the ſame train as follows him on the moſt ſolemn occaſions. He ſeated himſelf in a ſilver chair, raiſed to ſome height upon a number of ſteps; beſide him was the ſtandard, or rather

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the royal flag, the ſame he had on board his ſloop during the action *. After ſervice, a ſermon preached by the Biſhop of Vexicœu the grand almoner, His Majeſty advanced towards the altar, and turning to the officers ſeated on benches at the right and left, addreſſed them for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour nearly. (We uſed our beſt endeavours, but fruitleſsly, to procure his ſpeech, the King informing us that he had made many, and that as he could not call to mind his exact words, it would not be publiſhed. It was given in the moſt graceful manner, with ſuch a ſeductive tone of voice as cauſed us, from being ſpectators of the ſenſations it excited, to be greatly anxious to have a copy.) Two perſons having brought the medals to the King, His Majeſty took one and decorated himſelf therewith; afterwards the names of the officers were read, for whom any of them were intended, whether abſent or preſent: ſuch as were preſent, knelt before the King and kiſſed his hand, His Majeſty faſtening the chain on which the medal was ſuſpended, about the necks of the officers of the ſtaff, and giving it ſimply into the hands of the others. The medal is of gold, in form of a buckler, and on the reverſe is inſcribed the number of veſſels taken at Fredericſhamm and Svenkſund, or at the one or the other only, according to which battles the party to whom they were given had been preſent, on the other ſide is a winged woman, ſtanding on the prow of a galley, with both arms extended, holding crowns. Notwithſtanding the length of this ceremony, which laſted more than three hours, the King preſerved the ſame dignified and affable manner throughout, without once teſtifying the leaſt ſign of fatigue, or deſire of abridging his duty; he ſaluted each of the officers who came to receive medals, in the moſt polite and nobly eaſy manner, yet was it not difficult to diſtinguiſh by his more or leſs affectionate ſqueeze of their hands, thoſe who moſt particularly enjoyed his confidence and eſteem. Many officers received the medal, who really appeared mere boys, which gave additional intereſt to the ceremony, and made the ſtronger impreſſion on the minds of the ſpectators, at leaſt if we are to judge from our own ſenſations. How much is ſuch a ceremony as this ſuperior to thoſe imitations in practice in all countries, when the ſovereign, coldly diſtributing ribbons or croſſes, (which moſt commonly are but ſo many tokens of the old age of the perſon honoured,) if they be the reward of brilliant actions, is occaſionally ignorant where they occurred! Here we ſee a monarch recompenſing his brave ſubjects, ſubjects who have ſerved their country before a monarch's eyes, open to appreciate their merit, and who in his diſtribution of inſignia, begins with inveſting himſelf with the medal, in earning which, he bore with them a part. The King conſtantly wears, and even takes pride in diſplaying it, faſtened to a gold chain of exquiſite workmanſhip, made at Stockholm. The officers decorated with the medal, are obliged to wear it conſtantly.

Here it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of this multitude of orders which exiſt in the ſtates of the North: they are condemned by ſome, but have our approbation. It is a very fortunate thing for a poor country, that a few ribbons, a few plates properly diſtributed, ſhould ſatisfy thoſe who have well deſerved of their country, and whoſe ſervices it would otherwiſe embarraſs much the government to reward. We ſhall further add, that orders and honorary employments excite greater emulation than pecuniary gifts. It would be ſtill better doubtleſs, if the man who has real claims to the gratitude

* A ſimilar flag in one of the actions during this war, was ſaved by ſome Swediſh ſailors, who rather choſe to throw it overboard than ſuffer it to be taken by the Ruſſians. Theſe latter did not act in the ſame manner with reſpect to that of their admiral, or rather let us ſay, the imperial colours entruſted to the Prince of Naſſau, with hopes of ſucceſs but raſhly formed, if we be allowed to judge from the reſult.

of

of his fellow citizens, were content with an oaken crown and a public inſcription: *He has well deſerved of his country:* but man in the preſent age is far from this noble ſimplicity, he is governed by prejudices of too ſtrong aſcendancy, not to look upon this as an ideal payment for his labours. Until the univerſe become enlightened by that great people which has declared itſelf the light and pattern of the world; until philoſophy ſhall have extended its beneficent influence to all claſſes of ſociety, people of the North and South, whoſe ſervices are repaid by ribbons, and croſſes, preſerve them, bleſs them, know that man in a ſavage ſtate is not unacquainted with orders; for Captain Wilſon met with an *Order of the Bone* in the Pelew iſlands. Inſenſate as we are, we ſeek to carry back man in a poliſhed ſtate beyond the ſimplicity of natural man. Let us forego the vanity of being more wiſe than nature, nor ſtrive to ſurpaſs, content with imitating her in her works. Alas! how far are we from this!

CHAP. X.—*Caſtles of the King.—Drottningholm.—The Environs of Stockholm.*

HIS Majeſty has ſome *chateaux* in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, and two others ſome miles diſtant thence, which we ſhall notice, *Gripſholm* and *Stromſholm*. *Drottningholm* (or Queen's iſland) is one mile from Stockholm, in an iſland of lake Mœler: this is the moſt elegant of all the royal houſes, and on every account deſerves particular inſpection. The caſtle is on the border of the lake, which has from this ſpot a moſt ſuperb appearance; the ſituation in ſummer is delightful, and its gardens, which are extenſive, are at the back. It has an impoſing appearance: each of its two *façades*, which are regular, has one and thirty windows, without including two round pavillions at the ends. Near it are a number of other buildings, capable of houſing a hundred and ſeventy gentlemen. The princes and princeſſes have ſeparate pavillions contiguous to the caſtle. The front next the lake has a grand flight of ſteps with a baluſtrade, on which are placed a number of flower-pots made of iron. It has four open arcades, the middle ones ſerving for entrances: on a ſort of platform between the caſtle and the flight of ſteps, are two ſmall ſtatues in bronze; between the ſteps and the lake, a Neptune of the ſame. On the top of the ſteps, two marble lions holding ſhields, upon the different ſteps a number of marble ſtatues. On the oppoſite ſide next the caſtle, there is a terrace along the whole front, ornamented with a baluſtrade and two ſtatues in bronze; a large graſs plot planted with yew, and ſeveral ſmall baſons in but indifferent order. In the middle is a large baſon, with an Hercules cruſhing the hydra, and ſeveral figures grouped around, all in bronze. By the ſide of the baſon are two ſmall figures in bronze. As you deſcend from the middle of the terrace, you ſee four large vaſes and four ſtatues of the ſame metal, two of which natural as life. At each extremity of the terrace is an iron gate, over one of them is two lions, and on the ſide two figures holding cyphers, ſmaller than life: on the other are two horſes, ſmaller than the natural ſize, the whole in bronze. The ſtatues, as well as every thing in bronze, were taken at Prague; on one of theſe vaſes is ſtill to be ſeen the cypher of the Emperor Ferdinand. Theſe pieces are in the ſtyle of the Tuſcan ſchool, one in which a number of Germans ſtudied at that time.

The Interior. As you enter the caſtle from the garden ſide, you have on the left two antichambers; in the ſecond is the repreſentation in a picture of a Laplander in his ſledge, drawn by a reindeer. A cabinet in which are ſome paintings, porcelain, and China figures: here is to be ſeen the firſt porphyry vaſe manufactured in Sweden: on the right is the King's bedchamber, it is richly ornamented with gilding, and elegantly furniſhed.

furniſhed. Two vaſes of porcelain four feet high. Among other things, two paintings by Ehrenſtrahe, regarded as a Swediſh painter, although he was not born in Sweden. He lived in the time of Charles XI. and was ennobled by the name of Klœcher. An apartment containing divers pictures, ſerves as a paſſage to the library. The ſucceeding room communicates directly with the library; in it are two fine antique buſts, and ſome elegant modern pieces. *Œdipus* by Gagnerot. *Ariadne* by Vertmuller, and different paintings by Watteau and Chardin. The *library* is a very handſome room, ornamented with great taſte: independant of the choice books it contains, there are in it a pretty numerous collection of Etruſcan vaſes, ſome of which are valuable. A ſingular vaſe four feet high, found in the country. Guſtavus Vaſa in wax, under glaſs, very ſmall and exquiſitely well executed; and two ſmall antique ſtatues in a kneeling poſture, in marble. Manuſcripts are ſeen in abundance, many of which ineſtimable: the librarian, *Mr. Leopold*, not having thought proper to take the trouble of ſuffering us to examine them minutely *, we ſhall only cite *thirty-ſix volumes on the Swediſh hiſtory*, beginning with Guſtavus Vaſa: *Divers reflections*, a manuſcript by Queen Chriſtina: a manuſcript of Charles XII. when a boy; in one part of which *vincere aut mori*. The library is ornamented with analogous inſcriptions: over the door by which you enter, *Artibus pectora molleſcunt, aſperitaſque fugit* (the temper of man is ſoftened by the arts, and all its ruggedneſs diſmiſſed). Over the ſham doors on the ſide: *Neque ſi charta ſileant quod benefeceris, mercedem tuleris.*

Nor do you gain your due renown,
Unleſs your worthy deeds in hiſtory be ſhewn.

Carmina ſit vivax virtus, experſque ſepulchri,

Immortal virtue lives in laſting ſong,
And mocks the tomb.

Over the door at the end: *Cordis et oris optima eſt harmonia*, beſt is the harmony of heart and tongue. On the ſides oppoſite to each other, *Vincit ingenium probitas* (honeſty is above genius). *Studio minuente labores* (ſlackening your ſtudy you encreaſe your toil). *Moniti meliora ſequamur* (follow better counſel). *Vitâ et pectore puro* (with life unſullied and a conſcience clear). The next apartment is a cabinet of books; it contains a model in *relievo* of the temple of Iſis at Pompeia. A ſtove with two columns of green antique marble. Two large vaſes on candelabras after the antique, eight feet high, with white maſks on the vaſes. An antique ſtatue of a woman repreſenting ſculpture, and ſome other matters of but ſlight importance. *The Cabinet of Medals* compriſes a very fine collection of Greek, Roman, and ancient of all nations, in eight caſes, which contain more than twelve thouſand drawers: among the Swediſh, are a ſmall medal taken to be of King *Biœurn*, but this is doubtful; another thought to be of *Olaus*; a *Stros Konung*, very rare, ſtruck from all appearance in England; a very rare medal, the ſize of a half dollar piece, of *Guſtavus I.* ſtruck at Upſal. We were not able to go over this collection minutely, as it was undergoing an arrangement; the perſon employed for the purpoſe having underhandedly diſpoſed of ſeveral pieces, had been diſmiſſed, ſince when, His Majeſty keeps the key of it himſelf. This will be the proper place to introduce an account of Swediſh medals.

* As a matter of comfort on this ſcore, His Majeſty told us that he himſelf could not have the attendance of his librarian at all times he wiſhed. Nevertheleſs we felt ourſelves much hurt at ſuch a procedure, happening in a country where we had met ſo few examples of diſcourteſy.

"According to the work entitled *Theſaurus nummorum Sueogothicorum*, by *Ercmer*, in quarto, Stockholm, 1731, the moſt valuable and ſcarce Swediſh medals are the following: that of *Haquinus frater Erici magni*, who lived in 1360, it was found in Dalecarlia. On one ſide of it is his portrait, with *Hacwinus Dux Norvegiæ*, on the other a croſs between three roſes, and *moneta Eaſloïa*. The author is unacquainted with any other. *Sten Sture*, the younger, was the firſt that ever ſtruck emblazoned pieces. On one ſide is the head of St. Eric, with this inſcription: *S. Ericus Rex Sueciæ*; on the other the arms of Sweden quartered, with this legend: Mone Stockholm, 1512. The author had ſeen but two beſides thoſe he himſelf poſſeſſed. *Nummi cujuſdam pſeudo—Sturii vulgò* dale junckaren *dicti, qui anno* 1524, *contra Guſtavum primum Regem Sueciæ ſeditionem conciliavit.* This bears on one ſide the letter N with a crown ſurrounded by two ſmall croſſes and two rings: about, *Nicolaus Sture*; on the other ſide, a ſhield with three crowns and this legend, *M. M. in vallibus*, meaning money of Mora in the valley. It is a well eſtabliſhed fact in hiſtory, that this falſe Sture remained for a long time in Dalecarlia, in the neighbourhood of *Mora*. There is another ſmaller coin of the ſame Sture, which is likewiſe very rare. A gold coin of Guſtavus I., on one ſide he is repreſented crowned, with a ſword in his right hand, and a globe and croſs in the other, between his legs a ſhield: the inſcription, *Guſtavus Dei gratia Suecorum Rex*; on the reverſe, another ſhield quartered, in two of the quarters are blazoned the three crowns, in each of the other two a lion; around, *monet. nova Stockol.* 1528. This crown is called *nummus aureus inauguralis*. This ſingular piece is where it ought to be, in the King's poſſeſſion; the author never ſaw a ſimilar. There is a ſilver coin of ſimilar ſtamp, which is alſo extremely rare. The author ſpeaks of one in his collection as the only one he ever ſaw. Guſtavus Adolphus with his Queen Eleanor, a gold coin of two ducats value. On one ſide are the heads of the King and Queen, with this inſcription: *Guſtavus Adolphus et Maria Eleonora Rex et Regi. Suec.* on the reverſe, *contrà ſpem in ſpem*: at the bottom, the arms of the city of Augſburg, and the date 1632. In the midſt two ſhields; on that of the right the arms of Sweden and Gothland, on that of the left thoſe of Brandenburg. This piece is leſs valuable for its rarity than for its being the earlieſt on which are impreſſed the heads of the King and Queen conjointly, and the arms of Sweden united with thoſe of Brandenburg."

Within the ſame cabinet are many antique buſts and ſmall ſtatues of the gods. Models in cork of the temple of Tivoli, of the ſoldiers barracks at *Pompeia*, and the *Capo di bove* at Rome. A collection of books analogous to the contents of the cabinet. A paſſage with a gallery above the chapel. On a table, the dwarf of King Staniſlaus, dreſt, known by the name of Bébé. In wardrobes, a collection of minerals, and a large piece of pretendedly native iron in a copper box.

Cabinet of Natural Hiſtory. This belonged to the laſt Queen, and is deſcribed by Linnæus. It is at preſent under the care of Mr. Swarts, of whom we have ſpoken deſervedly before. The following are the moſt intereſting articles the cabinet contains. Among a great collection of animals preſerved in ſpirits of wine, are a number of monkeys of different ſpecies, one of the rareſt of which is the *Simia Œthiops*; beſides theſe, the *Daſypus ſexcintus*, *veſpertilio leporinus*, *mus longipes*, *mus volans*, and the *herboa Arabum*; *the embrio of an elephant*. *Capra perpuſilla*. Among the birds, *pſittacus ſeverus*, *minimus*, *Alexandri*; *picus ſemi roſtri*; *paradiſa regia*, *flava*; *charadius lencurus*; *turdus hæmatodor*; *trochilus niger*; *lamius doliatus*; *ramphaſtor piperinorus picatus*. *aracari*, *plateles pigmæa*; *et pipra aureola*. Of amphibious animals: *cæcilia lentaculata amphiſtena alba*; *anguis bipes*; *coluber calamarius*, *albus*, *reginæ*, *aurora*, *miliaris*, *buccatus*, *candidus*, *corallinus*, *hypocrepis*; *vipera Egypti*, *lebetrinis*, *padera*, *ſitula*, *Syria*, *ingularis*, *haje*;

haje; lacerta tigrina, azurea, hiſpea, teguixin, barbara, ſtellio; teſtudo ſerpentina Amboinenſis; rana lactea, marginata, cornuta, gibboſa; tetraodon lineatus, ocellatus; et pegaſus volitans. Of fiſhes: *gobius aphya, niger; chætodon ciliaris, capiſtratus, arcuatus; ſciæna bimaculata; zeus vomer, ſpinoſus; uranoſcopus pictus; calichytys tamoata; labnis julii, paroticus, niloticus, aut Nilis luſcus; pleuronectes ocellatus, limanda; gymnotus pinguis; perca labrax, nilatica, coſtoides, vittata, ſcriba; trigla cucullus; cobitis anableps; ſilurus myſtus, anguillaris, undecimalis, clarias; ſalmo niloticus; eſox ſphyræna; atherina ſtepſetus; clypea myſtus, cyprinus, niloticus, dentex; et mormyrus cyprinoïdes, anguilloïdes.* Of inſects, many *ſcarabei* from America; *ſcarabeus ſacer, gigas, ſcaber, longipes, Syriacus, ceratoniæ, carmatus; chryſolomela ſacra; curculio Indus, puſio, vaginalis, diſpar, argyreus, ſpecioſus, cornutus, Capenſis, et attelabus, ſipylus;* many *Cerambyces* alſo from America; the *elater Syriacus, meloë Syriacus, blatta Ægyptiaca, gryllus gongylodes, Ægyptius;* and a number of others, among them, *cimex Arabs, ſerratus, bipunctatus Ægyptiacus.* Of butterflies, a very fine collection, which gave riſe to a highly eſteemed work from the pen of Mr. Clerk. A number of cray fiſh, of very ſingular and various ſpecies. Of ſhells: *Lepas mitella, myaperna, vulſella, ſolen cultellus, radiatus, aratinus;* a *ſolaris*, two inches and a half in diameter; *tellina gargadiagari; cardium coſtatum, cardiſſa; donax ſcortum; venus zigzag; ſpondylus regius; chama cordiformis; arca glycimeris; oſtrea pallium, felis, pes, opercularis, iſognomon malleus; mytilus frons; pinna digiti, formis, jaccata, lobata;* a *conus princeps*, of two inches, extremely rare; a number of harps, one of which three inches and a half long; *ammiralis ſummus ſpectrum; bulla ampulla, phyſis canalicula ſolidalis; voluta porphyria, pertuſa, Æthiopica; ſtrombus latiſſimus, epidromis, urceus, ater; trochus teleſcopius;* a *turbo perſonatus, ſcalaris*, of nearly two inches; *helix hyanthena, amarula, haliotoïdea; nerita canvena, albamen, corona; haliotis marmorata, parva, patella, porcelana, anguis; ſerpula lumbricalis anguina;* a *mitella*, very rare, and an argonaut of eight inches. The collection of *corals, millepores, madrepores*, and *ſubipores*, from the Baltic, Red, and Indian ſeas, is very perfect. The collection of *minerals* very ſelect. A large mummy in good preſervation, of unuſual ſize. Among the collection of plants is that made by Mr. *Haſſelquiſt*, in the Levant, and particularly in Paleſtine, and that made by Mr. Kalm in North America. The cabinet contains a ſmall library of analogous books.

The Queen's apartments are not very numerous, they conſiſt of three rooms and an audience chamber, all of them furniſhed after the antique. The audience chamber is full of paintings by *Ehrenſtrall*; ſix of them are large, and repreſent an allegorical ſeries of the hiſtory of Sweden, in which the reign of Charles XI. is moſt particularly diſtinguiſhable; the ceiling is beautiful. In a hall adjoining are ſeven portraits and two hiſtorical paintings. In the gallery, ten large pictures and two above the door, ſeverally repreſenting battles of Charles Guſtavus. In the *firſt above the door*, Charles X. with ſeveral gentlemen in his ſuite, ſurrounded by Poliſh coſſacks, cutting their way through them; neither time nor place are deſignated. In the *ſecond*, nothing is to be ſeen but heaps of dead, and troops engaging. Near the oppoſite door, the battle of *Colembo*, which took place on the 8th February, 1656, and in which Charles X. gained a complete victory over the Poles. Next the door, in a large painting the battle of *Gneſna* is repreſented, fought on the 27th April, 1756, and in which Duke Adolphus John, as Generalliſſimo, defeated the Poliſh army, and obtained conſiderable booty. Of four large pictures which ſucceed, the firſt repreſents the battle of *Philippovo*, on the 12th October, 1656, in which General Guſtavus Otto *Stenboek* defeated the Lithuanian army and ten thouſand Tartars; the three others the battle of Warſaw, in 1656, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th July, in which Charles X. entirely routed the Poliſh army. Four pictures

tures are placed againſt the piers between the windows; in the firſt the Poles, by Prince *Honieſpolki* their repreſentative, take the oath of fidelity to Field Marſhal Count Wittenberg, a circumſtance which took place on the 16th October, 1655. The ſecond repreſents the paſſage of the Little Belt on the 30th January, 1658, and the defeat of the Danes by Charles X. in the iſland of Funen. The third, the paſſage of the Great Belt on the 7th February, 1658. The fourth pictures the ceremony of Count Potoſki, as deputy from the Poles, tendering the oath of fidelity to Count *Douglas*, on the 3d November, 1655, at *Sandomir*. The next apartment is full of family pieces. A number of rooms ſucceed, in one of which ſome handſome tapeſtry of the *Gobelins*, the laſt an antichamber, containing hunting pieces. On the large ſtair caſe, the nine Muſes in marble, natural ſize, Apollo and Minerva the ſame, all modern. Many buſts in marble. On the landing place between the windows, in bronze, a Centaur carrying off a young girl, and Mercury with a lion. Two apartments, the one a reading cloſet, the other a card room with blue furniture; this laſt has a ſtove in it with Chineſe figures, preſented by the Empreſs of Ruſſia. A painting repreſenting His preſent Majeſty, then Prince-royal, on horſeback, led by a page, painted by *Breda* a Swede, now in London. Charles XII. on foot. Eighteen portraits, principally of his generals, ſome of thoſe of Charles XI. Three battle pieces, one the fight of Helſinburg in 1710, the other the invaſion of Zeeland in 1700. A gallery correſponding with that before deſcribed, contains a ſimilar number of paintings, repreſenting the victories of Charles XI.; over the door is Charles XI. followed by Count *Dahlberg*, galloping up to the left wing of his army, with which he drove the Danes from off the field on the 4th December, 1756. Adjoining is a large painting which repreſents the battle of *Ytes-hed*, near *Rœuneberga* hills in Scania, where Charles XI. obtained a victory over Chriſtian V. On the principal wall, four large pictures of the battle of *Lund*, in which Charles XI. attacked the Daniſh army four ſeveral times in as many different poſitions, and defeated it on the 4th December, 1676. Near the oppoſite door a large piece, the battle of *Halmſtadt*, where Charles XI beat the Danes near *Fyllebro*, the 17th Auguſt, 1676. Over the door, Charles XI. is ſeen occompanied by Generals *Aſchenberg* and *Dahlberg*, cutting their way through twenty-one ſquadrons of the enemy's cavalry to aſſiſt the left wing of his army on the 4th December, 1676. Between the windows, the battle of Rugen on the 8th January, 1678, in which the Swedes under general *Koningſmark*, entirely defeated the Danes and their allies. The ſiege of Malmoe, with Chriſtian V. before the town, on the 6th June, 177. A picture of the paſſage of the *Gœutha* river effected by Count Guſtavus *Stenbock*, and owing to which the Daniſh General *Dunkam* was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Bohus on the 19th July, 1678. Another diſplaying the Dane and Norwegian forces combined before the town.

There are a number of ſmall apartments at the end of this gallery, (in one of which on the floor, were the likeneſſes of the King of France and the Empreſs of Ruſſia,) which are to hang together in a gallery, wherein is to be exhibited the different battles fought in the reign of Guſtavus III.: *Deſpres* is charged with the execution of this plan. There are to be eleven pieces, of the names of which this painter holds a liſt. A grand ſaloon almoſt ſquare, which formerly ſerved as a hall of aſſembly for the ſtates, is intended to be magnificently decorated under the direction of the ſame artiſt.

The play-houſe is without the caſtle; it coſt 66,000 rix-dollars building: the benches riſe in an amphitheatre, and there are no boxes, unleſs indeed a few cloſe to the ſtage for the King, Princes, &c. It is a very handſome ſaloon thirty-eight ells in length by ſeventeen wide, and twenty-ſeven high. The actors and actreſſes have all of them apartments either within the building or adjoining. The gardens are pleaſant. The iſland

of Apollo and the Chineſe pleaſure houſe, in which every thing correſponds with its title, are highly deſerving of notice: occaſionally His Majeſty dines here, it is called at times *Canton*, which has given name to a ſort of village about a quarter of a league from the caſtle, conſiſting wholly of country boxes. The King ſpends four or five months at Drottingholm, in a very numerous circle, and the reſidence is exceedingly pleaſant. The paſſage thither ſix years ago was far from pleaſant, ſince in coming from Stockholm, you had to go acroſs the lake which is very wide, and the ferry, always inconvenient, was ſometimes dangerous. At preſent it is excellent from one end to the other, in many places the road is cut out of the rock, and finiſhed in every part at a very great expence. In going to the caſtle from Stockholm you paſs over three bridges, the firſt of nine hundred feet, the ſecond one thouſand four hundred, and the third, which joins Drottingholm, ſeven hundred; the latter coſt 5000 rix-dollars, and was completed in two and twenty days. In the neighbourhood of this bridge it is that an obeliſk of granite fifty feet in height is to be erected, on the right coming from Stockholm, to commemorate the completion of this charming piece of road, a mile * in length from caſtle to caſtle, and which ſpace the late King was wont to travel over in ſixteen or ſeventeen minutes.

Carlberg, near the lake on the north, is, as it were, in the ſuburbs of Stockholm, which are joined to it by a long alley of trees: the King no longer reſides here, and the Queen but viſits it for a ride; the houſe has little to boaſt, the gardens are pleaſant. This houſe was, in 1792, ſet apart as a new ſchool for cadets.

Swariſixu is a caſtle in an iſland of lake Mœler, two miles from the city. It was inhabited by the Queen Dowager, but ſince her death was empty up to 1791, when the King made a preſent of it to his ſiſter; it contains nothing worth notice.

Ulrieſdal, half a mile from Stockholm on the road to Updſal, is much larger than the two caſtles before mentioned; the King moſtly pays it a viſit once a year: it has nothing worth notice.

Haga is a ſmall pavilion, a quarter of a league from the north gate: it is very agreeably ſituated in midſt of woods and on the brink of a lake: within, it is furniſhed under the direction of Maſrellier, with the greateſt elegance, and was the favorite reſidence of the late King, who ſpent weeks together here, even in the depth of winter. In 1791 a new palace was begun, which was on a magnificent ſcale. Deſpres was the architect, the foundations were already laid, and it was to be finiſhed by 1796, but whether it has been proceeded upon or not, we are ignorant. The beautiful groupe of Cupid and Pyſche, which we before have noticed, was to be removed to Haga: for its reception the King ordered a temple to be built entirely after the antique; it was to form a ſquare, at the bottom was to be a niche, and the light to proceed from above. What poſſibly tended to encreaſe the inclination of His Majeſty towards this retreat, was the circumſtance of the revolution of 1772 being planned in a little corner of the garden, which is viſited with much intereſt. His Majeſty has ordered a reſervoir to be cut in the rock adjoining a ſmall lake which you paſs along, coming from the city, to furniſh water, and facilitate the conſtruction of jets d'eau and caſcades. It will be a very handſome piece of work if completed. Viſitors to this ſummer-houſe wear a particular uniform, with which none but perſons of great diſtinction are favoured by His Majeſty.

The Park: This is the moſt frequented ſpot in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, on account of its proximity; it is ſituated towards the eaſt, without the town on the ſea ſide. It is cuſtomary for folks to repair hither on *May-day*, the ſame as thoſe of

* A Swediſh mile, ſix and a half miles Engliſh.

Paris, at *Longchamps*, on All Saints. The King appears in his coach. In 1791 we ſaw him there with the Prince Royal, the grand equerry, and a Captain of the guards, eſcorted by his life and dragoon guards. The Queen, Princes, and Princeſſes make their appearance as well, with but very few attendants. Prince Charles alone was on horſeback, eſcorted by life guards, aſſigned him by the King as an acknowledgement of his ſervices, in the ſame manner as did Frederic II. to his brother, Prince Henry. This ceremony, if a ſimple promenade deſerve that title, conſiſts in taking a turn or two in the park. The King alighted at the Spaniſh miniſter's, who has built a country houſe in a ſingular poſition. It is upon a ſmall promontory projecting into the ſea, ſo that in his ſaloon you may fancy yourſelf on board of ſhip. All veſſels arriving at, or ſailing from Stockholm, paſs by this ſpot, and the paſſage is in this part ſo narrow, that you may converſe with the marines, even at times without a trumpet. This is in ſummer an incomparable ſituation. The King has made a preſent to him, as well as ſeveral other perſons (with a view of engaging them to build) of a pretty conſiderable extent of ground, which, with what he gains upon the ſea, by throwing out piers, enables him to encreaſe his eſtate, and procure all country enjoyments.

The Camp in the Park. On the 24th June, *(St. John's Day,)* a may-buſh is planted before the gates of caſtles and country-houſes, as in France is done on the 1ſt of May, the King and royal family ſhew themſelves again in the park, and remain at the camp. This camp, which laſts all the month of June, is compoſed of the garriſon of Stockholm, that is to ſay, of the two regiments of guards, the artillery corps, one battalion of the Queen Dowager's guards, and the dragoons. Along the lines, on that day, long May poles are ſtuck in the ground, ornamented with garlands and cyphers of leaves, and ſometimes with ſhields and devices; at the foot of each are barrels of beer on ſtands. At ſix or ſeven o'clock, at a certain ſignal, the barrels are tapped, and each ſoldier receives a pipe, a ſmall loaf of bread, two herrings, and a trifle of money; a treat of their ſeveral Captains. The muſic of each regiment ſtrikes up, and the ſoldiers begin drinking and dancing. Acroſs every barrel ſits a ſoldier fantaſtically dreſſed either as Bacchus, or in ſome other character more or leſs groteſque: he it is who drinks the firſt, and gives the toaſts, which are numerous enough, and are always ſucceeded by an exclamation of *vivat:* whenever any of the royal family or a general paſſes, their health is drank with a *vivat.* Soldiers in diſguiſe are drawn on carriages all along the line; theſe with drollery and ſinging ſtrive to pleaſe the people who flock in crowds to laugh at them: they ſometimes take indecent licence. Soon as the evening roll is beat, all immediately diſperſe in good order. The royal family generally ſup in camp in the King's tent; His Majeſty himſelf frequently ſleeps in it, and notwithſtanding he was not preſent in 1791, his tent was erected and occupied by General Armfeldt (with whom the court ſupped) as Commandant of the camp and troops; the King giving him the General's Staff, at the time of his departure, to hold during the whole of his abſence. This particular ſtaff is of bronze, overſpread with ſmall crowns in gold from one end to the other. The King commonly at his *levee* on Monday gives the ſtaff to one of his *aides de camp*, to be entitled to which the individual muſt at leaſt be a colonel; and during the whole time of his retaining it, he has ſupreme power over all that regards the ſervice in Stockholm, Princes and Generals not excepted; in one word, in whatever regards military matters he repreſents the King himſelf. This ſtaff muſt never be laid aſide; it is held generally for a week when the King is at Stockholm, and ſometimes longer. His Swediſh Majeſty adopted this cuſtom from the court of Ruſſia; however if ſuch a practice remains there at preſent, it is with a difference.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.—*State of the Swediſh Troops.—Diſpoſition of the Soldiery.—Abuſes in military Matters.*

THE Swediſh army is compoſed of a ſmall number of regiments, either levies or in garriſon, and national troops: the firſt, as every where elſe, are compoſed of ſoldiers enrolled, taken wherever they were to be found. The national regiments are on eſtabliſhment only when under order, or during reviews.

The provinces furniſh according to their population and extent, either a regiment of infantry or cavalry. Each individual ſoldier, as well as officer, poſſeſſes a portion of land and a dwelling; and the enrolment is made in ſuch manner that as nearly as poſſible the Colonel ſhould live in the center of his regiment, and each Captain in the midſt of his men. This collection of reſidences is called *Boſtelles*.

As the revenue of the different eſtates very much depends on the nature of the ſoil, the poſts of Colonel and Captain differ accordingly, but may be eſtimated at worth the one from 1200 to 2000 rix-dollars, the other from 3 to 500.

Each diſtrict is thus obliged to furniſh one or more men, according to its being more or leſs peopled. Inſtantly as one departs for the army his ſucceſſor is deſignated immediately, ſo that in caſe of death the ſubſtitution of another man ſhould take place without delay. If a canton be too inconſiderable to furniſh a man, a number unite for the purpoſe.

During the interval of military ſervice, (a conſiderable part of the year,) he either works at his buſineſs or cultivates the ground, and is paid by the proprietor of the habitation, which affords him ſhelter, at the ſame rate as other workmen. Three months after the death of a ſoldier, his wife and children are obliged to give up the dwelling to his ſucceſſor.

When the clergy were deſpoiled of their poſſeſſions, the crown diſtributed them in great meaſure to individuals upon their engagement at the time, to furniſh perpetually, and maintain a certain number of ſoldiers. Such was the baſis of the mode which is now in practice, which having been ratified by divers diets, is become a fundamental baſe of the military conſtitution.

All the troops wear the Swediſh dreſs, that is to ſay, a jacket and cloak. This cloathing is unſuitable to ſo cold a climate; the cloak does not defend the whole of the body, and muſt needs be cumberſome in engagement. The ſoldiers wear round hats.

Some regiments, but their number is few (that of the Queen for example) are dreſſed after the French faſhion. The general officers wear a blue coat with gold tags: they moſtly have a regiment to themſelves. Lieutenant-Colonels wear two epaulets, the ſame as Colonels in France. Officers of whatſoever rank, wear a blue and yellow ſcarf under their jacket, and their handkerchief tied round their left arm. In the laſt war it was perceived that this diſtinction, too ſtriking not to be viſible, pointed them out as marks for the enemy. The Swediſh cockade is yellow.

State of the Swedish Army in 1791.

INFANTRY.

Levies.	No. of Men.
1st Regiment of foot guards, *	1200
2d do. of guards, white and black	1500
Artillery,	2890
The King's regiment,	800
The Queen's do.,	1200
The Queen Dowager's do.,	1260
Springporten's regiment,	800
Steding's do.,	1200
Two others of eight hundred men each,	1600
Foot yagers,	800
Total of the levied infantry,	13,250

CAVALRY.

Levies.	
Huſſars,	597
Light Horſe,	250
Squadron of Coſſacks,	150
Total,	997

National Troops.

INFANTRY.

The Regiment of Upland,	1200	The Regiment of Veſtrogothia.	1200
of Skaraborg,	1200	of Savolax,	1237
of Obo,	1025	of Weſtmania,	1056
of Kronſberg,	1200	of Nyland,	900
of Jonkœuping,	1100	of Calmar,	1100
of Bjœurneborg,	1025	of Nericia and Varmia,	1674
of Dalecarlie,	1200	of Oſtrobothnia,	1200
of Oſtrogothie,*	1500	of Jemtland,	1040
of Tavaſtehus,	1200		
of Helſingie	1200	Total of national infantry	22,457
of Elſſborg	1200		

CAVALRY.

The regiment of the body guard, at preſent compoſed of four ſquadrons of Cuiraſſiers, four of Light Dragoons, and one battalion of Chaſſeurs, amounts collectively to	1525
The ſtandard of the Nobleſſe,	395
The regiment of Weſtrogothia,	1000
Carry forward	2920

* At preſent grenadiers of the body guard.

Brough tforward	2920
of Smaland, (now the dragoons)	1000
of Oſtrogothie, (now the dragoons)	1000
of Northern Scania,	1000
of Southern Scania,	1000
The company of Jemtland, (now dragoons)	100
Total of national cavalry,	7020

DRAGOONS.

The body guard,	1000
The regiments of Bohus, now half diſmounted,	1200
of Nyland and Tavaſtehus,	1000
The ſquadron of Carelie,	250
Total of national dragoons,	3450

The annexed table will give an ample detail of the Swediſh army, and what it coſts the crown.

Expence of the provincial army in the following years:

		In 1696, when Sweden poſſeſſed the whole of Finland.	In 1768.	In 1772.
		Silver dollars.	Silver dollars.	Silver dollars.
Drabans or life-guards, formerly *Gardes du corps*,		42,420	50,122	51,118
Officers of the regiment Adelsfana, cavalry,	in Sweden,	12,220	12,431	
	in Finland,	2633	2527	
Regiments of cavalry,	in Sweden,	628,968	577,387	
	in Finland,	242,926		
Dragoons,	in Sweden,	56,606	91,288	1,120,072
	in Finland,	7801	193,483	
Infantry,	in Sweden,	187,042	160,341	
	in Finland,	85,533	83,283	
		1,266,149	1,170,862	1,171,190

Remark. According to the report of the royal college of war in 1774, the provincial regiments coſt the crown 1,105,348 ſilver dollars, paid by rents; and according to the report of the royal chamber of accounts in 1772, their coſt was 1,119,216 ſilver dollars, of the like value, both eſtimated according to the valuation of the crown, which, according to the courſe of exchange of the preſent day, muſt be doubled if not tripled. The crown gives for the *ruſt holls* and *boſtelles* of the officers of cavalry the ſum of 872,58 ſilver dollars, in rents at 9 marks per *arpent*, for ten thouſand one hundred and fifty-four cavaliers and dragoons, including three hundred and ninety-five *gens d'armes*; but the gardes du corps, as officers without *boſtelles*, are not included.

Annual

Annual expence of the generality and raised regiments at the undermentioned epochs.

	1696. at 24 marks, or 2 dols. per rix-dol.	1768. at 42 marks, or 3½ dols. per rix-dol.	1772. at 70 marks, or 5⅚ dols. per rix-dol.
The generality,	15,050	18,247	20,580
Regiment of guards,	118,888	145,000	160,951
Garrisons, in Sweden,	210,482	228,371	236,000
Garrisons, in Finland,		157,448	195,300
Two corps of chasseurs in Finland,			62,273
One of light dragoons in do.			12,800
Hussars,		101,848	122,464
Artillery, in Sweden,	113,538	202,626	210,500
Artillery, in Finland,		63,722	64,375
Engineers, in Sweden,	195,879	39,180	39,841
Engineers, in Finland,		8,783	8,783
Fortresses, in Sweden,	125,000	160,000	250,000
Fortresses, in Finland,		200,000	277,500
Stores for the fleet and army,	205,380	532,450	608,000
Cloathing for the troops, in Sweden,	50,000	348,496	396,500
Cloathing for the troops, in Finland,		74,370	52,013
	1,034,217	2,280,541	2,717,880

General expence of the army according to the Rolls of 1787.

For the college of war,	16,299	16	
The staff,	4,604		
The commissariat in Finland,	7,949	47	4
The military, in Sweden,	281,130	17	5
The military, in Finland,	94,415	32	6
The artillery, in Sweden,	65,042	31	7
The artillery, in Finland,	18,329	12	2
Garrisons, in Sweden,	75,848	2	3
Garrisons, in Finland,	59,886	1	5
Fortresses, in Sweden,	54,000		
Fortresses, in Finland,	26,000		
Wood, coal, and oil in the fortresses,	26,003	12	11
Engineers,	13,618	16	
Stores,	30,246	1	9
Hussars and dragoons of Carelia,	40,760	16	3
Chasseurs in Finland,	10,839	42	8
Military school of Hapaniemi,	1,150		
Cloathing for the troops,	147,419	15	1
The saltpetre directory,	60,793	41	4
Expence on marches in Sweden,	20,000		
Do. in Finland,	10,000		
Total Rix-dollars in specie,	1,064,996	18	8

The Swediſh army in the year 1776.

Infantry.

Provincial Regiments.	No. of men		Expence.
			Silver dollars.
Upland,	1200		10,217
Skaraborg,	1200		9974
Abo,	1025		15,371
Sudermania,	1200		13,427
Cronoberg,	1100		10,530
Jonkoping,	1100		10,107
Biœurneborg,	1025		15,369
Dalecarlia,	1200		10,786
Oſtrogothia,	1220		10,437
Tavaſtehus,	1005		14,473
Helſingfe,	1200		10,906
Elfsborg,	1200		9988
Weſtrogotha,	1200		9936
Savolax,	1238		9620
Weſtmania,	1200		14,537
Weſterbothnia,	1056		10,817
Calmar,	1100		10,340
Nyland,	1025		14,537
Nericie and Vermelande,	1474		18,599
Oſterbothnia,	1200		14,560
Kymenegord,	128		15,199
Jemtland,	1048		31,621
		24,344	291,351
Recruited Regiments.			
Guards,	1800		60,751
Artillery,	3000		265,875
Queen-dowager's guards,	1000		
The King's regiment,	800		
Springporten's,	1000		431,500
Salza's,	1000		
Skytte's,	1200		
Blixen,	1200		
The Savolax yagers,	400		12,800
		11,400	870,926
	Men	35,744	Pay 1,162,277

Cavalry.

Regiments.	No. of men.		Expence.
			Silver dollars.
Adelsfana, not levied,	395		14,158
The body guards,	128		52,118
Cuiraſſiers,	1505		145,725
Weſtrogothia,	1000		77,476
Oſtrogothia,	1000		94,689
Smaland,	1000		81,811
Northern Scania,	1000		85,974
Southern do.	1000		84,833
Jemtland,	100		6,417
		7128	643,401
Provincial dragoons.			
Dragoons of the body guard,	1000		89,060
Nyland,	1000		87,340
The ſquadron of Carelia,	250		17,073
of Bohus,	904		59,677
		3154	253,150
Light troops recruited.			
The light dragoons,	400		62,273
Huſſars,	300		91,848
		700	154,121
Total of Cavalry,		10,982	
of Infantry,		35,744	
Total of the army, excluſive of officers,		46 726	

Note. Two farms commonly between them provide one ſoldier, or form a *rote*, according to the extent and excellence of the farm. The crown cloaths the troops, and provides warlike ſtores; but upon review days, held for the ſake of liquidation of the provincial regiments once a year, a certain ſum is deducted out of his advances for his equipment, which is new every eleven years. The farmer furniſhes the ſoldier with his working dreſs, which occaſions a great ſaving to the crown: thus Sweden, in proportion to its population, is enabled to arm double the number of men to what other powers can do, who, while ſhe can raiſe every twelfth man, (including the navy,) can arm no more than one in twenty-four; and this the more readily, from the ſoldier being capable by his labour of earning ſubſiſtence for his wife and family. The *boſtelles* of the officers of the provincial regiments (I mean the infantry,) amount annually to the ſum of 232,765 ſilver dollars, according to the eſtimation of the crown. As for the regiments of provincial cavalry, a rental of 60 dollars per annum is ſet aſide for the maintenance of each man, his horſe and equipment; in ſome provinces this rental is but 50 dollars. The dragoons are differently maintained, with from 15 to 30 dollars allowance. The *gens d'armes* receive 500 marks per man, if maintained by a number of peaſants, and this ſum may occaſionally amount to 580 where ſupported by one alone: this regiment not being raiſed as yet, the peaſantry pay this ſum as a free-gift to the crown, and the weight of its preſſure on individuals is dependant on circumſtances.

Remarks. 1. An extent of land which maintains a foot ſoldier or ſailor is called a *Rote*; an eſtate which maintains a horſe ſoldier, a *Ruſt holl*. The rentals above ſtipulated are deducted by the crown from the annual taxes paid by the peaſantry. 2. The regiments of cavalry, rated above at one thouſand, were reduced to five hundred in 1792, the remaining five hundred being incorporated in the infantry. The regiment of guards conſiſts at preſent of no more than one thouſand two hundred men; the King in 1792 creating a ſecond regiment of one thouſand five hundred men. At his death a number of changes took place in military affairs, particularly a body of horſe artillery was formed, &c. &c.

Expence

Expence of the whole army.

	Men.	Silver dollars.	
Provincial infantry,	24,344	291,351	
Do. cavalry,	10,282	89,551	
Together,	34,626		1,187,902
Recruited infantry,	11,400	870,926	
Do. cavalry,	700	154,121	
	12,100		1,025,047
The ſtaff,		20,580	
Fortifications, ordnance, and ammunition,		1,542,124	
Cloathing for the troops,		448,513	
			2,011,217
Total of expence,			4,224,166 *
* But caſt up by the author, poſſibly owing to ſome omiſſion,			5,274,848

The diſpoſition of the Swediſh troops is high ſpirited, the officer generally brave, the ſoldier much reſembling the French ſoldier: he bears with impatience a continued fire, and after ſuffering a few ſeconds without being able to return it, you are abſolutely obliged to charge. He readily reſorts to the bayonet, and the Ruſſians many times experienced in the laſt war how much they are to be dreaded with this weapon. The officer muſt poſitively head his troops, and frequently advance a few ſteps in front, without which poſſibly the line might refuſe to advance, this form complied with the Swedes will follow wherever they are led. During the war in Finland, a regiment of infantry was ordered to charge the enemy; the King ſent for its Colonel, who was near him, to be his *aide de camp general.* Notwithſtanding this was told, not a man would advance, and His Majeſty was obliged to ſend back his aide de camp to head the regiment, in which ſituation he was wounded. The Swede fires but ſlowly; yet aims well: rarely does it happen that a company fires at once, each man is left to diſcharge his piece at pleaſure. After five or ſix rounds, if expoſed to a battery or a ſuperior fire, you muſt lead to the charge, or would expoſe yourſelf to the companies charging diſorderly of themſelves. The Swediſh ſoldier is religious: prayers are read exactly every day in each regiment; he is naturally honeſt, ſpurns at any thing mean, and is an utter ſtranger to thoſe vices which diſgrace the ſoldier throughout almoſt all Europe. This character, however, belongs to the national troops alone; the regiments levied, or in garriſon, are compoſed in the ſame manner as every where elſe.

It is requiſite the Swediſh ſoldier ſhould be well fed; he bears with difficulty any ſubtraction from his allowance, or even with having it delayed. This is a caſe which cannot be too ſtrongly recommended to Swediſh officers.

Numerous abuſes prevail in the adminiſtration of military affairs. Commiſſions are publicly ſold notwithſtanding the King's ſpecial orders that ſuch ſhameful traffic ſhould ceaſe. He knows, ſo as to put it beyond doubt, that his orders are not regarded; nevertheleſs he can do no more: the matter is conducted with ſo much art as never to admit of proof, ſo that even the colonels are oftentimes in ignorance of it themſelves.

The miniſters are not nice in keeping the promiſes they make to officers: we can quote in proof of this, a Frenchman who fought through the whole campaign in Finland,

land, who received flattering teſtimonials of his conduct from every general under whom he ſerved, yet was unable to get a company till two years after the peace, notwithſtanding it was formally promiſed him, and that he was every way deſerving. A number of officers have waited a long time, even with the King's recommendation in their pocket. Miniſters and general officers object to foreigners on account of their ignorance of the language of the country, but when requiſite to order them to face the enemy they never think of this deficiency, but rate them as they truly are, very fit for the purpoſe.

CHAP. XII.—*Journey to the Mines; Sahla; Afveſtad; Sœter; Ornes; Fahlun; Mora; Elfdal; Quarries of Porphyry.—Dalecarlians.—Geſle.—Cataract of Elfscarleby.—Suderfors.*

The tour of which we are about to render account is very intereſting; provided you be diſpoſed to pay attention to every thing curious it will take up a fortnight. We adviſe it to be undertaken in the month of May, a period when the ſnow is entirely thawed; for unleſs you have the precaution to wait until the ſnow is wholly gone, you will be deprived of the pleaſure of ſeeing many intereſting ſpots, the road to which is frequently impaſſable during the thaw.

From Stockholm to Sahla is twelve miles, and an excellent road. The latter is ſituated on the banks of the river which ſeparates the government of Stockholm from that of Upſal. Before you reach the ſtage called *Tible*, you find two marble monuments, the inſcriptions on which ſhew them to have been erected in commemoration of the marriage of Adolphus Frederic, with the Princeſs of Pruſſia, and the arrival of the Queen of Guſtavus III.

Sahla is a ſmall and very badly paved town; the ſtreets are ſtraight; the houſes entirely of wood, very low, being ſeldom more than one ſtory high; it may contain about two thouſand four hundred inhabitants, the greater part of whom are employed in the mines. Happening to arrive on the day on which a mother and daughter, who died of different complaints, were buried, we remarked the ſame oſtentation in the funeral, that we had noticed at Stockholm; as perſons concerned in the mine, each of them was carried by eight workmen; the country people and miners who followed them to the grave were all decently clad in black, in a much better manner indeed than is uſual in other countries with people of the ſame condition. The church, conſidering the ſize of the town, is handſome enough. The living of Sahla, which is one of the beſt in Sweden, brings in 2000 dollars: the Count de Schwerin, ſon of the deceaſed ſenator of that name, is the preſent incumbent. The neighbourhood of this town is very pleaſant.

Sahlahutta is the name of the place where the foundry is, a quarter of a league from the town: as you travel thither you notice a number of houſes, ſtanding by themſelves (for fear of fire) which ſerve as magazines for ſtoring the corn, grain, and forage of the inhabitants. All the houſes of Sahlahutta are occupied by different perſons belonging to the foundry. There is there a church; a river which paſſes through it ſerves to work a number of wheels. More than two hundred workmen are employed at the foundry, and a like number at the mines. The ſtones drawn from the mine are carried into a building containing two and thirty peſtles moved by wheels, which ſerve to reduce them to powder: there are two ſorts of powder, the one called flour or duſt, and the other paſte; the firſt of which is the beſt: the ore thus pounded, runs off into wooden receivers, is ſpread upon ſheets of coarſe cloth, and waſhed by water which falls over

it; it is ſtirred with a ſort of blunt ſtick; this operation is termed the waſhing. In this part of the building there are eight waſhing machines, and fifty-ſix are diſtributed in different other places. As the mine is on the oppoſite ſide of the town, an eſtabliſhment is about to be formed in its neighbourhood, ſimilar to this for pounding and waſhing the ore; the carriage thus will be leſs, when the uſeleſs matter is ſeparated from the ore taken for melting. The waſhing yields two kinds of ore; that which remains at the bottom is the richeſt. From this part we went to where it is calcined; they make uſe of wood for heating their furnaces, two in number, each of which works three ſchippunds of ore at a time. In another building a wheel acts upon eight pair of bellows, and a number of wooden mallets uſed to pound the charcoal which is afterwards mixed with clay, and ſerves to form the bed on which the lead and ſilver runs, upon their flowing from the furnace. In another building the calcined ore is thrown upon burning charcoal. In this building there are four furnaces on the firſt ſtory; and in one adjoining two others of like deſcription much leſs high. The melted matter falls, and when the ſcoriæ are taken off, an iron crow is ſtruck into the body of the furnace, and the metal runs into a hole made in the ground; by a ſecond proceſs it is ſhaped into ingots, in moulds, and in this ſtate it is ſimply ſilver and lead. Adjoining is a houſe containing a furnace in which the lead is ſeparated from the ſilver; in this operation the lead becomes vitrified, and is afterwards reduced to its natural ſtate; this operation takes up eight and forty hours; a very hot fire for eight or nine hours is requiſite as a laſt proceſs, to purify the ſilver entirely from the little lead which ſtill remains; this is done in a brick furnace placed under a bell, and the method uſed is much the ſame as that in practice at *Freyberg*. One quintal of ore yields between * two and three loths of pure ſilver, and ten pounds of lead.

The wages of the workmen vary, ſome are paid by the job, others by the month or day; ſome receive no more than from one to two rix-dollars a month; then ſeeing they work for twenty-four hours at a ſtretch, have a reſt-day alternately, with a day of labour: the foremen of the foundry may earn about 50 rix-dollars per annum, the common workmen from 16 to 25. A warehouſe is to be built for the charcoal; the carcaſe is already compleat. On the ſide of the foundry you have a delightful proſpect of a ſmall lake, three quarters of a mile long, and a furlong broad. In another brick building, two large furnaces are conſtructing, coated externally with iron and granite; the interior is to be of *ſthelſtein*, a ſtone which reſiſts fire; it is expected they will be compleated this year 1791, when the two others we have before-mentioned are to be deſtroyed; theſe are in a ſeparate building where the poorer part of the ore, ſuch as is not waſhed, is roaſted; it is blended with ſulphur for the purpoſe of extracting the ſmall portion of ſilver it contains. Four open furnaces are conſtantly at work, and two ſmaller ones; in theſe layers of charcoal are placed upon layers of ore, and a ſtratum of coal at the top. On theſe not only is that ore laid apparently but poor, but ſuch ſcoriæ as are ſuſpected to contain any particles of ſilver, ſo that this matter thus roaſted conſiſts of iron, ſulphur, ſcoriæ, and limeſtone. This operation has the effect of cauſing the ſulphur to evaporate, the iron to become calx, and fits them to melt together with the powder of ſilver and lead. For this calcination five hours are requiſite; five ſchippunds of ore may thus be calcined daily; the pure leaden ore is called *ſchlichter*. The expences of the foundry are about 6000 rix-dollars.

The mine of *Sahlberg* is ſituated half a league from Sahla, and belongs entirely to individuals; it is divided into one hundred and ſixty lots or ſhares, to each lot belonging

* From an ounce to an ounce and a half Engliſh, Avoirdupois weight.

a por-

a portion of land and ſome ground in the town. The ſhares in 1790 were worth at leaſt 1000 rix-dollars each. The net produce of each ſhare was 30 rix-dollars; the expence of working the mine is 6000 rix-dollars, which added to 6000 (that of the foundry) and 4800, the net ſum ſhared among the proprietors, makes 16,800 rix-dollars, excluſive of the King's tenth, the ſalaries of the officers, the charges for the maintenance of the works, as well external as internal, and the machinery, which may amount to 7 or 8000 rix-dollars more, the mine having yielded in 1790, 3000 marks of ſilver. This mine, worked from time immemorial, was formerly much more rich; it has produced 24,000 marks; but the richeſt galleries have fallen in; there is, notwithſtanding, ore met with in one part now worked, which yields * 30 loths of ſilver per quintal, but this vein it is feared will quickly be exhauſted. The mine at its firſt bottom is from one hundred and ſix, to one hundred and nine, fathoms deep, at its extremity one hundred and fifty.

The works of this mine are highly deſerving of notice and wonderful. You deſcend by a mouth called Queen Chriſtina's, the opening which is twenty-nine feet by nineteen; this leads to the firſt gallery: the manner of going down in buckets is unpleaſant to many, yet what may tend to give courage to the adventurer, no example ever was known of the cord breaking; and if any accidents ever happen, which occaſionally do to the number of two or three in the year, it is uniformly owing to imprudence and careleſſneſs. A ſingular prejudice prevails here with reſpect to women: the workmen pretending that as often as any one enters the mine ſome misfortune will inevitably follow. A woman going down a few years ago, a workman within two days afterwards committed ſuicide, which has no ways contributed to diminiſh this prejudice: the workmen conſequently look with an evil eye on any woman who may attempt to go down, a matter which rarely happens.

The bucket in which you deſcend is faſtened by three chains of iron to a rope, which is changed every ten months, and which afterwards ſerves to draw up the ore. As many as five may go down in the bucket, but generally no more than three or four deſcend at a time. We were ſix minutes in going down, and ſix and a half in aſcending, on account of the movement leſſening as the bucket approaches the ſurface: as one bucket aſcends another goes down for the ore; the bucket for the deſcent of the men is always the ſame, and both thoſe for the ore and the men are conſtantly in motion day and night. As you go down you provide yourſelf with torches in order to ſee the galleries worked in the ſhaft, as well as to direct the bucket and prevent its ſtriking againſt the projecting parts of the rock. One cannot help feeling a little frightened at experiencing now and then a ſomewhat ſenſible ſhock, and which alarm is augmented by one's critical ſituation: this ſhock is occaſioned by the rope in turning round, the cylinder ſometimes rolling over its own coils; and after ſome turns, upon its unwinding, it cauſes a vibration which is communicated through the whole length of the cord, and even to the bucket itſelf. The two wheels which draw up the bucket are double, and are acted upon by water; they are adapted ſo as to bear being turned one way or the other, and increaſe or diminiſh their velocity, by means of flood gates, which are raiſed more or leſs; they are alſo ſtopped at pleaſure: this wholly depends on the man employed in the direction of the ropes, and who is admoniſhed by a call from the top of the mine; his buſineſs requires the niceſt attention, for any imprudence or forgetfulneſs might have the moſt diſaſtrous conſequences. Theſe two wheels are forty feet in diameter, as well as the two employed for the pumps. The water which works the different machinery

* Fifteen Ounces, Avoirdupois weight.

flows

flows through a canal of more than three miles in length. There are three rows of pumps to the hydraulic engine, for pumping the water out of the mine; on the side is a well called *kneckt*, by which you may descend the mine by means of ladders to the depth of eighty fathoms: you perceive afterwards a number of steps by which you may go down lower even to the first gallery, whence you have again the choice of descent either by means of the bucket or ladders, to the deepest gallery of the mine; these ladders, however, are no wise convenient, and are used by those workmen only who are employed at the pumps, every body giving the preference to the buckets. There are a number of marks on the rope for the purpose of stopping the bucket at the galleries worked in Queen Christina's shaft. There is a great consumption of wood in this mine for splitting the rock; in different parts are lighted fires, which have a fine effect; all the vaults are exceeding hard, the communications very large, and extremely neat: you might drive a carriage through the whole of the first bottom. There is here a small apartment for visitors to rest themselves in, and a register for the inscription of their names.

In the interior of the mine, the sign of there being silver is a sort of calcareous stone mixed with mica, called by the miners *noble stone*; wherever they meet with this there is always some silver: it is in search of this that the skill of the miner consists. We had a number of veins of *trapp* pointed out to us, which presented some varieties curious enough to an amateur: it is found at first in very thin layers, the thickness of which progressively increases; it then ceases all at once, and is afterwards found again. What is remarkable in this mine the veins are irregular, and seldom contain metal in a state of ore, but in metallic masses. The workmen here, the same as at the foundry, work but every other day, and in each twenty-four hours are allowed eight hours rest: their pay is the same. The foremen earn 50 rix-dollars, the labourers 16 to 25 rix-dollars per month. The Shaft, called *Makleusen*, the deepest of any, is abandoned, as is *Kongsrumning*, the oldest.

Herstenbotten is a mine which fell in three centuries ago; it fell in by degrees. Tradition relates that many persons lost their lives on this occasion. *Samdrumningen* is another mine adjoining, which also has fallen in. In the neighbourhood of these two mines are great heaps of stones formerly taken out of them. Some people are employed in selecting such pieces as contain metal, and extract from them annually 300 marks of silver. This work was begun in 1753, and it is calculated that the heap will still furnish work for fifty or sixty years. The King receives no tenth of the produce of these old mines. A little farther on is a pit communicating with the old mines; the ore from it is drawn up by horses, three of which are constantly kept in the mine at the first bottom, for the purpose of raising ore from the deepest. The stones yield a great quantity of lime, and still more might be furnished could a sale for it be found.

It causes much wonder to find a mine in nearly a level country, for this is very little inclined; the traveller to these parts should provide himself with letters for Mr. *Staff* the director of the mine, and Mr. *Phyl*; the latter speaks French fluently, and was of great service to us. The following is a list of the minerals procurable in this mine: *Weiss gulden*; ore of grey silver, galena in large and small cubes; galena, *chatoyante*, scaly, and steel grained; blende, or zinc ore, scaly, and in small grains; native regulus of antimony (it is no longer found), streated ore of antimony; arsenical pyrites, exceedingly rare; martial pyrites, occasionally crystallized; granulated iron ore, extremely rare; finely grained calcareous stone; ditto granulated with salt, white and yellow; calcareous spath, white and yellow, crystallized in pyramids and in hexagons (very rare); white quartz, very unfrequent; rock flint, white and red, in which starry

ſchoerle is ſometimes found; mountain leather (cuir de montagne); mountain fleſh (chair de montagne); mountain cork; amianthus, occaſionally blended with galena; green, yellow, and black ſerpentine; red garnets in galena; ſolid black trapp; ſteatites; potter's ſtone; and brown mica.

From Sahla to Afveſtad, four miles and a half, by *Brodbo* and *Viggarnè*. At the firſt ſtage you have a charming proſpect of a lake, which you croſs over a raiſed way: the roads were good enough the two firſt ſtages, at the third they were bad. Near Sahla you croſs a ſmall river which furniſhes water for the works of the mine. A quarter of a mile before you reach Viggarnè is a *barrier*, with a cuſtom-houſe, belonging to the proprietors of *Sahlberg* mine; after which, on the left, you paſs over a bad bye road, leaving the highway to Afveſtad on the right. As you leave Viggarnè you return after a long courſe to the highway. The froſt was entirely gone at Stockholm, yet at Sahla we found the lakes were ſtill frozen over, and in different parts the ſnow yet laid. On this road we did not meet with ſo many gates as between Stockholm and Sahla; and theſe are very incommodious, as they ſo frequently oblige you to deſcend in order to open them. Dalecarlia begins at about the middle of the laſt ſtage.

Afveſtad. The refinery of copper is the only intereſting object in this little town; for which eſtabliſhment there is a quarter ſet apart of pretty large extent. You cannot leave the town without preſenting at the gate the inſpector's ticket (the inſpector is Mr. Stokenſtrœum, who conducted us every where, but who underſtands the Swediſh language alone). The firſt refiner of this eſtabliſhment was *Marcus Kock*, born in 1585, he died 1659, as is ſeen by his portrait at the inſpector's houſe; he was born at Liege, and was ennobled by Guſtavus Adolphus. We were firſt ſhewn the furnaces in which the copper is melted, which comes from *Fahlun*; each furnace melts from five to ſix ſhippunds, when put in it is called *rokoppar*, and becomes *garkoppar*; that which is not pure copper paſſes again into another furnace; this firſt proceſs generally takes up ſix hours; it is however of longer or ſhorter time according to the purity of the copper. The copper is laid in bars, with the coal above, in crucibles ſhaped like an inverted cone; at the bottom is a bed made of charcoal and clay, mixed together as at Sahla. There are ſix crucibles and furnaces for this operation in three ſhops, each of which has four workmen. When the copper is in a ſtate of fuſion, the firſt ſheet or layer is ſuffered to cool in the open air, afterwards on the others water is thrown, and the whole is withdrawn by layers, which become ſmaller and ſmaller on account of the ſhape of the crucible; theſe are laid in piles one above another; the crucibles contain about 40 layers more or leſs: the fineſt particles of copper riſe and adhere to iron bars placed inſide the chimney, from which they are afterwards withdrawn. Each furnace has an immenſe bellows worked by water. Nothing but charcoal is uſed, of which there are large warehouſes full; the annual conſumption is twelve thouſand laſts, each of twelve tons. There is another building, in which are two machines that work eight peſtles for pounding the clay and charcoal, of which the bed of the crucible is made, and to which many particles of copper adhere; afterwards this duſt is waſhed the ſame as at Sahla. Between theſe two pounding machines you paſs under a vault, whence falls a very pretty ſmall caſcade. In another building are ſix hammers for flattening the copper into ſheets: there are beſides ſmaller hammers for thoſe ſheets of which copper-pans and other utenſils are made. In the ſame place with the hammers for flattening are alſo two furnaces, one contains a veſſel in which the metal is fuſed, whence it is ladled out and poured into moulds made of charcoal, clay, and iron mixed together; in theſe it cools, and while yet red, it is withdrawn from the moulds and placed beneath the hammers. It is afterwards heated anew ſeveral times until it be ſufficiently flattened:

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the ſecond furnace is for the latter purpoſe. The largeſt ſheets are three yards and a half long by two yards broad. The moulds are of a great or ſmaller ſize, according to the intended dimenſions of the ſheets. Copper in ſheets coſts from 6 to 7 ſkillings * per lb. The canal which ſupplies the manufactory with water is interſected by a number of ſtakes of moderate height, in order to ſtop the courſe of the ice at the top, and prevent its hindering the flowing of the water: with this precaution the works have not been interrupted by the moſt rigid winter. In the laſt war between England and France four thouſand two hundred ſchippunds † were annually refined, three thouſand ſix hundred of which were made into ſheets for coppering ſhips; at other periods no more than three thouſand ſchippunds are manufactured. The other three thouſand worked at Fahlun are made into braſs. Here is a magazine of copper ſheets; adjoining one of *garkoppar*, both inconſiderable. The ſheets for coppering ſhips are five feet long by eighteen inches wide; they are packed for the convenience of tranſport, in the ſame manner as glaſs, and are ſent to Weſteros, whence they are ſhipped for Stockholm; where they can uſe ſledges: they are ſent to the latter place by land. The loading of a ſledge is at moſt but three ſchippunds, and the expence of tranſport to Stockholm, ſixteen and a half miles diſtant, is 12 copper dollars per ſchippund. Between the two magazines is an office where you write your name, and where it is uſual to be weighed: this is a ſpecies of contribution under which you are laid, and of which you are quit for half a rix-dollar. We ſaw here coinages of copper deſigned for Poland and France, which required nothing but the ſtamp; we were enabled to learn what was the charge; they are ſent to the merchants of Stockholm who forward them. At this manufactory alſo all ſorts of iron work are effected. A common ſaw-mill for cutting planks. In another building two cylinders in metal, for rolling of copper into ſheets, particularly ſheets for coppering of ſhips; in front of theſe cylinders are furnaces in which wood alone is uſed; and under the ſame roof a heavy hammer with a furnace, a pair of hand ſhears to cut the copper ſheets with, and one of a larger ſize worked by water. A building containing an iron forge, in which is a furnace and large hammer. Another for coinage: the machine for cutting the pieces of copper conſiſts of two wheels, each having eight bands fitting each other, of the breadth of the intended coin, the ſheet is paſſed between theſe two wheels, and is cut by them into eight ribbons; theſe are paſſed between the cylinders to give them the requiſite thickneſs of the intended coin, and are afterwards placed between two pieces of iron which cut them with the greateſt facility and give them the requiſite ſhape; this machine, of very ſimple conſtruction, is worked by water: there are two, one correſponding with the other. From a ſmall neighbouring *eſplanade* you behold a fall of the Dahl, which is very broad; in order that water may never be wanted, a cut has been contrived to the manufactory with a lock. Never ſince 1768 has there been any Swediſh coinage, unleſs of *Pollet*, a coin peculiar to Dalecarlia, worth a ſkilling and a quarter. There is a building in which are two common caſks full of holes, into which the pieces cut as above deſcribed, are thrown to poliſh by means of the motion given by water to the caſks, over which ſmall gutters conſtantly throw water: the pieces receive poliſh ſimply by friction, afterwards they are dried in ſmall furnaces; this laſt operation is of very ſhort duration, an hour, or at moſt an hour and a half, this done, the pieces are ready to receive the impreſſion. In the ſame place is a machine for the faſhioning of cylinders, an apartment in which women are occupied in ſeparating the bad and good pieces of copper, whence they are

* From 7d. to 8½d. per pound. Copper in England has been as high as 19d. is now, 1807, at 13d.
† About ſix hundred tons.

put in caſks and ſent to Stockholm. A very ſmall warehouſe of tea and coffee urns, bronzed in the Engliſh ſtile; the manner in which it is done is kept a ſecret, all we learned was, that the different articles were daubed over with a bruſh with various colours. A place in which pots and pans, &c. are manufactured. It contains a furnace, five working benches, and ſeveral anvils. In the court is a wooden horſe for the puniſhment of diſorderly workmen.

A hundred workmen are employed, who receive by the ſchippund of work done, according to what deſcription of work it may be, from 10 to 100 ſkillings: 40 ſkillings are thus divided, the foreman has ſix dollars, the headman under him four, the ſecond three, and the lad two dollars. We ſaw a child there whoſe hair was abſolutely green, the reſult as we were told, of his being expoſed to the vapours of copper. Before 1777 this manufactory belonged to the crown; it was then granted to the proprietors of the mine of Fahlun.

The town contains ſeven hundred inhabitants; the pavement here is as deteſtable as in other towns of Sweden, where it is worſe than in any other country.

At a good half league from Afveſtad, are the braſs works of *Biurfors*, belonging to Mr. Vahrendorf. There are five in Sweden at the following places, Norkiœuping, Nikœuping, Guſum, and Skultuna; of the laſt, which we ſaw, we ſhall ſpeak as we proceed; the method is the ſame uſed in all, the only difference of them is, ſome furniſh more braſs than others.

Provided one have time, an excurſion may be made to *Norberg*, two miles diſtant. Here it is that the new canal of *Stromſholm* begins, which ends in the Mœler lake: in another chapter we ſhall ſpeak of it in the order of our travels.

Norberg. A quarter of a mile from this village are mines, famous not only for the variety of veins and the quantity of ore they produce, but alſo for the curious minerals they afford; yet muſt it not be expected that all the poſſible variety of minerals will be found here in one day: amateurs will have occaſion for ſome time to examine all the produce of the mines and what may be gathered from the rubbiſh, and ſpite even of ſuch delay, ſome rare pieces may eſcape them which are only met with occaſionally and at intervals in the veins. The mines are chiefly of iron, there are ſome copper, but theſe moſtly abandoned: here in the mineral kingdom are found hematites of a blueiſh colour, ſolid, lamillated, micacious, fine grained, and ſparkling: theſe varieties are principally found in quartz. Black iron ore, ſometimes of a ſhining ſurface, granulated in fine grains, cryſtallized in polygons, octaedra, cubes, and rhomboides. Native copper arborized in ſolid and ſuperficial branches: native copper is ſometimes met with in *Griœltan* mine among the iron ore. Superficial mountain blue. Mountain green. Copper ore of a red, azure, greeniſh yellow, and pale yellow colour. Green, white, and violet coloured fluor in octaedral cryſtals. Mineral pitch. Druzes of topazes, differently clouded. Druzes of pale amethyſts, of cryſtals of grey and white quartz; the cryſtals are rarely priſmatic: ſometimes however common rock cryſtal is met with, although ſmall. White and grey quartz. Red feldtſpar in hexagonal plates, with ſhort points of three facets; theſe cryſtals are frequently covered with a quartz, like cryſtalline cruſt. *Stalſtein*, or white tin ore in fine grains, white in the mine, but which blackens when expoſed to the air. At a mile and a quarter from *Veſtanfors*, is a copper mine deſerted, a furnace and iron forge. After this excurſion, you return to Afveſtadt.

From Afveſtadt we proceed by *Grodœu* to *Sœter*, three miles and a half diſtant. The roads were not in good order on account of its thawing, (in April) notwithſtanding the banks were yet covered with a quantity of ſnow, particularly on the ſecond ſtage which traverſes a very long foreſt. On leaving Afveſtadt you have a charming proſpect

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as you trvael along the banks of the *Dahl*, till you arrive at a floating bridge, which the lighteſt carriage cauſes to ſink in the water. Half a mile from Grodœu, you paſs the flanks of the little town Hedemora, at which there is a powder-mill, but which contains nothing worthy of remark.

Sœter, an extremely ſmall town, contains no more than from three to four hundred inhabitants, and deſerves to be viſited merely on account of the mine of *Bipſberg*, in its neighbourhood: it is ſituated a league diſtant from the town, in a direction of W. N. W. Although of much greater anceſtry, it is unnoticed in hiſtory before 1420. Before the time of Guſtavus Vaſa, it belonged to the two towns Hedemora and Huſby, the Biſhops of which enjoyed the revenue from them; but that Prince took it for the uſe of the crown at the time of his ſeizing upon eccleſiaſtical property. Owing to ſome careleſsneſs of the miners in the ſeventeenth century, it was entirely deſtroyed, and remained thus in ruins for twenty years; when the crown conceded its right to any who choſe to work it anew; it was conſequently worked again in 1697: at preſent the *Angerſteins* are the chief proprietors, Mr. Vahrendorf has a fourth; it does not even pay a tenth to the King. This mine is exceeding rich, yielding annually from twenty to twenty-one thouſand ſchippunds of iron, its dividends are 60 to 70, and even 80 per cent. Dannemora mine does not produce ſo rich an ore, although it be more eaſy to work; the veins run from eaſt to weſt; the greateſt depth of the mine is eighty fathoms; it has four galleries or bottoms: the firſt, *Benzelsband*, the ſecond, Adolphus Frederic, the third, Guſtavus the 3d, and the fourth, Guſtavus Adolphus, the Prince-royal, the breadth of the gallery of the latter name is ſeventeen fathoms. Independent of theſe grand galleries, there are ſeveral worked which are ſmaller. It has three principal ſhafts; one for the workmen alone, another may be availed of near the hydraulic engine, but this is a bad deſcent, and only ſerves for the workmen employed at the pumps. You deſcend to the interior of the mine by tolerably commodious ſteps. In aſcending from the loweſt gallery, you have to go up three ladders of fifty, forty-three, and thirty-four ſteps, before you arrive at the ſtables; on reaching the ſtables, you are ſenſible of cold, which ſenſation ariſes from the vicinity of the pumps. On leaving the ſtables, you mount again by three other ladders each of thirty-ſix ſteps; you afterwards find five others of thirty, thirty-ſix, thirty, twenty, and thirty ſteps, after which you arrive at a door of communication with the pumps; here being come to day light, the torches are extinguiſhed though you have ſtill two ladders to aſcend; one of forty, the other of thirty-two ſteps; the firſt is very damp: the whole number of ladders are thirteen, and of ſteps four hundred and fifty-two. The mouth by which you deſcend is about twelve feet over; it takes from two hours to two hours and a half to make the tour of this mine. The ore here is found in extreme large metallic maſſes not very difficult to work; in many places it is reduced to powder: the works of the mine appear to be very well underſtood, yet did we experience dampneſs in certain parts: there is a gate midway of the depth of the mine, which is ſhut on holidays, which gate we had a difficulty in getting through, on account of a pool of water before it. Notwithſtanding the immenſe quantity of ore which is extracted from the preſent galleries, three new ones are begun; theſe are ſtiled works of ſpeculation. The ſubterraneous vaults are large and handſome, in no part are you obliged to ſtoop; you muſt be cautious in paſſing ſuch parts where wood has been burnt to mollify the ore, as you may otherwiſe be ſuffocated with the ſmoak and heat which remains for a long time afterwards; in this operation much wood is uſed and very little gunpowder. No more than thirty workmen are employed in this mine, twenty of which are conſtantly at work: the ore is ſent to different parts to be melted. The principal place, *Niſhyttan*, is a mile diſtant from the

mine. An amateur may meet here with the following articles: iron ore granulated, in very friable grains. Lamillated hematites of a blueiſh colour. Molybdene. Quartz. Druzes of quartz. Mineral pitch. Fibrous ſchoerle, and coarſe and hard amianthus. It will be ſeen there is no great variety of curious matters.

The mountain in which this mine is ſituated is not very lofty, notwithſtanding which, the proſpect it affords is delightful; from the houſe of the inſpector, when the horizon is not overclouded, you may diſtinguiſh the ſteeple of Fahlun; the pumps are perceived at a very great diſtance, and extend over a large ſpace.

From Sœter to *Grangue* is four miles and a half to the Weſt. Here are large and curious mines of iron; but you have to return thence the ſame way you go, and the road has nothing to recommend it.

From Sœter you may make a ſlight excurſion to Lœfos, where is a ſilver and copper mine, ſmall but intereſting; it is ſituated in the pariſh of *Skieder*; here is found native ſilver very rare. Galena in cubes, ſcaly, and ſteel grained. Yellow copper ore, blende, arſenical pyrites, calcareous ſtone, fluor of different colours, rather ſcarce, rock flint, and rock horn: after leaving the mine, and viſiting the foundry, you return to Sœter. If the traveller ſhould have leiſure, he may take a turn on the oppoſite ſide to Grengieſberg, where are ſeveral iron mines, and where ſome curious minerals may be had; ſuch as iron ore, black and ſolid, granulated, in fine grains and micacious of various very lively colours, blue, green, golden, and yellow, cryſtalliſed in octaedra in the body of the common ore. Solid hematites of a blueiſh colour, lamillated and cellularly cryſtalliſed, and micacious and ſparkling. Mineral pitch. Micacious and ſtriated potter's ſtone. Calcareous cryſtals of ſpar in flat hexagons, piled irregularly one above another, and covered with very fine druzes of quartz. Druzes of quartz enveloping iron ore in ſuch manner, that the pieces ſeem like broken nuts of iron ore glued over with cryſtalliſed quartz. If deſirous of viſiting this mine, the ſhorteſt way will be from *Hedemora*, as well as to go to that of *Garpenberg*, a mile away on the other ſide of the Dahl, near a ſmall lake: theſe are mines of copper which have been worked for a very long time, but which at preſent are on the decline; they belong to Mr. Vahrendorf: in theſe are found copper ore of grey, yellow, and pale yellow colour. Teſſilated and ſcaly galena. Blende. Green ſpar, ſometimes enamelled at the ſurface with yellow copper ore. Potter's ſtone of different ſorts. *Norrka* quartz, or potter's ſtone, encruſted with garnets: after viſiting the foundry at this place, you return to Hedemora.

From Sœter to Fahlun, through Naglarby, is three miles and a half; you return by the way paſſed over before, paſs by the ſide of the mine which is left at the right, and afterwards under the gutters of the pumps; along the whole of this ſtage you meet with chinks which preſent infallible indices of a conſiderable revolution in this quarter, they obliging you to make too long circuits, which much lengthen the road you have to paſs: a little beyond Naglarby you croſs the *Dahl*, but ere this you find yourſelf cloſe upon *Tuna*, a mine of zinc and ſilver, which was prolific in the time of Guſtavus Adolphus, and from the produce of which he made his preſents; at preſent it is deſerted. Nearer to Sœter is the old ſilver mine of *Silverget*, now abandoned; two miles from *Tuna* is *Gagnef*, where loadſtones of great virtue have been found; but of theſe at preſent none are to be met with. After croſſing the *Dahl*, we left the great road and turned to the right at a place called Ornœs, half a mile diſtant; after going over a bridge acroſs a river and coaſting a very pleaſant lake, we came to the houſe wherein Guſtavus Vaſa was concealed in 1520, when purſued by the ſatellites of Chriſtiern.

This houſe, the conſtruction of which is ſingular, has been conſtantly preſerved in its primitive ſtate; the ſtaircaſe is on the out ſide, in the ſecond ſtory is the room which

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was occupied by Guſtavus; it is tolerably large, and almoſt perfectly ſquare, on the two ſides of the door on the inſide, are the two faithful *grey* Dalecarlians dreſt in white woollen cloth, and armed from top to toe, with the ſugar-loaf hat worn by them at the time; by the ſide of them and near the bed is the faithful domeſtic who conſtantly followed the fortune of Guſtavus; he himſelf is in the corner oppoſite to the door ſtanding armed under a canopy, in his right hand he holds his general's ſtaff, and his left is placed on a bible on a table on which are his helmet and gloves; every thing belonging to the bed has been preſerved; above and on the ſides of the door as well as thoſe of the bed are inſcriptions in letters of gold analagous to the events of the life of Guſtavus I.; near the bed is the genealogical tree of his houſe, continued to Guſtavus III., although his immediate race was long before extinguiſhed; Guſtavus III. bearing relation to him only by the female ſide. Around the chamber are ſome geographical charts, and rather coarſe portraits of the Kings and Queens of Sweden from the time of Guſtavus Vaſa. You are afterwards ſhewn the privy in which he was concealed, and whence he eſcaped to effect the union which afterwards took place at Mora. The lake offers the moſt pleaſing point of view imaginable: a curious traveller will not miſs the opportunity of noticing this houſe, and certainly will find it highly intereſting ſince it ſerved as an aſylum to one of the greateſt men who ever graced the throne or human nature.

The tranſlators of the ſecond travels of Mr. Coxe, has made him commit a number of errors in his deſcription of this houſe, ſuch even as make it doubtful if he were ſufficiently well acquainted with the Engliſh to have attempted a tranſlation. We adviſe our readers moreover to give no greater credit to the relation of a Dutch officer, who affirms (page 165, in 8vo. la Haye, 1789,) "that you muſt turn out of the highway for half a mile, and travel over a dreadful road and frightful mountains in order to arrive there." We have before had occaſion to point out a number of errors in this work, and are far from having enumerated the whole. Were the road even as bad as is deſcribed, ſtill would the traveller, if poſſeſſed of a particle of curioſity, feel himſelf induced to viſit this intereſting houſe: it is however no more than a ſhort quarter of a league out of the way, nor are there either frightful rocks or precipices between.

You begin to ſmell the ſulphur at a pretty conſiderable diſtance from Fahlun: there we arrived in the middle of the night, and from the number of open furnaces burning for the purpoſe of grilling the ore, theſe ſeemed to us a general conflagration. The miſt over the mouth of the mine is very thick; the road runs by it and even under the ſpouts of the pumps.

Fahlun, the capital of Dalecarlia, is a town of no great ſize, containing but four thouſand inhabitants. Its charter is dated 30th October, 1641: it poſſeſſed charters of earlier date, that is to ſay 1608 and 1624, but theſe were granted, principally that trials might be made, and have been amended in the charter firſt mentioned. The church built in 1650, is covered with copper, which covering has already been renewed three times.

The traveller, if he be provident, will write beforehand to ſome merchant in order to procure lodging, (a number of people let apartments at ſo much per diem,) for owing to the ſmall number of ſtrangers who viſit this place, there is but one inn in the ſquare near the church, which it is true is a tolerably good one, but which may perchance be full, as we found the caſe. The only object of curioſity in this town is the copper mine and its pertinences: theſe certainly recompenſe you for your trouble, which on our part we were no ways diſpoſed to regret.

The famous mine of *Kopparberg* is at the diſtance of five hundred toiſes from the town: its origin is unknown; its moſt ancient exiſting charter is that of *Magnus Smek*, in 1347, which aſcertains that there were anterior charters. At different periods it has

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experienced damage, the falling in of parts of it in 1789, laſted for two days. The greateſt depth of the mine (in 1791,) was one hundred and eighty-nine fathoms. The main ſhaft, the depth of which is forty, included in the one hundred and eighty-nine, and which the laſt fall has ſomewhat diminiſhed, is two hundred fathoms long by one hundred and twenty broad; you deſcend to this by a wooden ſtaircaſe formed on the rock, and at the extremity of this large opening you find the entrance into the mine: perhaps there is none in the world the deſcent of which is leſs fatiguing; it has ſtaircaſes the whole way to the bottom, the laſt twelve fathoms excepted, down which you go by an iron ladder; this is the moſt unpleaſant part of the deſcent, or rather the only one that is at all ſo, it conducts you to the deepeſt part called *Armfeldt's-hole*. The ſtaircaſes are ſo convenient that even the horſes employed in the mine, twenty-two in number, go up and come down them; but when by any extraordinary accident the ſtaircaſes become impaſſable, they are let down the great pits by means of cords, in a ſpecies of harneſs made on purpoſe (for the Chriſtmas review.) Some years ago the new ſtaircaſes not being yet compleat and the old one being unfit for longer ſervice, they were drawn up and let down conſtantly in this manner. The following are the different galleries you find in going over the mine, and their depths from the ſummit of the ſtaircaſe of the great opening: the gallery of *Bonde* forty-two fathoms. Of *Tilas* forty-three. A ſmall gallery at preſent abandoned, owing to the fall of the roof in 1789; the vault now encreaſes in ſize as you arrive at the ſtaircaſe of Guſtavus III.; a dirty road with a little ſtreamlet: the vaults are ſix feet high and from four to five broad. The gallery of *Sophia Albertine*, ſixty-five fathoms. The gallery of *Prince Charles*, ſeventy-two: vaults of maſonry. The gallery of the *Flotte*, eighty-eight: here you diſtinguiſh a vitriolic ſmell proceeding from a communication with the ſhaft of Guſtavus Adolphus; here is a forge, a furnace, and an anvil. The gallery of *Mars*, one hundred; here you feel a ſmart breeze, and are offended by a very diſagreeable ſmell. The *North* gallery one hundred and nine. The gallery of Prince Guſtavus one hundred and nine; they are at work in this at preſent. The *Brother* one hundred and ten. Rolamb one hundred and ten; a large vault where they are now at work, they have ſupported the roof by means of ſcantling, and at preſent are compleating the boarding, having removed the cords. The *Hall of Council* one hundred and eighteen; here you find tables and a chandelier, here it was the King ſtopped and wrote his name in 1788, on the 20th of September, on ſome pyrites found in the mine, which is framed and glazed. He deſcended into the mine alſo in 1755 and 1768. Here as you aſcend it is cuſtomary to take refreſhment, which we were enabled to do through the civil proviſion of Mr. Gahn. The gallery of the *Crown* one hundred and eighteen; this has a communication with King Frederic's ſhaft. The *Croſs*, one hundred and twenty-three, has a very handſome vault, in which there were men at work; this is the bottom of Frederic Adolphus's ſhaft; here we ſaw the ore tranſported on poles faſtened together, and laid on a carriage with ſix wheels, two of which are under the load. The gallery of the *Polar Star* one hundred and forty-nine. The gallery of *Count Frederic* one hundred and forty-nine. Of *Count Charles* one hundred and forty-nine. Of *Stierncrona* one hundred and eighty-two: the appearance of this pit is very curious; its machinery is worked by horſes. A diſtance beneath is a communication with the previouſly mentioned pit. The gallery *Frii* one hundred and fifty ſeven fathoms deep, communicates with the pit *Stierncrona*: a machine worked by a horſe, with a furnace and anvil. The gallery of the *Cavalier* one hundred and fifty-eight fathoms. *Leyonmarck* one hundred and ſixty-eight. *Baron Armfeldt* one hundred and ſeventy-three. *Greſve galerie* one hundred and ſixty-eight. At the extremity you come to the iron ladder which leads to *Armfeldt's hole*. The earth

of

of the mine is not a mineral earth; the whole of the ore is concentrated in one ſpot not in vein, but metallic maſſes; that upon which they are at preſent at work is imagined to be of conic form, notwithſtanding the oppoſite aſſertion of Mr. Jars, in his metallurgical travels, a work in many reſpects deſervedly eſteemed, yet which at the ſame time is not exempt from errors. Of pyrites that anſwer the magnet, found in the mine, there is none but that of a greyiſh caſt, nor of any other deſcription but the greeniſh and the whitiſh yellow; the firſt of theſe two contains copper alone, in the proportion of from 24 to 30 per cent; and on the proportionate mixture of theſe three pyrites, is it that the richneſs of the ore depends. The *lefver ſlag*, or greyiſh pyrites (miſrepreſented by Mr Jars as reddiſh,) never contains any copper.

Beneath is given an account of the expence of the mine from 1779 to 1788 together with its produce.

Years.	Tons of ore	Produce when roaſted.		Free Mines.		Expence.	
		Sch.	Liſpd.	Sch.	Liſpd.	Rix. Dols.	Schil.
1779	153,319	5090	19			50,941	45
1780	156,977	5724	12			57,139	
1781	164,492	5758	10	308	4	88,048	30
1782	174,421	5954	7	306	14	66,783	27
1783	163,750	6077	16	224	11	75,572	11
1784	195,470	5898	19	268	7	73,484	6
1785	194,732	6350	2	332	17	67,473	20
1786	187,975	5390	3	234	6	62,837	42
1787	196,420	6886	9	266	14	67,828	15
1788	164,950	6421	14	276	11	65,766	47

The ore of Fahlun is poor, it was much richer formerly. In the ſeventeenth century the produce of the mine exceeded twenty thouſand ſchippunds: at preſent the ore yields no more than two per cent. of metal. The great mine has four wells by which the ore is drawn up, that of Adolphus Frederick, that of King Frederic, that of the Count de Creutz, one hundred and twelve toiſes deep, and that of Count Wrede. The ſecond is one hundred and twenty toiſes deep. There are ſix tubs, two hydraulic engines, and one for the pumps. The machines for raiſing the ore are nine in number. The great mine is divided into five diſtricts, which are to be reduced to three. Each diſtrict has two inſpectors at a ſalary of 100 rix-dollars. The great mine and the free mines, (that is to ſay thoſe which belong to individuals, and pay no duty to the crown) are united, (the ſecond paragraph, page forty-ſix, of the work of Mr. Jars is untrue.) The cord uſed for the well of King Frederic, weighs ſeven ſchippunds: it might be better made. The workmen are prohibited deſcending by the means of the tubs, the vitriolic liquid eating the cords, and even the iron chains; the firſt are of leather and laſt about a year. Laſt year (1790) two hundred ſchippunds of lead were extracted from the mine, eight hundred marks of ſilver (the firſt trial), and two hundred ducats value of gold.

The ore which contains ſilver is heated in a reverberating furnace, in which by the action of the blaſt-pipe on the fire the lead calcines and becomes litharge; the ſilver when fuſed falling on the aſhes of which the crucible is made.

The mine is divided into one thouſand two hundred ſhares for the interior work alone; the price of a ſhare of late years has been from 166 to 190 rix-dollars.

Below the product for the laſt twenty years is given. The firſt ſum indicates the dividend of each ſhare, and the ſecond the expence of each ſhare holden for the extraction

of

of the ore, excluſive of the workmen, which are not comprized therein. The expence of the mine is paid in part by the ſhare-holders, partly by the public cheſt of the ſociety, and the profits ariſing from the ſale of five parcels from each lottery; of this we ſhall ſpeak preſently.

The following ſums are in copper dollars, 18 to the rix-dollar.

Years.	Total Receipt.	Expence.	Years.	Total Receipt.	Expence.	Years.	Total Receipt.	Expence.
1771	66	102	1778	240	165	1785	216	175
1772	27	108	1779	270	189	1786	39	200
1773	150	112	1780	384	243	1787	162	155
1774	250	135	1781	360	198	1788	204	141
1775	293	141	1782	342	189	1789	172	
1776	250	138	1783	207	150	1790	184	
1777	234	138	1784	378	171			

The water-works are extremely well imagined. The water is furniſhed by three neighbouring lakes, which, divided into nine channels, ſerves to turn as many wheels, the ſmalleſt of which is twenty-nine French feet in diameter, and the largeſt forty. There is no interruption to their working, even in the moſt rigorous winters. Theſe lakes alſo furniſh the water requiſite for thirty copper furnaces. A river which runs through the town ſerves twenty others, and by means of the lake, which has a communication with the Dahl, and which flows by Fahlun, the fuel is tranſported which is uſed in the mine and furnaces; within a quarter of a mile from the town, and the town itſelf, there are ſixty, and half a mile from the town, are ten others. Gunpowder is continually uſed in the mine; the report of it is loud, yet not ſo much ſo as related. They kindle fires of wood in the mine once a week; theſe are lighted on Saturday noon, and burn all Sunday, and part of Monday, ſo that the ſmoak is not ſufficiently diſperſed to allow the labourers to go to work, and conſequently to permit your viſiting the mine before Tueſday morning. There are four hundred workmen employed who are paid by the ton, and earn from five to ſix rix-dollars per month. Let us now examine the proceſs the ore undergoes after its extraction from the mine.

Roaſting and melting. The firſt roaſting takes place in the open air, in a plain between the mine and the town, in furnaces made of common ſtone, with openings round the ſides; theſe are of different dimenſions, and may hold from one hundred to two hundred and fifty tons of ore. At the bottom of the furnace a double layer of wood is placed, and the ore upon it in a pyramid of great or ſmaller elevation. This proceſs appeared to us to be very ſlovenly; it laſts from fifteen to twenty days. The effect of the roaſting is generally the expulſion of the ſulphur, and the calcination of the iron to a certain degree when that is ſublimed. Part of the ſulphur at the ſame time is decompoſed, and ſome of its acid adheres to the iron; in this ſtate the iron is very fuſible, and forms by admixture a black metallic glaſs, which ſerves moſtly as a very powerful flux, for the greater part of the ſtones which adhere to the ore, from it poſſeſſing this property, not all but only a part of the ſulphur is expelled at the firſt roaſting. At the firſt fuſion which ſucceeds the roaſting, that part of the iron which has loſt its ſulphur is converted into the metallic glaſs before mentioned, which diſſolves and melts at the ſame time all ſtony matter, forming thus a matter called *ſcoriæ*, which being ſpecifically lighter than the more metallic part, floats at the top in the crucible, and runs off as they continue filling it by an opening in front of the furnace called the *eye*. At the bottom of the crucible the more metallic part of the iron is found united with the copper, and ſtill retaining

its ſulphur, forming a ſort of ore or richer pyrites of copper, purged from all ſtony matter, and called in Swediſh *ſkierſtein*, which matter contains from ten to fifteen pounds of copper per quintal, in lieu of two, which was the proportion in the rough ſtate. This *ſkierſtein* or concentrated and purified ore, which is let out from the furnace by means of a hole in the ſide, as ſoon and as often as the crucible is full, is afterwards roaſted four or five times, in order that all the remaining ſulphur may be ſublimed. On the ſecond fuſion which follows this ſecond roaſting, all the remaining iron is converted into *ſcoriæ*, ſo that copper alone remains at the bottom of the crucible, yet mixed with from 8 to 12 per cent. in the whole, of iron, zinc, lead, arſenic, &c. all of which are afterwards ſeparated at the refinery at Afveſtad. The ſecond roaſting, which requires four or five fires, takes place in a houſe ſheltered from the inclemency of the weather, requiring much more care and attention in managing the fire than the former. The furnaces employed for founding are from ten to fourteen feet higher than the crucible; thoſe for roaſting are kilns, ſomewhat reſembling thoſe uſed for lime in France, walled in on three ſides and open at the other. If inſtead of two roaſtings and fuſions the ſame reſult were ſought to be effected by one proceſs, there would be a riſk of loſing too much copper in the ſcories, of having the copper extracted too much combined with iron, and other heterogeneous matter, and conſequently of a much greater loſs at the refinery; for in all chemical preparations when there is a great diſproportion in the matters required to be ſeparated, (as here between the iron and the copper, the one containing two per cent. of the one and fifty of the other) the extract of neither can be had exactly pure or free from heterogeneous mixture by a ſingle proceſs, ſo long as ſuch a diſproportion exiſts. Theſe different roaſtings and fuſions for converting the ore into copper take up altogether about ſix months.

To be qualified for a *founder* a man muſt abſolutely be a proprietor, the holder of a certain portion of land, and poſſeſs a ſhare in a foundry. The founders undergo examination before certain numbers of the council of the mines, nominated for the purpoſe. Their profits are no more than one rix-dollar per ſchippund, and ſometimes even they are loſers; formerly, but this happened very rarely, they gained from five to ſix rix-dollars; all however depends on the price which is paid for the ore at public auction; commonly of late years thirty tons of ore have produced a ſchippund of copper; rarely has it happened that twenty-ſix or twenty-eight tons have yielded that quantity. The expence of founding is generally half a dollar per ton as an average price; each founder commonly produces from 200 to 300 ſchippunds annually. The ton of ore is $6\frac{3}{10}$ cubic feet of Sweden; the ton of charcoal at Fahlun is $5\frac{1}{10}$ cubic feet, but in every other part of Sweden it is the ſame as a ton of ore. Eighteen tons of charcoal is one horſe's draught, and coſts commonly from 32 to 36 and 40 ſchillings. In 1790, the price was 56 ſchillings, and in 1791, 48, on account of the mildneſs of the winter, and the ſhort duration of the *ſledge* ſeaſon. The crown furniſhes nearly 30,000 ſtig, at a certain price, viz. 8000 at 20 ſchillings, and the reſidue at 18. This ſupply is brought in by the peaſantry of the eight neareſt pariſhes, as a commutation for territorial contribution, and the capitation tax. The whole conſumption is about 70,000 *ſtig*, which the peaſantry are paid for in the following manner:—

The ore from the mine is divided into ſixteen lots, one of theſe lots is aſſeſſed by a comptroller, and ſerves as an eſtimate for the reſt, which are drawn for by lot (five of the fifteen ſerve to pay expences); this diſtribution takes place four times a week. The crown was wont to receive the fourth ſchippund until 1770, it now receives no more than the eighth.

The officers are a preſident, a maſter of the mines, two jurors, a fiſcal, a maſter of the engines, eight *ſtigære*, a comptroller for dividing the ore, a number of book-keepers, and at the weighing engine an inſpector on account of the crown. The council of the mine ſits twice a week: as often as any occurrence takes place of any importance regarding the ſociety, it aſſembles and gives its advice.

Here a variety of ores, rock, and other ſtones are found in abundance, that is to ſay, precipitate of copper, yellow copper ore, ſteel grained, ſcoriæ grained, white copper ore, yellow, hepatic, grey, black, very much impregnated with iron, yellow in octaedra, encruſted with mica; iron ore of a blackiſh caſt, which anſwers the magnet, *very rare*, and octaedral encruſted with mica, likewiſe attracted by the magnet, cryſtallized gypſum, rhomboidal and priſmatic, martial pyrites, ſometimes in a cryſtallized ſtate; mineral pitch, rather rare, fluoric cryſtallized gypſum, and white ſtriated calcareous ſpar, granulated calcareous ſtone, rock garnets, garnets cryſtallized in decaedra, ſometimes as large as a man's head, (Mr. Gahn has one of an enormous ſize;) a rock of fibrous ſtriated and ſtarry ſchoerle, potter's ſtone, granulated and ſolid quartz, unctuous and dry; amianthus, galena fraught with ſilver in large cubes and ſcaly, ſcaly blend, blue, green, and white native vitriol, the latter very rare; zeolites very friable, and of a brick colour; ſometimes among the ſcoriæ you meet with curious matters among other cryſtals of the ſame form as the bluiſh cellulary hematites.

Vitriol manufactory. In 1775, by private contract, a privilege was granted to three perſons to make vitriol; the water from the mine is received in a reſervoir, and thence conducted by a canal to ſix compartments, made on a very high wooden ſcaffold, one hundred and twenty-eight feet long; theſe canals have a number of holes on each ſide to admit the water to drop over faggots of three feet breadth, ſome lying and others erect, made of birch for want of other wood; ſixty-ſix cocks let out the water into the ſix compartments of the canal, which is about two feet broad from one extremity to the other, perhaps an inch more at the entrance of the firſt compartment; this ſlight increaſe of breadth, however, we conceive, has been accidental, although the ſize of the compartments might be leſs by degrees ſince the volume of water decreaſes. The water is then let into the firſt compartment, whence it falls into another reſervoir, through the chinks; it is carried back into the ſecond, whence it drops again into the third reſervoir, and ſo on to the ſixth, when it is plain it will depoſit moſt of vitriolic matter, the quantity encreaſing at every freſh exudation. The ſpecific gravity of the water being 1280, on coming from the mine is reduced after the graduation to 1250, or at moſt 1260. In winter the works are ſuſpended. After this operation it is put into leaden boilers with iron, to precipitate the copper, and ſaturate the acidity of the vitriol, where the water is evaporated for the ſpace of twelve or thirteen hours, thence it is conveyed into baſons to clarify, in which it depoſits its ſediment: to prevent the too ſudden cooling of the matter, theſe baſons are made of wood coated with clay, and are covered with planks; in theſe it remains from ſix to twelve or twenty-four hours, according to the gravity of the water; from theſe baſons it runs by means of ſpouts into others to cryſtallize, wherein it is ſuffered to remain fourteen days, at the expiration of which the vitriol remains at the bottom, on the ſides, and adhering to ſticks placed in the baſons; if any ſediment yet remains it is heated anew; the cryſtals are laid on an inclined plain for the water to eſcape: the lye or firſt matter which is not cryſtallized is poured into a well apart, whence it is taken to be heated again with freſh lye. In order to dry the cryſtals they are laid on ſhelves of four ſtories, and in two or three days, according to the ſeaſon, it is effected; the quantity of vitriol annually made is eight hundred ſhippunds,

punds, which ſell at Stockholm for three rix-dollars, thirty-two ſchillings, per ſchippund.

Precipitation of the copper. In order to precipitate the copper in the vitriolic water, it is ſuffered to fall repeatedly over old iron by different caſcades, each about twelve feet high, and diſpoſed like ſtairs; this water afterwards circulates in a number of ſmall channels furniſhed with old iron, and laying on level ground.

Red colour. To make this they begin with waſhing the earth, which is afterwards baked in an oven for twelve hours; with this they paint their houſes, mixing with it a ſmall quantity of vitriolic water, mixed with flour and boiling water, which is the moſt general practice, or mingle with it oil of flax, which is a more expenſive mode; it is alſo mixed with boiling vitriolic water, and a little pitch, or with pitch alone for painting the doors and roofs: with pitch and oil of turpentine, or oil of turpentine alone; this colour preſerves wood from rotting from the generation of moſs, &c. it coſts two rix-dollars the ton, of eleven liſpunds *Viet;* a thouſand tons of it are annually ſent to Stockholm.

For the information he afforded us; and his civility in accompanying us over every part of the works, we are highly indebted to Mr. Gahn; yet do we adviſe all who may receive letters of recommendation to this gentleman, to procure from him whatever they may be deſirous of knowing before they leave Fahlun; for in ſpite of the moſt formal promiſes, notwithſtanding we ourſelves had furniſhed him with valuable documents, of which he was highly ſolicitous, we yet were unable to obtain from him one ſingle anſwer to the numerous letters we wrote to him, as ſoon as he had gained from us all he wiſhed. Travellers cannot too ſtrongly impreſs on their minds that nine tenths of thoſe perſons who have ſhewn them the greateſt civility, forget them by the time of their arriving at the firſt ſtage: this we have generally experienced, notwithſtanding we have every where met with kindneſs. From Fahlun to Elfdal, by Mora, is eleven miles.

Mora is a very conſiderable pariſh, ſince it contains nearly fifteen thouſand inhabitants, but what renders this place the moſt remarkable is its being that where Guſtavus Vaſa harangued the Dalecarlians, from a ſtone which is ſtill ſhewn, and where he aſſembled the troops with which he drove Chriſtian II. from Stockholm. What gives further intereſt to the ſpot, Guſtavus III. in 1778, harangued the ſame people from the ſame ſtone, with equal perſuaſion, and obtained from them the like aſſiſtance, with yet a remarkable difference, that the enemies againſt whom Guſtavus III. ſolicited their ſuccour, were not Danes. Mora is on the road to Elfdal, where are ſituated thoſe famous quarries of porphyry, ſo highly deſerving the attention of every curious traveller. It is met with in many different mountains, always in layers, and of various colours, ſuch as black, grey, red, and brown, with white, red, and green veins. This porphyry is very hard, and receives a moſt beautiful poliſh; it is found in great abundance; the quarries are five in number. The mode of formation of this ſtone, which cannot be ranked among marbles, but rather with jaſpers, contributes to render it greatly varied; hence each quarry is of a different complexion and compoſition. Porphyry of a browniſh or blackiſh red, with ſmall white ſtones, is that of which the largeſt blocks have hitherto been found. It is preciſely ſimilar to the porphyry called Leucoſtrios, deſcribed by Pliny. In 1730 it was a matter of doubt whether or not Dalecarlia produced porphyry, and authors began diſputing, ſome affirming, others taking the negative. This diſpute was determined at length in 1786, when the ſenator, Count de Bielke, then preſident of the college of mines, propoſed an aſſociation of 2500 ſhares, at 5 rix-dollars each. This project was adopted, and the quarries were begun in May 1788. The five quarries vary in the colour and veins. Some blocks are from four to five ells ſquare. There are even flattering hopes

of finding green and blue porphyry, dependant on the form of the pebbles, which are met with in abundance. On this ſpot and in the neighbourhood rock pebbles are alſo found, red jaſper, filicious *breches* or *pouddingues*, among others one of deep brown porphyry, with knots of pale red. A quantity of granite, not ſo handſome as that of the neighbourhood of Stockholm. The ſtone is tranſported on ſledges during the winter, and in ſummer on waggons, as far as Weſteros, where it is embarked for Stockholm.

We ſhall enter into a detail of this intereſting eſtabliſhment. The direction of it on the ſpot is committed to a very capable perſon, (Mr. Hagſtroeum,) for whom care ſhould be taken to be provided with letters of recommendation. There are a hundred men employed by the day, beſides a great number who work by the piece in chipping the blocks. A labourer's pay is from ſix to nine ſchillings per diem. The work effected in the firſt years of the eſtabliſhment can afford no juſt idea of its poſſible perfection, ſince the expence of the different parts of the proceſs is to be regarded, the mills, ſaws, poliſhing machines, &c. The method uſed for ſeparating the porphyry is the ſame as is adopted in Italy. The pieces are traced with ſteel pointed inſtruments, which are afterwards ſeparated by wedges driven by main force. At this manufactory all ſorts of utenſils are made, tables, vaſes, mortars, in one word you may have made whatever you will by ordering it at the office eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe at the *mint* at Stockholm. A table of thirty-ſix inches by eighteen, coſts 30 rix-dollars; twenty-five by ſeventeen one-third, 18 rix-dollars, of which 12 are paid for workmanſhip; eighteen by twelve, 9 rix-dollars, the workmen are paid 6. A vaſe of eighteen inches perfectly well turned and hollowed, coſts 40 rix-dollars; of fourteen inches, 26 rix dollars; of twelve inches, 25 rix-dollars; the prices are rather below theſe at preſent. Small articles are in the ſame proportion, although in general the larger coſt but little more on the ſpot; thus the latter afford a profit of at leaſt 50 per cent. while the former pays no more than 4 or 6. This eſtabliſhment deſerves minute attention. The traveller ſhould contrive to plan his excurſion ſo as to have it take place either in ſummer or the ſeaſon for ſledges; although in the latter the ſnow will prevent the ſight of a number of intereſting objects, particularly the ſtone at *Mora*. Soon as the thaw begins this road is impaſſible. You have to return to Fahlun by the ſame road. On the way you may viſit the copper mine of *Mortamberg*, in the pariſh of *Rattvick*, which has been but recently opened. In it you find copper ore of a grey colour; ſometimes in azure, green, yellow and lightiſh yellow cryſtals; mountain green; galena in ſmall quantities; martial pyrites; mineral pitch; very ſlender druzes of quartz; white quartz; calcareous ſpar; potter's ſtone; and amianthus in ſlender veins. In walking through the pariſh of Rattvick you often find ſolid calcareous ſtones filled with petrifactions, ſuch as orthocerathites, ſometimes replete with mineral pitch, and calcareous ſpar, frequently in cryſtals; ſhells and corals of different ſorts, and very rare lithnites. From Mortamberg you may proceed to *Selfberg*, where a ſmall vein of galena is worked, which is in a ſlight degree argentiferous. The vein yields galena, red and yellow blend, lapis calaminaris, calcareous ſpar, breche of calcareous ſtone, and black ſlate, ſometimes mixed with galena; and *lumachelle*, or calcareous ſtone mingled with petrified ſhells, with which alſo a portion of galena is ſometimes blended. From Silfberg to *Ofmundſberg*, a pretty conſiderable mountain, containing ſolid calcareous ſtone; *idem*, in form of balls, impregnated with petroleum, and occaſionally hollow, and lined inſide with calcareous ſpar in druzes; fluid, yet thick petroleum; bituminous ſlate, frequently full of minute petrifactions; blue clay, containing a ſlight portion of ſilver; fuller's earth; and martial pyrites.

We cannot take leave of Fahlun without an acknowledgment to Mr. *Nordin*, the governor of the province, for the kindneſs he ſhewed us. During the whole of our ſtay at that town he made his houſe our home.

This is the ſeaſon for giving ſome account of this province and its inhabitants.

Dalecarlia is a large province, eighty leagues long by ſixty broad at leaſt. Tillage lands are ſcarce in it, and in conſequence it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent, containing little more than one hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants. Its mines and forges are its principal and almoſt only wealth; but in this country, interſected by lakes, foreſts, and torrents, dwells a brave and loyal people, at all times attached to their ſovereigns and to freedom; for they do not regard ſuch union as incompatible. In Dalecarlia, above all other parts of Sweden, is the remembrance of its valiant deliverer cheriſhed. The peaſant, the artiſan, the people at large, all of them talk of Guſtavus Vaſa: they call to mind that to their anceſtors it was he owed his crown. It exalts their imagination, and they ſpeak of it with pride and pleaſure. This people, nearly as rude as their mountains, poſſeſſes the ſame rugged manners, the ſame characteriſtics. Free as heretofore, they deem the chains of ſlavery inſupportable. Attached to their King, they look for a chief in him and not a maſter: ever ready to ſtep forward in his defence, the Dalecarlian of the preſent day has proved to Guſtavus III. that he has not degenerated. The Dalecarlians poſſeſs the right of ſhaking hands with the Princes of the blood royal, and even with the King himſelf upon meeting with him: to this we were eye-witneſſes at Haga one day while attending His Majeſty, who had the goodneſs to aſſure us of the truth of the exiſtence of this cuſtom. The Dalecarlians are divided into black and grey; a denomination ariſing from their dreſs, which is perpetually of one or the other of theſe colours.

From Fahlun to *Gefle* is thirteen miles; you paſs through *Strand*, *Upbo*, *Smedby*, *Rœurſhyttan*, *Sarſtad Aſen*, *Hœugbo*, and *Beck*: there is a different road, ſhorter by two miles and a half, but which is only paſſable in the ſummer time.

You paſs over nearly the ſame road before traverſed on leaving Fahlun, for the poſt-office of Upbo is but half a mile from Sœter, on the oppoſite ſide of the river. In the third ſtage you croſs the Dahl three times over a floating bridge. From Smedby to Sarſtad a very woody country. At Rœurſhyttan is a conſiderable forge, and a number of others between that place and the ſucceeding ſtage, particularly at a large village, near a river, which you croſs over a bridge. Before you reach Sarſtad, you come to a barrier, which divides Dalecarlia from Geſtricie. We were very well accommodated at Sarſtad, where we ſlept. Half a mile from Sarſtad, out of the road, are the iron mines of Torſœker, of great extent. In them are found black iron ore granulated; galena blended with the iron ore; martial pyrites; garnets, both large and ſmall, but full of chinks; rocks of garnets, calcareous ſpar, and quartz. At half a mile from the mines is a mountain called Kiœrberg, which yields black garnets, mingled with calcareous and granulated white ſpar, forming very pretty but very friable maſſes. The works of this mine are ſuperb; the galleries admirable, and highly deſerving of notice. From Rœurſhyttan to Gefle there are a greater number of villages, and many houſes ſtanding by themſelves in the country, the reſult of the number of mines and forges. The roads likewiſe are better, and here and there you ſee ſome fields of corn. At the beginning of the laſt ſtage you paſs a bridge, and another before you arrive at Gefle; the latter of ſtone, with a baluſtrade of iron, and an inſcription, importing that it was built in 1772, under the adminiſtration of Mr. *Sparre*, in commemoration of the revolution.

Gefle.

Geſle. A ſmall town, of from five to ſix thouſand inhabitants; it is more conſiderable than Fahlun, and much more pleaſant from its ſituation on the gulph of Bothnia. Its port is formed by a long jetty, from the extremity of which the proſpect is delightful. A canal paſſes through the town. Its trade is conſiderable, ſo much ſo, as to make it rank the third in the kingdom for the extent of its exports, and at leaſt the fourth in point of importation. Very large quantities of iron are ſhipped hence. In 1787 fifty-two veſſels belonged to this town, carrying ſix thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two tons. Uddevalla and Viſby poſſeſs more ſhipping, but the firſt exports ſcarcely any thing but fiſh, and the tonnage of the ſecond is not ſo great.

At Geſle there is a public ſchool. The town-houſe is a handſome building. Mr. de Cronſtedt, governor of Geſtricie, has cauſed a map of this province to be engraved, which is admirably performed; we cannot ſay the ſame, however, of the duties of civility to ſtrangers addreſſed to him; this ſlight blemiſh, however, we look upon as more than compenſated by his conduct towards, and his zeal in the cauſe of Guſtavus III., who has not one ſubject more grateful for favours received than is Mr. Cronſtedt.

Some miles diſtant in the neighbourhood of Geſle, towards the weſt, are the forges of *Tollfors*, *Walbo*, *Maſugu* and *Mackmura*, *Forſbacka* and *Hœugbo*: on the north thoſe of *Oſlottforſs*, *Wiforſs*, and *Axmar*. Continuing the road to Torneo, you traverſe the foreſt of *Tynnebro-heden*, which ſeparates Geſtricie from Helſingie. In this laſt province are the towns of Sœuderhamn and Hudviſkſvall. In the firſt is a manufactory of arms. Within reach of the great road are the forges of *Longvind*, *Iggeſund*, *Gnarps*, *Maſugu*, and *Frantzhamar*.

In the province of Medelpad is the town of *Sundſvall*; it is watered by the rivers *Niurunda* and *Indahls*. In the village of *Berge*, in the pariſh of *Timero*, is ſhewn a machine after the Dutch faſhion, which cuts the metal for coining by means of water. The forges of *Galſtrœum*, *Lœugdœun*, and *Oviken* are ſituated in this province.

The capital of Angermania is Hernoſand: it is the governor's reſidence, as well as that of the biſhop, and contains, moreover, an eccleſiaſtical conſiſtory and a public ſchool. This province produces a quantity of flax, and is famous for its mode of ſpinning and working it. The moſt conſiderable river bears the name of the province. The forges of *Utanſiœu*, in the pariſh of *Hœugziœu*, and *Olosforſs* in that of *Nordmaling*, are upon the high road.

The following towns are contained in the province of Weſtrobothnie. *Umeo*, the reſidence of the governor; *Piteo*, that of the military governor; *Luleo* and *Torneo*; the latter known by the ſojourn made by the academicians ſent thither in 1736 to determine the figure of the earth. It contains theſe different forges: *Horleforſs*, in the pariſh of Umeo; *Robersforſs*, in that of Bygdeo; *Melderſteil* in Boleo; *Svaſken* and *Kengis*, ten miles north of Torneo. Hither muſt you repair if deſirous of ſeeing the ſun uninterruptedly for days together; but this pleaſure will be dearly bought by the fatigue of the journey from Torneo, and particularly the additional inconvenience you will experience if you ſhould travel to Ruſſia down the eaſtern ſide of the gulph; ſince you will have to traverſe an immenſe extent of country, entirely deſtitute of all reſources, immediately after you leave the ſea. Another ſuperior vexation is the prodigious quantity of inſects of every kind, which ſwarm through the country in the two or three months the ſummer laſts. One ſpecies of fly in particular draws blood. The inhabitants obliged to be upon the rivers, have no other means of protection againſt them than by covering their face with a kind of maſtic. For the reſt, the whole road from Geſle is

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as fine, and the poſt duty as well regarded as in any other part of the kingdom. It is a diſmal country to travel through, on account of the immenſe foreſts through which you go, but in which you are perfectly ſecure, as well by night as by day, travelling through that part of Europe hitherto the leaſt infeſted with depravity.

It will be neceſſary the traveller ſhould be provided with letters addreſſed to the different governors, who will facilitate his obtaining lodging throughout their provinces: generally it is the clergy who receive travellers, and all who have made this journey concur in ſpeaking highly of their kindneſs and attention.

If curious to traverſe a part of Lapland, and paſs over to Norway by the mountains, the inſtructions ſubmitted at the cloſe of the following chapter may be followed in full reliance; but above all, the adventurer muſt be inured to fatigue, and reſolved on ſubmitting to great privations for the ſpace of a month at leaſt.

From Gefle to *Sudersfors* is five miles and a half, by *Elfscarleby* and *Méhédé*. Before you reach Elfscarleby, you paſs the Dahl in a boat with oars; the poſtillions are uſed to leave you at the banks, but this muſt not be allowed, on account of the next poſt-houſe being at ſome diſtance from the oppoſite bank, whither you muſt either reſolve on walking, or wait poſſibly ſome time for horſes. A quarter of a mile beyond Elfscarleby, you follow a narrow road at the right, which leads to the cataract; it is commodiouſly ſeen from a ſaw-mill on the ſide, and ſtill better from a ſmall houſe built much lower down, on the brink of the river, for ſalmon fiſhing, (the fiſhery is farmed for 7000 copper dollars). This cataract is very curious, and with reſpect to the maſs of water precipitated, is more conſiderable than that of Trolhœtta, but with reſpect to the circumjacent ſcenery is poſſibly leſs pictureſque; there are, nevertheleſs, ſome great trees, which form a charming perſpective, and we recommend both one and the other to the traveller's obſervance. Almoſt the whole of the remainder of the ſtage is through a foreſt. You turn to the right in order to reach *Méhédé*; from Méhédé to Sudersfors is rather a bad croſs road. On arriving at Sudersfors, you paſs over a wooden bridge acroſs the Dahl, near which is a very pleaſing caſcade; from it you have an admirable view of the whole breadth of the river, which is extremely wide.

Sudersfors is an eſtate and conſiderable forge belonging to Mr. Grill; this is the only forge in Sweden at which anchors are caſt, and what renders it ſtill more intereſting, the proceſs uſed here is entirely different to that in practice elſewhere, where anchors are made of bar or wrought iron, whereas here it is made at once in a mould, of caſt iron. It is affirmed, that anchors made in this manner are at leaſt equal in goodneſs with others; they for certain are leſs expenſive, the iron undergoing one fuſion leſs by the latter proceſs. Three thouſand ſchippunds are annually manufactured, one thouſand of which into bars, and two thouſand into anchors; as many as two thouſand four hundred have been made occaſionally, and even once three thouſand two hundred during the war between France and England; the latter is the largeſt poſſible quantity that can be manufactured. The ore comes from Dannemora, which is the cauſe of the excellence of the iron from this forge, as well as in others that uſe it: this ore on its arrival is at firſt broken, (that at leaſt which is in too large pieces,) and is afterwards carried into the oven into which it is to be thrown: of theſe there are two in the open air for roaſting the ore; one is forty-two feet wide by twenty-five; the other, of the ſame form is ſomewhat leſs; both ſeven feet in depth: the walls are of brick made from *ſcoriæ*; a layer of wood is laid of the whole extent of the bottom, and as high as the walls, which is kept burning for the ſpace of four weeks; each proceſs of the firſt oven furniſhes a ſupply for ſeven weeks to the great furnace, and of the leſſer oven for five

weeks and a half. The ore, upon its being withdrawn, is pounded by a large hammer and thrown into a ſieve, whence the fineſt part falls into a bucket faſtened to an iron chain, which carries it to the large furnaces. When this large furnace is once heated it continues ſo for about ſix-and-thirty weeks, more or leſs, without interruption; after which a new crucible becomes requiſite. The ſides of the furnace, although of bricks made from *ſcoriæ* ſixteen ells in thickneſs, require renewal every four years. When once the furnace is kindled it is ſupplied every hour with a laſt of charcoal and a ſchippund and a half of ore, divided into eleven equal parts. The iron fuſes in about fifteen hours: in the beginning this proceſs is very little productive, but it increaſes by degrees as the furnace augments in heat, and at length produces, when in full activity, about one hundred and twenty ſchippunds of iron weekly. The bellows are worked by a wheel twenty feet in diameter. When the ſtrength of the flame is conſidered, which proceeds from the mouth, one is aſtoniſhed at the little hurry of the workmen in emptying their barrows of charcoal; ſmall and dry as it is yet does it never inſtantly take fire even in the middle of the flame. The greateſt attention is neceſſary in throwing the ore on the charcoal; as a little too much or too little might injure the fuſion and have a material influence on the quality of the iron. The metal in fuſion is let off every eleven hours. A channel is made in hot ſand of equal dimenſions with the orifice, where the molten metal flows, and the diviſions are marked agreeably to the length deſired to be given them: it does not run to ſo great a length as in France, ſeldom more than two feet. The ſand is kept hot for the purpoſe of preventing accidents, which however in extreme cold weather occaſionally happen. The furnace each time it is ſtruck yields ſeven or eight ſchippunds. In leſs than a quarter of an hour afterwards the iron, having reſumed a degree of firmneſs, is raiſed and removed for its cooling with greater diſpatch; ſhortly after it is thrown into a ciſtern lined with wood, and repeatedly filled with cold water on account of its being made to boil inſtantly upon the firſt immerſion: from this ciſtern a prodigious ſteam ariſes, and by the ſide of it you feel a kind of trembling under ground. Near this is a building in which the raw iron from the proceſs is founded; for this uſe there are three furnaces, one hammer and a furnace for ſmall anchors.

In another building are eight furnaces, ſix of which for founding the raw iron, and two for large anchors. The chimneys of the furnaces for the anchors are ſuſpended in the air. In this forge are three hammers. During the war between England and France the demand there was could not be anſwered, notwithſtanding all the eight furnaces were kept wholly employed upon anchors. The largeſt hammers weigh two ſchippunds and a half; the extremity alone is of tempered ſteel. For hammering the anchors a hammer is likewiſe ſometimes uſed larger than a ſledge hand hammer, called *Hercules*; it is entirely of iron, and has the ſhape of a club. Of theſe there are different ſizes; the largeſt weigh nearly a ſchippund. They are raiſed, by means of pullies, by two men, and are directed by another. There is here a machine in ſhape of a crane, at the end of which hangs an iron chain; it goes on a pivot, and is ſo true that two men are all that are required for moving the largeſt anchor and placing it on the anvil, in the poſition deſired for its receiving the blow. We have omitted to mention a furnace in the open air, in which the *ſcoriæ* from the three ſmall furnaces are molten anew; in which ſcoriæ a large quantity of iron is found yet to remain. It is but lately that this furnace has been employed.

The anchors are tranſported by land to Elfscarleby, on account of the cataract; the largeſt, which weigh thirty ſchippunds, require eight horſes, and can be moved only upon ſledges; thoſe of twenty ſchippunds being the heavieſt which can be tranſported other-

otherwiſe. Some years the larger anchors have been ſent to Stockholm all the way by land, in order to forward them the quicker. They coſt from 16 to 19 and 20 rix-dollars the Schippund, according to their ſize. The iron at from 7½ to 8 rix-dollars. The mark on the anchors is a crown, beneath an S, and in ſmaller characters a C and a G. The annual conſumption of the manufactory is twenty thouſand laſts of charcoal, twelve tons to the laſt; the price of each of which is 21 ſchillings. Each furnace requires twenty men when large anchors are forged, who are relieved every twelve hours; the other furnaces ſeldom employ more than three men. To forge large anchors requires at leaſt thirteen or fourteen days. At Sudersfors as much ſteel is made as is neceſſary for the workmen's tools: the obſtacle to their manufacturing more is the want of ſea-coal, which is very rare in Sweden. (The Count de Ruuth has met with it on one of his eſtates in Scania, but it is of an indifferent quality.) A headman earns 50 rix-dollars per annum; beſides theſe wages he is furniſhed with a houſe to live in, has his grain afforded him at half price, and provender for four cows; the other workmen 4 ſchillings per diem, an habitation, and provender for one or two cows. The eſtate not ſupplying of itſelf a ſufficient quantity of grain, although two miles in extent, the proprietor is under the neceſſity of purchaſing annually two thouſand tons. Upon the eſtate there is beſides a mill for ſawing planks, and a ſmall dock for building of ſloops and boats; eight large ones we ſaw, carrying each one maſt. To theſe muſt be added every trade requiſite to a colony ſeparated from ſociety, ſuch as carpenters, wheelwrights, glaziers, &c. The ſalary of the maſter of the furnace is 100 rix-dollars; he is paid more than any other workmen, his work being the moſt difficult of any. At Sudersfors there are about 600 perſons, from 120 to 130 of whom are employed at the forge. The total expence of the eſtabliſhment is 25,000 rix-dollars. As to the *ſcoriæ*, of which the bricks are made, they are run when in a ſtate of fuſion into moulds of the form required; theſe bricks are very durable. At Suderſfors we were ſhewn a building caſed forty years before with theſe bricks, which had received no injury from time. At Fahlun experiments of a ſimilar deſcription have been made without ſucceſs, the ſcoriæ at that place being too brittle and too highly impregnated with ſulphur. Many houſes at Sudersfors are covered with the bark of the birch tree, over which theſe ſcoriæ are laid to keep the bark level. This mode of covering houſes is the moſt œconomical, but makes the roof preſs more heavy on the timbers. The malady to which the workmen are moſt ſubject is the eriſipelas in the legs, owing to their being employed in fiſhing when not occupied at the forge, and their being much expoſed to the wet. For the ſervice of the forge twenty-eight horſes are kept. Near the bridge by which you firſt enter is a lockſmith's ſhop, with one furnace and a ſmall hammer. On the ſame premiſes are a turner's lathe for wood, and a brick or tile kiln, a blackſmith's ſhop, a granary, a flour mill, and a charitable eſtabliſhment for the widows of the men employed at the forge. From the bridge you have a pleaſing view of the new church: this is a pretty building, and capacious enough; it is built of brick with the ſingle exception of the foundation of caſt *ſcoriæ*. Men were employed in levelling the ground about it and erecting a very thick wall for an incloſure, on which it is intended to raiſe iron paliſades. Near the church a cemetery and charnel-houſe is to be conſtructed: the carcaſe of the building was complete in April 1791.

The manſion is a very modeſt wooden building, painted ſtone colour; it is of one ſingle ſtory, with twelve windows in front: already has it ſtood a hundred years. Before it are two ſmall pavillions, built likewiſe of wood, painted red, and of one ſtory alſo. Between the manſion and the building is an extreme ſmall parterre. On the firſt ſtory is a ſmall gallery, or rather corredore, in which are a number of animals ſtuffed, ſuch as the elk, rein-deer, &c. In the middle of the caſtle is a glaſs tower,

whence you have a fine proſpect, but which the bad weather that reigned while we were there prevented our enjoying. Adjoining to the principal building is a tolerably large kitchen garden with ſome ſmall hot houſes, at the extremity of which is a paliſſade, through which you have a delightful view of the river; in this ſpot it is amazingly wide, and more reſembles a lake ſtudded with iſlands than a river. On the ſide of the manſion, in a ſmall pavillion, we ſaw a collection of three or four hundred birds ſtuffed, and a pretty apartment of ſhells. The catalogue of theſe two collections is printed, but the proprietor is daily making additions to them. In the ſame apartment is a library of books relative to natural hiſtory; in the billiard-room on the ſide ſome impaled animals, ſuch as the fox, the glutton, a white fox, another white and grey, a wild cat of a large ſize called a lynx, &c.

We cannot ſpeak too highly of the kindneſs of Mr. Grill, at whoſe houſe we lived, and with difficulty were ſuffered to lodge at the inn at which we arrived. He ſhewed us every thing himſelf with the greateſt politeneſs, and explained every thing with the utmoſt civility. Willingly would we have had to ſpeak as favourably of him with regard to his collection of medals at Stockholm: but after giving a formal promiſe to ſhew us them he put us off from one day to another, and finally gave for anſwer that they were packed up and could not be ſhewn. This brings to memory the expreſſion ſo well known—*he ſhewed himſelf a brave man ſuch a day*—and proves that politeneſs may ſometimes be ephemeral.

From Sudersfors to Upſal is ſeven miles and a quarter, by *Yfre*, *Lebu*, and *Hœugſta*. You travel almoſt wholly on the eſtate of Mr. Grill for the firſt ſtage, tracing back the road by which you came for about three quarters of a mile; afterwards you turn to the right, and having gone further three quarters of a mile you find yourſelf again on the high road to Upſal. Half a mile before you reach Yfre you paſs over a bridge acroſs a river, and a quarter of a mile beyond another, the parapets of which are of iron; from this you have the proſpect of a number of charming caſcades. In order to reach the poſt-houſe you leave the high road on the left, and join it again by a croſs road. On this ſtage you notice one of the largeſt plains in Sweden: thence to Upſal we traverſed plains and a well cultivated country; a quarter of a mile before you arrive there you paſs by the ſide of the church of Old Upſal, celebrated in the days of paganiſm, but at preſent abandoned. We ſaw afterwards ſeveral heaps of ſtones, under which, according to tradition, ſome ancient kings lie buried.

CHAP. XIII.—*Upſal.—The Cathedral.—Univerſity.—Cabinets.—Inſtructions for traverſing the Alps of Lapland.*

UPSAL, formerly the capital of Sweden, at preſent of Upland, is a very ſmall city, and contains ſcarcely more than four thouſand inhabitants, excluſive of the ſtudents, the number of which, as is the caſe of all univerſities, occaſionally differs, but which may be generally eſtimated at five hundred at leaſt. From the caſtle, a tolerably large but irregular building, you have a very fine view of the town and country; and thence it is that you are enabled to form the beſt eſtimate of its extent*. A river runs through it which has a communication with lake Mœler, and which is of benefit to the very trifling commerce carried on by the town. Notwithſtanding the inconſiderableneſs of its trade, if the extent of the city be regarded, it is very well inhabited, for independent of thoſe, who from their ſituations are obliged to reſide here, ſuch as the Governor, and

* We did not notice by the ſide of the gates the tun full of water, which is deſcribed by the Dutch traveller (Le Voyageur Hollandais).

the

the Archbiſhop, (Mr. Troil, a well informed man, formerly Biſhop of Linkœuping, and author, among other things, of Letters on Iceland, a work much eſteemed, and which has been tranſlated into French,) a number of Swediſh noblemen have taken up their abode here, ſome to be nearer to their eſtates, and ſome to avoid the expence and tumult of the capital. Among theſe we have to notice in particular the Senator, Baron *Geer*, formerly Secretary of State for foreign affairs: we have to thank him for the obliging manner in which he received us, foreigners entirely unknown to him, but ſtill more for the acquaintance of a well informed, affable, polite man, in whoſe ſociety the curious traveller could but acquire great advantage. Upſal on many accounts is deſerving of being ſeen; in order to notice all, a ſtay of at leaſt three days will be requiſite: this city is intereſting were it only for its giving birth to Linnæus and Bergmann. A houſe is building in memory of Linnæus at the royal gardens, which ſerve for a public promenade.

The cathedral is the largeſt and handſomeſt church in Sweden; of it this aſſertion might make a perſon who had not ſeen the others form rather a high opinion; but having viewed them it will be readily conjectured that better might be erected, which yet ſhould be far from perfect. This church is however truly remarkable on account of the tombs it contains, which, although no maſter pieces, are intereſting, as they regard the hiſtory of the country. The church is two hundred and thirty feet long from the extremity to the altar; beyond which is a chapel of ſome depth: its width is one hundred and eight feet; it has three naves, and chapels all round it: in that behind the great altar is the tomb of Guſtavus Vaſa and his wives; his children and grandchildren are interred in the one adjoining. In this John III. was buried. The monument over his tomb, erected by Sigiſmund, was made in Italy; but the veſſels carrying it to Sweden being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Dantzick it was tranſported thither, where it remained near two hundred years; it has been brought hither only within theſe few years: it is no honour to the arts, and was in a bad ſtate. In another chapel are the ſepulchres of the families of *Oxenſtiern* and *Stenbock*. In another two beautiful Sarcophagi in marble to the memory of Charles de *Geer*, Marſhal of the court, and his lady; his buſt alſo in white marble, on the fragment of an antique fluted column, erected by his wife. The tomb of Sture and his two ſons, killed by order of Eric XIV. The ſepulchre of the firſt wife of Sigiſmund. On the right of the great altar are the relics of St. Eric, and nothing elſe remarkable. Linnæus is inhumed beneath a ſtone near the door without any inſcription or even his name (whatever the Dutch traveller may advance to the contrary). In a ſort of cave adjoining the church is a wooden idol of the God Thor, which does not appear ſo ancient as ſaid to be, with the chalice, croſier, &c. preſented by Pope Alix III. to the firſt biſhop of Upſal.

The univerſity of this city was founded by Sten Sture the elder, in 1476, who obtained permiſſion for the purpoſe from Sixtus IV., and took the inſtitution at Bologna for his model. The adminiſtrators and ſenators confirmed the bull of Sixtus IV. (of the 28th of February 1476,) on the 20th July 1477, and granted to this academy all the privileges enjoyed by the univerſity of Paris. In 1624 Guſtavus Adolphus aſſigned them eſtates under the direction of the conſiſtory of profeſſors. The revenue was then 25,000 crowns, of 3 dollars; but this ſum is now nearly tripled: it is however dependant on the ſeaſons. The univerſity appoints two profeſſors, called *Ærarii*, to manage its property, who retain their places for two years, when one of them goes out. There are four faculties, viz four profeſſors of theology, (there were five,) who at the ſame time compoſe the eccleſiaſtical conſiſtory, two of juriſprudence, thirteen of philoſophy, and four of medicine. The new profeſſors are: one of theology, one of private œco-

nomy, and one of eloquence and politics; the others eſtabliſhed in 1751 are, one of chemiſtry, and one of phyſic; in 1761, one of public right, (now aboliſhed,) and one of anatomy, during the revolution of 1772. The courſes in medicine laſt three, four, or five years before the ſtudent can take a doctor's degree. The novice muſt undergo two examinations; this is a ſtudy leſs followed than any. The courſes in juriſprudence, when followed only to qualify for the bar, continue for two or three years; thoſe of theology, three or four years. The King alone grants a doctor's degree. In philoſophy two themes muſt be maintained; this is the courſe of all others the moſt followed; the director is changed every ſix months, at St. John's day and at Chriſtmas. The profeſſors nominate three candidates for the office, one of which was wont to be elected by His Majeſty, at preſent he chooſes who he will; the directors have no increaſe of allowance, their only emolument being derived from the compliment paid by each ſtudent on his admiſſion to the univerſity during his rectorſhip; this preſent is two or three rix-dollars, and two or three ducats if the ſtudent be of a diſtinguiſhed family. The ſtipend of the profeſſors is 1400 ſilver dollars and a hundred tons of corn, which may be eſtimated at 1600 ſ.cd: ſome of them have apartments, but moſt not. No one can become a civil magiſtrate without undergoing a public examination at one of the three univerſities of Upſal, Obo, or Lund. There is a fourth at Gridſwald in Pomerania, which is under the juriſdiction of the empire. The perſonal juriſdiction of the univerſity extends not only throughout the city, but for ſix leagues around, (in matters which regard the ſtudents). The holidays are from the 14th December to the 28th January, and from the feſtival of St. John to that of St. Michael. The profeſſors give gratuitous leſſons four times a week; for private leſſons the ſcholar pays two or three rix-dollars monthly, according to his capacity, which is paid every other term. There are ſome prizes of private foundation called *Stipendia*, of which more than a hundred ſtudents at Upſal reap advantage; theſe are from 45 to 400 plottes each, and are uſually adjudged by the conſiſtory; but an appeal lays to the chancellor in caſe of diſſatisfaction, who finally awards. The *Stipendia* diſtributed by the King amount to 3000 plottes. In 1730 there were two thouſand ſtudents, in 1791 but ſix or ſeven hundred.

In the bull by which the univerſity was inſtituted, the archbiſhop is deſignated chancellor; but the academical conſtitutions of 1625 aſſume, that thenceforward it ſhall be a ſenator of the kingdom, the archbiſhop being only vice-chancellor. It is the body of profeſſors, or the academical conſiſtory, which elects the chancellor, and their nomination is confirmed by the King: for a number of years the preſumptive heir of the crown has had the title.

The library of the univerſity is highly celebrated throughout Europe, but in our opinion without deſert, notwithſtanding it contains many articles well worthy the inſpection of a traveller. In the firſt place we ſaw a number of things which appear out of place certainly in a library, ſuch as an antique caſe made of different ſorts of ſtone, with a ſmall ſpinnett, and little paintings on agate repreſenting the paſſion of our Saviour, &c.; ſome very minute works in wood and ivory, the whole preſented to Guſtavus Adolphus by the city of Nuremberg, for his daughter; two ſmall books of flowers, fiſh, and animals, painted on vellum by Queen Chriſtina; a number of toilet trinkets which belonged to her; the portrait of General Konigſmarck, in the ſervice of the republic of Venice, formed by lines of writing in latin, which give an account of his life, on vellum; a large agate of ſixteen inches by thirteen, on one ſide of which the laſt judgment is depicted, and on the other the paſſage of the red ſea, by Kœnig, with other matters of little moment.

In

In the first of the three rooms of which the library is composed, is a marble bust of Charles XI. placed there in 1701 by *Ben. Oxenstiern*; in the third that of Gustavus Adolphus, erected in 1731 by Frederic I.

The first room contains *belles lettres*, history, and natural history. The second was added by the late King in 1767, when Prince-royal, as appears from the inscription over the door. The third comprises jurisprudence, theology, and physic.

The most valuable article in this library is the gothic manuscript known under the name of *Codex argenteus*. It contains the four evangelists in letters of gold and silver, each line interlined; it is in 4to., is incomplete at both beginning and end, and consists of one hundred and eighty-seven leaves; in the margin is a translation of some passages in latin: we do not believe it has been printed, as some travellers affirm. Besides this, *Commentaria historica Regis Erici XIV. cum directionibus et profectionibus planetarum domorum, et partium pro anno* 1566, an original in his own hand writing; the same for the year 1567, a copy. *Edda et Scalda*, a very valuable Icelandic manuscript on vellum, with figures coarsely drawn, incomplete and much damaged. The *Edda* was composed by the layman *Sturleson*, in the thirteenth century; he was murdered in an insurrection. Mr. Mallet in his introduction to the history of Denmark, speaking of this work says, "J. P. *Resenius* published the first edition of the Edda in 4to. at Copenhagen, in 1665; by the side of the text is a version in latin by Stephanus Olaï, a learned ecclesiastic of Iceland, and a Danish translation by Stephanius, with variations taken from a manuscript of *Magnus Olaï*, an Icelander. The most ancient manuscript of the Edda is thought to be that which belongs to the King of Denmark: it is considered to have been written at the close of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. A valuable manuscript of the Edda is also to be seen at Upsal. Mr. Gœurandson has published it with a Swedish and latin version: the text of this edition differs very immaterially from that of Resenius." We have a difficulty in comprehending how a complete translation of that work could possibly be made from a manuscript in such an imperfect state. *The laws of Iceland*, a very ancient manuscript on vellum. *Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus*; the first work published in Sweden at Stockholm, 1483. *Manuale ecclesiæ Linkopensis*, an extremely rare work. *Sœuderkœuping*, 1525, the only one known. *A latin commentary on the seven psalms*, 1515, the first work published at Upsal. The same volume of Rudbeck as is found in the King's library at Stockholm. Thomas Aquinas *Secunda secundæ*, in folio, Mentz, 1467, in good preservation. Two editions of the *Catholicon* of the fifteenth century, without a date. A *German bible* which belonged to Luther, Wittemberg, 1541. The first folio bible is in latin: Nuremberg, 1475. A *German bible* in folio, 1494, Lubeck; this is the oldest German bible printed. A *Bohemian bible*, 1489, small folio, with figures in wood. *Pliny, in latin*, Rome, 1473, in folio, on paper. *Suetonius*, 1470, Rome, in folio, on paper. The most ancient Swedish bible, Upsal, 1541. The *New testament* in Swedish, with the arms of Gustavus Vasa, Stockholm, 1526. The laws of Sweden, on vellum, 1617, at Stockholm, very elegant. The library consists of nearly fifty thousand volumes. The manuscripts are on the first story. The university bought a collection of five hundred volumes of manuscripts of the widow of Mr. *Palmskolds*, most of them are in 4to. some rare articles among them have been printed. Professor Giorgi arranged and made a catalogue of them, which consists of two large volumes. Notwithstanding the number of manuscripts is very considerable, many receptacles are empty. There is nothing among them singularly valuable except the *Diarium Wadstenense*, an original manuscript on vellum, small quarto, written by different hands from 1344 to 1544. This work was published by Benzelius, at Upsal, in 1721: Mr. Nordin is about to publish a new edition. The fund set apart

for

for the library is 1000 plottes per annum, a ſum which appeared to us inconſiderable indeed.

The mineralogical cabinet, under the management of Mr. *Aſzelius*, profeſſor of chemiſtry, is claſſed agreeably to the ſyſtem of *Cronſtedt*; the Councillor of mines, *Swab*, firſt began the collection. The univerſity has poſſeſſed it ever ſince 1750, and it has been conſiderably augmented by the celebrated Bergmann: it is now very complete, particularly as to what regards the minerals peculiar to Sweden. Theſe entirely fill one cabinet, to the number of three thouſand ſpecimens; the general collection is contained in about forty large caſes. We ſaw here alſo ſome ſtones engraved, none of which were remarkable; a number of cryſtallizations and petrifactions peculiar to Sweden, of but little intereſt; ſome ſhells alſo, but in no great number. The moſt valuable article in this cabinet is ſome *maſſive*, native and artificial gold, found at *Nertchinſkoi* in Siberia, analyzed by Mr. Bergmann. A number of mineralogiſts doubt, but unjuſtly, the exiſtence of this ſpecimen. In a ſmall cabinet are ſeen the models of the pumps, furnaces, and other utenſils employed in mines. There is but a very poor chemical laboratory. Mr. Aſzelius, in April, 1791, had but thirty ſcholars, a matter which appeared to me very ſingular in a country, the mines of which form its principal wealth, and in which chemiſtry ſhould conſequently be cultivated above all other ſciences.

The cabinet of Mr. *Thunberg* is exceedingly curious from the beauty of the ſpecimens collected, and their number; for it embraces objects of more than one deſcription, although wholly analogous to natural hiſtory: Mr. Thunberg has travelled a great deal, and has himſelf ſelected a great number of intereſting articles: he has been at Japan, and even in the capital, owing to a concurrence of circumſtances which few Europeans have had the good fortune to meet with: of animals and birds theſe are the moſt remarkable: the *Horſe* of the Cape of Good Hope; a head of the *Ant-eater*, from the ſame place; a *Buffalo*, idem; the *American Ant-eater*; a white *Fox*; a *Stag*, from the iſland of Java, a very rare ſpecimen; an animal reſembling the *Ermine*, with a much longer body; three ſpecies of *Sloths*, from America, *Ceylon* without a tail, and from *Java*, the latter very rare; a China Pheaſant; a male and female *Eyderdown Duck*; three ſpecies of the Alca arctica, very rare; a collection nearly complete, of the birds peculiar to Sweden, and a number of other animals and birds; a very beautiful collection of butterflies: the *Atlas* of Ceylon, a female, meaſuring nine inches from the extremity of one wing to the other; the male is not ſo large as the female: the *Luna* of Surinam, rare; the *Priam*, from the iſlands of Banda and Amboyna, coſts 25 ducats in Holland; the *Laternaria*, a ſpecies of *Fulgora*, from Surinam, extremely rare; *Pneumoræ*, *maculatæ*, *immaculatæ*, and *ſexguttatæ*, rare, particularly the laſt named, from the Cape of Good Hope; a ſuperb collection of inſects, crabs, and crayfiſh, ſpiders, ſcarabæi, bees, &c.; a new ſcurabæus of the Gideon ſpecies, with three horns, unique; corals and marine plants; a herbary of plants of all countries, conſiſting of nearly twenty thouſand ſpecimens; a large piece of trapp of three colours; the baſe reddiſh, green and white, twenty inches long by ſixteen wide, engraven *en cameo*, in China, after the antique, and repreſenting leaves and fruit; an exceeding rare and valuable article: ſome ſhells: a ſpindle, (*Fuſſeau*,) ſingular on account of its ſize, being nearly ſeven inches; a ſhell from Jamaica of the *Tellina* genus; and another from Japan yet undeſcribed; an *Iſogonum*, extremely rare, of five inches and a half; a *Placenta*, five inches in diameter; a *Hammer fiſh*, ſeven inches and a half at the end, the handle ſix inches long; a Patella, from Japan, nondeſcript. A *Poliſh cap*, nearly two inches. In the adjoining garden are five or ſix thouſand exotic plants, as well of Sweden as from foreign countries, in green-houſes and in the open air. Mr. Thunberg had a hundred ſcholars. His cabinet

he has made a preſent of to the univerſity: his voyage to Japan was publiſhed in 1791, and tranſlated into German.

There is a catalogue of the different cabinets of the univerſity of Upſal, publiſhed in the form of diſſertations, with the title, *Muſæum naturalium Academiæ Upſalienſis:* many parts have already appeared, containing an account of what has been preſented to the univerſity by Mr. Thunberg and others. The collection of plants extends to twenty thouſand ſpecies, the moſt rare of which are thoſe of the Cape of Good Hope and Japan. The *Floræ Japonica* is already printed, and Mr. Thunberg is at preſent employed on the Flora Capenſis.

The coins of Japan are in the cabinet of His Majeſty at Drottningholm. Mr. Thunberg gave a deſcription of them before the academy of ſciences at Stockholm. Among the Indian coins there are numerous rare ſpecies, ſuch as the *pagoda* of Malabar with the figure of an elephant in gold, and the twelve rupees in gold with the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, ſtruck by *Nourmahal*, the wife of the grand Mogul, Selim I. It is extremely rare to meet with this collection complete, on which account it is very dear, coſting more than 4000 livres.

The cabinet of Mr. *Ziervogel* is very curious, and above all remarkable in the department of ſhells, of which there are nine hundred different ſpecies, and in all nine thouſand ſpecimens; a great number are ſawed in twain in order to ſhew the interior: this appeared to us a new and well conceived plan; ſome are ſawn in a tranſverſe direction. The following are the moſt remarkable in the cabinet: the *Ciprea ocellata*, with black ſpots; a tolerably handſome collection of *Harps*, although the *Imperial* is wanting; the *Hippo caſtanum murex*; *Turris Babilonicus murex*, of three inches and a half in height; *Murex perverſus*, three inches and a half; *Trochus Pharaonis ſolaris; Turbo chryſoſtomus*, of a golden colour within; a *Scalaris*, of nearly two inches; *Helix caracolla;* Helix amarula; a grouped *Mitella; Lepas; Spondilus gæderopus*, of two inches with very long thorns; *Arca tortuoſa*, of three inches and a half; a white *Hammerfiſh*, of five inches and a half, the arms more than ſix inches long, a ſide of it is wanting which is a great pity; a *Hammer*, ſix inches by ſix; a *Placenta*, of three inches and a half; *Cryſta galli, mytilus;* a number of *Argonauts;* numerous handſome *Nautili*, two of which *Pompilii* ſix inches and a half in length, ſome are painted. A fine vaſe of rock chryſtal, ſix inches in diameter, with a hunt extremely well engraven on the inſide, a little chipped. A trifling collection of fiſh and marine plants. Very beautiful inſects of nearly three thouſand different ſorts, but ſeventy are wanting to make the collection of thoſe of Sweden entirely complete. A quantity of amber of all deſcriptions. A complete collection of ſtones and minerals. Mr. *Ziervogel*, in imitation of Mr. Thunberg, preſented afterwards his cabinet to the univerſity. The naturaliſt muſt be highly grateful to them for adopting this method of preſerving to the public without diſparagement, ſuch truly valuable collections.

A full mile from Upſal, by turning a little from the great road, you arrive at *Moraſtein*: this is a ſmall houſe on the left ſide of the road, built over the ſpot where formerly the Kings were crowned; over the door is inſcribed—*mora ſtenar*, anno 1770. The interior of the room is twelve feet ſquare; a number of ſtones are ranged on the ground by the ſide of the walls of different ſizes, ſome with characters engraven on them, but which are almoſt wholly effaced. What follows is written on the ſides of the chamber at a certain height, and appears to relate to the Sovereigns who have been crowned here.

"Konunga Wal och hyllningar oro fordom har ſkedda Konung ſtenkil 1060. K. inge. K. Magnus Ladulos D. J. 1276. K. Mag. ſmek. D. II. 1319. K. Eric, D. XIII. 1396. K. Chriſ-

K. Chriſtopher, 1441. K. Carl, D. VIII. 1448. K. Chriſtiand I. 1457. Riks. f. Sten Sture, D. yngre. 1512, flera berettelſerlos Tœurners diſs 1700. Rudbecæs Atl. Schefferus de Upſalia. Wexionius. Eubergs om Upſala. Salvii om Upland. Tuneld ofver ſucrig. Med flora."

Mr. Ludéké, the paſtor of the German church at Stockholm, took a drawing of the ſtones in 1789, which has been engraved; his ſon, at preſent at Gœttingen, (in 1793,) is employed on an account of them.

From Upſal to Stockholm by *Moraſtein*, is ſeven miles and three quarters.

Inſtructions for thoſe deſirous of traverſing Lapland and the Alps, in order ſo to paſs over to Norway.

On arrival at *Luleo*, which is one of the towns of Weſtrobothnia, fifteen miles from Torneo, provided the traveller be deſirous of continuing his route towards the provinces of Lapland, which bear the name of their capital, or chief place, he muſt proceed to old Luléo, ſituated a mile from the new. At a quarter of a mile diſtant, he will come to the river of Luleo, where he may go three miles by water; after which he will be obliged to walk for a mile or more through an arid ſandy foreſt on account of the great rapidity of the river, and the rocks and ſtones in its bed which hinder the paſſage of boats; he muſt afterwards return to the banks of the river and take boat again, proceeding thus for four miles to a cataract of no great conſequence, where ſome thouſand barrels of ſalmon are annually caught. From this ſpot he muſt again go on foot for two miles, and then take to the water anew for three miles, in boats which he will find at every ſtation pointed out. At eleven or twelve miles from Luleo, Lapland begins; from its borders to *Jockmock* church is ſix miles further. The foreſts and marſhes may be paſſed over in four or five days, which will bring the traveller to the houſe of the rector, (Mr. Fielſtrœume,) a polite and intelligent man, honoured with the title of King's almoner.

This church, built about a century ago, is ſituated in a hilly country, in the midſt of a large foreſt of pines and fir.

Gelliwari mine, the moſt conſiderable in all Lapland, is ſix or ſeven miles weſt of *Iockmock*.

If deſirous of continuing his journey towards the Alps, the traveller muſt obſerve the following directions: 1ſt. he muſt walk for a mile from the rector's houſe; 2d. croſs a lake of the ſame breadth, and afterwards go on foot two miles, which will bring him to another lake called *Purkiparer*. He will find tolerable accommodation at night in the houſes of the inhabitants, emigrants from Weſtrobothnia, whom the government has encouraged to ſettle in Lapland. From lake Purkiparer he muſt march two miles and a half, when he will have to croſs another called *Purkipaur*. In its neighbourhood is a mountain called *Atiekoiwe*, (grandfather's head,) at the foot of which is a cavern conſecrated by the ancient Laplanders to ſome of their divinities at preſent unknown. In it alſo are found numbers of rein deer's horns, remnants of ſacrifices on the part of the Laplanders. The opening is ſo near the lake, that you may enter it without getting out of the boat; its dimenſions are ten or twelve feet in breadth by ſix or eight in depth.

After paſſing the lake, he muſt proceed on foot two miles, and will have to croſs another large lake four miles broad, having paſſed which he will arrive at a habitation called *Tiomotis*. At a quarter of a mile from this place he will ſee a copper mine now abandoned called *Kuriwan*, (copper mountain.) From *Tiomotis* he muſt march two miles

miles through the foreſt in order to reach *lake* Tiomotis, which is five miles in length; this muſt be traverſed in the direction of the Alps, which are diſtinguiſhable at the diſtance of eight or ten miles by their ſummits covered with ſnow; he will next ſee a rock of extraordinary height, and which on account of its reſemblance is denominated the *pulpit*. A little farther he will notice the beautiful caſcade *Caſcawari*, (deſcribed fifty years ago in the *Acta Upſal*,) precipitated with great noiſe juſt at the brink of the lake. At length he will reach *Quickjock*, another church of this province; it is ſituated at the foot of the Alps, in ſuch a pleaſant ſpot during the ſummer, that the learned author of the celebrated *Atlantica* was thence induced to place the terreſtial paradiſe within the frozen zone, (the rector's name is Ohrſtrœum.) If deſirous of croſſing the Alps, the traveller now muſt aſcend the firſt mountain, the moſt lofty of the whole, it is called Walliwari: the aſcent is nearly a mile. From the ſummit of this mountain he will have moſt extenſive and picturesque views of the whole province. From *Walliwari* you look down as on an immenſe map, and diſtinguiſh beneath you the tops of the Alps, at times enveloped in clouds.

It requires at leaſt ten or twelve days to croſs the Alps and arrive in Norway, on which journey he muſt abſolutely travel on foot for eighteen miles, and provide himſelf with a tent and proviſions. Scattered about here and there he will meet with ſome of the Laplanders with their flocks in the moſt fertile valleys; but occaſionally from their erratic life, he may meet with none. After croſſing the Alps, their mountains of ſnow, their maſſes of ice, their deep rivers, &c. he enters Norway at the 68° of latitude, and finally arrives at the North ſea.

CHAP. XIV.—*A Summary of the Hiſtory of Sweden from Guſtavus Vaſa, to the Aſcenſion to the Throne of Guſtavus III.*

AS it forms no part of our plan to ſpeak of the kingdoms of the North previous to their obtaining conſideration in the political balance of Europe, we ſhall begin with the reign of the great Guſtavus Vaſa, under whom Sweden firſt ſaw herſelf finally releaſed from a foreign yoke, and left to her own powers.

GUSTAVUS VASA.

Guſtavus, the liberator of his country whoſe gratitude adjudged him the crown, was born of an illuſtrious family in 1490. His father Eric *Vaſa*, was murdered in the horrible maſſacre at Stockholm on the 8th November, 1520. His great ſoul was wholly intent afterwards on avenging his father, and freeing the country from the tyrant beneath whoſe ſcourge it withered. After wandering about a length of time in Dalecarlia, and eſcaping a thouſand dangers, he had the good fortune to muſter ſufficient force to make himſelf maſter of ſeveral towns, and finally to drive the Danes from Sweden in 1523, yet not without a number of battles in the two years it took him to effect his object. Previouſly nominated adminiſtrator of the ſtate, this year he was made King at the diet of Strengnœs, and honoured with a title which he had ſo juſtly deſerved, he entered his capital in triumph. Notwithſtanding his power was unlimited, he governed Sweden rather as a father than a maſter. The Dalecarlians indeed revolted ſeveral times in his reign, to ſubdue whom he was obliged to uſe rigorous meaſures, which he exerciſed likewiſe towards two ſenators guilty of rebellion. At the council of Œurebro in 1529, the Roman catholic religion was entirely aboliſhed, and the creed of Augſbourg

received as the rule of faith throughout the kingdom, which put an end to thoſe diſputes concerning religion which had laſted ſo great a length of time.

To the former poſſeſſions of the crown, Guſtavus added the immenſe property of the clergy; and in 1531, with a view of giving greater weight to the new religion, he replaced the canons of Upſal by Lutherans; and cauſed *Lawrence Petri*, a Proteſtant, to be inſtalled Archbiſhop of that city for the celebration of the marriage of the King, and coronation of the new Queen: Guſtavus even gave one of his relations in marriage to the Archbiſhop. In 1541, he made a treaty with Francis the Firſt, King of France, to whom he ſent an embaſſy the next year, the two Sovereigns by this treaty contracted an alliance offenſive and defenſive. In 1544, Guſtavus requeſted the States, aſſembled at Weſteros, to make the crown hereditary in his male line, which was unanimouſly conſented to, as a reward juſtly earned by his important ſervices. It was decided at the ſame time, that in caſe of the royal line becoming extinct, the ſenate, in conjunction with the States, ſhould elect a new King.

This prince died in 1560, after a glorious reign of nearly forty years. He poſſeſſed the requiſites of a great man, was brave, enterprizing, active, a great politician, and inacceſſible either to love or flattery; never did he unſheath the ſword except from neceſſity, yet never did he yield aught it was his duty to defend. He releaſed Sweden from the ſhackles of Denmark, and notwithſtanding the turbulent reſtleſs ſpirit of his people, was cheriſhed by them as their common father. In ſhort, he was a prince whom poſterity may take for a model. Why were not his children like him?

Eric XIV.

Eric, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Guſtavus, ſenſible and well informed, was yet highly culpable, irreſolute in his plans, and imprudent in his conduct. The cloſe of his reign was marked by acts of fury and madneſs, of which the *Stures* were the unfortunate victims. He placed great reliance in judicial aſtrology. He charged his brother John with rebellion for having married Catherine the daughter of Sigiſmund I. King of Poland, and an ally of the Muſcovites, with whom he was at war; and notwithſtanding he had conſented in the firſt inſtance to the marriage, he beſieged John in the caſtle of Abo, and having taken him priſoner, confined him in the caſtle of Gripſholm, whence he was releaſed in 1567. The Prince however never forgave his brother this impriſonment, but joining with his brother Charles in 1568, afterwards Charles IX., they beſieged the King in Stockholm, and obliged him to abdicate the throne. This unfortunate prince was impriſoned in many different caſtles, and after nine years' confinement was finally poiſoned.

This death, while it excites our pity for the victim, inſpires one with horror at his brother John, who ſucceeded him.

Eric XIV. in 1568, created Counts and Barons. Of the three dignitaries made on this occaſion, Peter Brahé was the firſt. The families of the other two are extinct.

John III.

John the Third was declared King by the States aſſembled at Stockholm; he reigned alone, notwithſtanding his engagement of ſharing the throne with his brother Charles, and which engagement was the inducement for Charles aſſiſting him againſt Eric. The ſucceeding year Eric was condemned by the States to perpetual impriſonment; but in 1578, ſome partiſans yet remaining faithful, he attempted to eſcape from priſon. John, apprehenſive of danger to his crown from ſuch a rival, determined on poiſoning him,

to

to a propoſal of which nature the States had the baſeneſs to give their approbation *. John contented himſelf with ceding to his brother Charles three provinces, as preſcribed by his father's will, but exacted from the inhabitants an acknowledgement of him as the only ſovereign of Sweden.

This prince was almoſt continually at war with the Danes and Muſcovites, with various ſucceſs. The following incident is highly worthy of relation. In 1573, ſix hundred horſe and a hundred foot belonging to the Swedes under the command of General *Ackeſon*, being abandoned by the Livonians their allies near Revel, defended themſelves ſo vigorouſly againſt ſixteen thouſand Muſcovites by whom they were ſurrounded, that they killed ſeven thouſand of them and put the others to flight, making booty of their baggage. John, up to 1583, the period of the death of Catherine Jagellon, daughter of Sigiſmund I., aſſiduouſly attempted at different times to re-eſtabliſh the Roman Catholic religion, but never with ſucceſs; he even reſorted to violent meaſures, ſuch as rarely indeed avail in matters of faith. His ſon Sigiſmund, Prince Royal of Sweden, obtained by the credit of Anne, Queen dowager of Poland, the ſiſter of his mother, the crown of that kingdom in 1587. Religious diſputes ſtill continued; Duke Charles being ſteadily attached to the creed of Augſbourg, the eſtabliſhed faith of the nation, a great coolneſs between the two brothers aroſe in conſequence; but in 1589 they were reconciled, and the ſucceeding year Duke Charles was nominated Governor of all Sweden.

John died in 1592: he was an ordinary character, deſtitute of great vices as well as of any ſplendid virtues. The death of his brother Eric will be an immortal ſtain on his memory; the welfare of the ſtate muſt in vain be pleaded in excuſe for fratricide, the more ſo from the uſage in ſimilar caſes of confounding the welfare of the individual with that of the ſtate. His ſecret cabals to promote the Roman faith, did injury to the worſhip he ſought to eſtabliſh, and the aſcendancy over him which he ſuffered his firſt wife to aſſume, does no credit either to his firmneſs or his character: the ſway of woman is mild, but unleſs it inſpire to glory and virtue, Kings ſhould reſiſt it in common with all men.

SIGISMUND.

Sigiſmund, King of Poland, by the death of his father inherited the throne of Sweden: he delayed repairing to his new kingdom for ſome time: Duke Charles his uncle, who acted in the interim as adminiſtrator of the kingdom, applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to rooting up all traces of the Catholic religion. Sigiſmund, on his arrival in Sweden, endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh it, but met with ſtrong oppoſition: he remained but a ſhort time in this kingdom, his uncle Charles being named by the Senate adminiſtrator in his abſence. The Duke, deſirous of rendering himſelf popular, diſmiſſed all ſuch from their employments as profeſſed the Roman faith; among the reſt Eric Brahé, Governor of the caſtle of Stockholm. In 1595, notwithſtanding the King's prohibition, the Duke convoked the States. At their ſeſſions it was again decreed that the creed of Augſbourg ſhould be the only religion tolerated in the country; that the Romiſh prieſts ſhould quit the kingdom within ſix weeks, that Catholics ſhould not be allowed to make open profeſſion of their religion, and be deemed incapable of holding any appointment. Moreover the Duke, in conjunction with the Senate, was appointed Governor of Sweden. In 1597, Sigiſmund, jealous of a meaſure which tended to deprive him of all authority, found means to diſturb the harmony ſubſiſting between his uncle and the Senate, parties

* Among the manuſcripts of His Majeſty at Drottningholm, the original approval of the States is to be ſeen.

were formed in conſequence, and that of the Senate prevailed. But the Duke aſſembled the partizans which adhered to his cauſe, and cauſed himſelf to be choſen Governor by them again; he wiſhed to make the Senate agree with this election, but it refuſed. Upon this he took up arms and made himſelf maſter of a number of places. Sigiſmund, unable to prevent hoſtilities by negotiation, determined in 1598 on tranſporting an army to Sweden. The two parties came to blows near Linkœuping, and the King was worſted; notwithſtanding this, Charles came to an accommodation with his nephew, by the terms of which the King reſumed poſſeſſion of his caſtles, ſtrong places, veſſels, &c. and the Duke was declared entirely innocent. The treaty was ſigned by the two Princes; after which the King retired to Poland, in lieu of repairing, as he had promiſed, to Stockholm, where his firſt act was to enter a proteſt againſt the treaty he had entered into.

Such a procedure irritated both the Duke and the States, and engaged them to renounce their oath of fidelity to the King. An aſſembly for this purpoſe was called at Linkœuping in 1600, at which both Sigiſmund and his eldeſt ſon Ladiſlas were excluded from the throne; to the latter a year had been granted for his recanting the Romiſh faith, and coming to aſſume the crown. A long time afterwards, even the ſame propoſal was made him anew, yet ineffectually. The ſame aſſembly of the States veſted Charles with abſolute power, and acknowledged his ſon, then ſix years of age, and his heirs male as his ſucceſſors. Thus Sigiſmund continued to reign in Poland, preferring, notwithſtanding he had children, an elective to an hereditary throne; this is certainly an election for which it is difficult to aſſign a cauſe, particularly as an able Prince might have conciliated both parties and preſerved them friends. He died in 1632, after a long and ſtormy reign: he wanted that diſcrimination and policy required in the delicate and aukward ſituation he found himſelf, and was rather guided by his own than the will of his people, which he was deſtitute of that vigour neceſſary to controul.

CHARLES IX.

Charles IX. enjoyed ſovereign authority; but had not the title of King, than at which price his ambition was not be ſatisfied; pretending a deſire to be releaſed from the burthen of government, he was on the contrary raiſed to the throne by the unanimous ſuffrage of the States, aſſembled at Norkiœuping in 1604. The few years of his reign were employed in wars with the Poles, the Ruſſians, and the Danes. His ſon, Guſtavus Adolphus, when yet but ſixteen years of age, took Chriſtianſtadt in Scania from the Danes. Such a beginning was taken as a preſage of what he afterwards effected. Charles died in 1611, aged 61 years. By the previous details, it will be evident that this Prince was ambitious and politic. He was frequently at war, and diſplayed proofs of his ability in that department. It cannot, however, be diſguiſed, that he uſurped the throne; but hiſtory will pardon his uſurpation, ſince to that was owing the ſucceſſion of Guſtavus Adolphus, one of the brighteſt ornaments of the Swediſh crown.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Guſtavus Adolphus mounted a throne yet inſecurely eſtabliſhed, and attacked by three powerful enemies. Although ſcarcely ſeventeen years of age, the council appointed by his father confided with him the government of the ſtate. This prince put himſelf immediately at the head of his troops to oppoſe the Danes. Different places were reciprocally taken and loſt, without any evident advantage on either ſide. Peace was ſhortly afterwards concluded, and a truce was made with the Poles. In 1614 he found

himſelf obliged to renounce all his hopes of placing his brother Charles on the throne of the Czars. The truce with Poland was ſeveral times renewed; but in 1625, Sigiſmund, who always imagined his pretenſions juſt to a crown which he had not been able to retain, determined poſitively on war. This war laſted till 1630, much to the diſadvantage of Poland, which was aſſiſted by the Emperor to ſupport its continuance; while at the ſame time he himſelf ſeized upon a part of the coaſts of the Baltic. Guſtavus could not without uneaſineſs behold the project of the Houſe of Auſtria to domineer in the North. However, in order to avoid proceeding to extremities on ſlight foundation, he ſent to propoſe a reaſonable accommodation to the imperial plenipotentiaries then at Lubeck; but his ambaſſadors were not even admitted. Guſtavus having demanded attention in vain, conceived it belonged to him for the honor of Sweden and his own, to make preparation for war. This was then reſolved upon, and declared in 1630. This was that famous war, known by the denomination of the thirty years' war, which laſted uninterruptedly to 1648, and in which the Swedes began to crown themſelves with glory under the command of their King; and the luſtre of which was further encreaſed by the different generals he had formed: they became the terror of Germany, and were looked upon as the beſt troops in Europe at a time when all the powers of the continent were involved in war. The campaigns of 1631 and 1632 are maſter-pieces of military tactics. The rapidity of the conqueſts of the Swediſh monarch is aſtoniſhing, as well as the multiplied advantages he obtained over the beſt generals of that day. The cauſe of this was his being not only the beſt general in Europe, (proved by the ſchool he formed,) but at the ſame time the braveſt ſoldier in his army. At length, on the 16th November 1632, this great man encountered death at the battle of *Lutzen* in Saxony, in the 38th year of his age. The Swedes, it is true, were victorious here, but in loſing their King they loſt more than a battle; in caſe of his death, he had nominated *Banner* to ſucceed him in command.

Puffendorff aſſerts he was killed by Duke Albert of Saxe Lauenbourg, which is the truth, but does not aſcribe the real motive of this villainy; it was as follows: ten years or more before the battle of *Lutzen*, the Duke of Saxe Lauenbourg, being at a ball given by the Queen-dowager, at which the King and ſeveral ſenators were preſent, claimed precedence of a ſenator, which was oppoſed by His Majeſty; the Prince, obliged to ſubmit, ſhortly after put his cane between the ſenator's legs and nearly threw him down; this being perceived by the King, in the firſt heat of his reſentment he gave the Duke a box of the ear. The affair was unnoticed at the inſtant, but the Duke never forgave the blow; and at Lutzen, in the middle of the action, he ſhot Guſtavus, who fired at him again as he fell, but miſſed his aim; the Duke thereupon fired a ſecond time, after which the King was trampled under the horſes' feet. The King had a *heiduke*, who accompanied him wherever he went; but this man being wounded in paſſing through a coppice, the Duke availed himſelf of his abſence to fire at the King, after which he returned to ſee if the heiduke was dead; this he feigned to be, and afterwards related the fact to a clergyman, who took his depoſition in a bible; this bible was afterwards found, but no one knows aught of it at preſent. After the death of the King, general Banner took command of the army, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the different Princes ſerving in it. An oath was tendered to the troops, and ſuch officers as objected to it were replaced by others.

Duke Albert of Saxe Lauenbourg, on the very day of the battle, went over to the Emperor, and was killed by the Swedes at the ſiege of Schweinitz in Sileſia.

Guſtavus, by his perſonal qualities and brilliant actions, acquired the title of *the Great*, a title which upon every account he eminently deſerved. The leiſure afforded him by

by peace or truces was employed in framing wiſe laws, in encouraging the arts, commerce, and agriculture; and, in one word, in proving that he was as great in peace as in war. A worthy deſcendant of Guſtavus Vaſa, he had not in an equal degree that ſuppleneſs and ſkilful policy which diſtinguiſhed his grandfather, but of which again he had no need, ſince he had only to maintain himſelf on the throne in which his predeceſſor required to be eſtabliſhed.

Without daring to decide which of theſe two monarchs has the greateſt claim to our admiration, we ſhall juſt remark, that their name is a favourable omen for Sweden: he who at preſent fills their ſeat has already realized the major part of the hopes which that illuſtrious name encourages, as well as the great obligations it impoſes. *Guſtavus IV. will not degenerate from his anceſtors*; this we dare to predict, and after having had acquaintance of the maſter and the ſcholar, the augur has little right to be vain of his prophecy *.

CHRISTINA.

Chriſtina, the only daughter of Guſtavus Adolphus, ſucceeded her father when only ſix years of age, under the guardianſhip of a council of regency. During her reign, the war in Germany was carried on with renewed vigour. The Swediſh generals formed in the ſchool of the great Guſtavus, arrayed themſelves with glory, as well as the armies they commanded. The principal chiefs who headed theſe troops were, the Duke of *Saxe Weimar*, who died in 1639; Guſtavus *Horn*; the famous *Banner*, who died in 1641; *Kniphauſen*, killed in Weſtphalia in 1636; *Alexander Leſlie*; *James de la Gardie*; Koningſmark; Wrangel; the celebrated *Torſtenſon*, named Generaliſſimo at the death of Banner; and Charles Guſtavus, Count Palatine, who ſucceeded Chriſtina. In 1637 Sweden made an alliance with France, which laſted to the peace of Munſter in 1658. This peace was as glorious for Sweden as had been the war. The great Turenne on many occaſions fought with the Swediſh army not unworthy of ſuch an illuſtrious ally. In order to give an idea of this war, we ſhall trace the great battles which took place between the Swedes and the Imperialiſts, without ſaying any thing of the towns carried, or innumerable conflicts more or leſs deciſive, and many of which equivalent to battles. *Leipſic* in 1631; *Lutzen* in 1632; *Nordlingue*, 1634 (the only one loſt); *Perlberg* in 1636 (general Banner); *Rheinfeld*, 1638 (Duke Bernard); *Lutzen*, 1642 (Torſtenſon); *Jancovitz*, 1642 (Torſtenſon). But what renders theſe campaigns admirable as leſſons for military men, is the ſeries of operations, is their various combinations; for a battle is ſcarcely ever any thing more than the affair of a day, whereas to manage a campaign requires more talents than the gaining a number of battles. During the continuance of this war, there were ſeveral engagements between the Danes and the Swedes, which we ſhall not particularize.

In 1650 the Queen, in the aſſembly of the States, nominated Charles Guſtavus, Duke of Deux Ponts, her couſin-german, as her ſucceſſor. The formal project of the Queen was to abdicate the throne, and Charles Guſtavus, while openly he appeared to blame her intention, had the addreſs ſecretly to eſtabliſh her in her reſolution. Notwithſtanding ſhe highly eſteemed this Prince, ſhe conſtantly refuſed to marry him. At length, on the 21ſt May 1654, in ſpite of the reiterated repreſentations of every order in the ſtate, Chriſtina pronounced her intention of reſigning the crown on the 16th June fol-

* We ſhall leave this article juſt as it was compoſed in 1791, before an execrable treaſon deprived Europe of a great man, ſovereigns of a model, and Sweden of a ſupport, the loſs of which ſhe will feel moſt ſenſibly, and ſooner perhaps than is imagined.

lowing;

lowing; a ceremony which took place with the greateſt ſolemnity, the Queen firſt reſerving to herſelf ſome very conſiderable poſſeſſions, and a right of ſovereignty over her ſervants and dependants: ſhe was at that time twenty-ſeven years of age. Whatever motive may be aſcribed to the abdication of Chriſtina, it certainly required great ſtrength of mind and reſolution to meditate for ſo great a length of time, and put in execution, a project of ſimilar nature. It appears a very difficult thing freely to renounce a crown, particularly in one who was born to the throne, and had known no other condition of life. Chriſtina had reigned glorioufly; ſhe had protected the arts, induſtry, and commerce, and eſtabliſhed poſt-houſes, (in 1636:) her ſenſe and acquirements would have made her conſpicuous, even had ſhe not united with them the ſplendor of royalty; her youth held out aſſurance of a long continuance of life; but the love of liberty, of independence, got the better, in her, of every other conſideration: in the throne ſhe ſaw nothing but ſplendid ſlavery, the bonds of which her whole thoughts were employed in breaking aſunder; for the inclination of this Princeſs for the arts can only be regarded as a ſecondary motive for her conduct; this with that of numbers is our opinion.

Chriſtina, notwithſtanding, deſerves to be ranked in the number of great ſovereigns; ſhe was an extraordinary woman, and implacable in her vengeance. (This is proved by the death of the Marquis of Monaldeſchi; an action in the life of Chriſtina which we are very far from approving, particularly from her having choſen to exhibit at a foreign court, a ſpectacle till then unſeen; but ſhe thought ſhe had a right to puniſh one of her ſervants, who aſſuredly was guilty, a right which, as we have before noticed, ſhe had reſerved to herſelf in full plenitude.) She held public opinion far too much in contempt; yet muſt it be allowed ſhe poſſeſſed great qualities. It is affirmed that ſhe repented having abdicated, which is credible; and this opinion receives ſome ſupport from the circumſtance of her having travelled to Stockholm upon the death of Charles Guſtavus; this journey, however, was all for nought, the minds of the people being no longer favourably diſpoſed towards her; for Chriſtina, upon her firſt leaving Sweden, retired to Rome, and on paſſing through Inſpruck had abjured Lutheraniſm, and embraced the Roman catholic religion; ſhe returned again therefore to Rome, and died there in 1689, in the 63d year of her age. We ſhall here remark, that this Princeſs, on leaving Stockholm, took with her her furniture, pictures, books, medals, jewels, plate; in one word, all ſhe could carry, and left her palace in ſuch a perfect ſtate of deſtitution, that her ſucceſſor was obliged to hire carpets and borrow plate for the ceremony of his coronation: the Queen deeming no doubt that in leaving him the crown, ſhe left him quite enough.

CHARLES X.

Charles Guſtavus was the ſon of the Count Palatine, Prince of Deux Ponts, and Catherine, the ſiſter of Guſtavus Adolphus, who were married in 1614. The King at the time declaring, that if he ſhould die without children, he wiſhed that the eldeſt Prince born from this alliance ſhould aſcend the throne; in the perſon of Charles X. the will of Charles was literally complied with. This Prince, throughout the whole of a very ſhort reign, was entirely intent on war; he defeated the Poles and Danes in many engagements. Charles tranſported his army over the two Belts on the ice, and forced the King of Denmark to conclude the peace of Roſchild, by which he acquired a great extent of country. The paſſage of the Great Belt, four Daniſh miles (fifteen to a degree) wide, took place on the 7th February, 1658. This was an enterprize which ought to ſerve as an epoch in the wonders of the world: the council of war being of an entirely

oppoſite advice, the King yet reſolved on the paſſage, adhering to the opinion of Count Dahlberg *, a ſoldier of fortune, then major of artillery, who pledged himſelf for its ſucceſs. A ſquadron of guards and the King's carriage were loſt; the reſt all arrived: orders were iſſued for every one to take care of himſelf, and ſuccour none on pain of death. Shortly after the peace, Charles, ſuſpecting the Danes might attack him when he ſhould be otherwiſe employed, and wiſhing to put it out of their power to injure him, himſelf firſt broke the treaty; ſo that he had on his hands at once Denmark, Poland, the Empire, and Holland, and bravely oppoſed all his enemies. A premature death carried him off at Gottenburg in 1660, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, and ſixth of his reign. This Prince was intrepid, indefatigable, and endowed with great talents for war, which he was continually waging. To him the pacific virtues, which alone complete the happineſs of a nation, were unknown; yet throughout his reign, Sweden continued to be reſpected abroad, on account of her maintaining the reputation ſo long acquired. It is on this account alone that Charles deſerves to be reckoned among the ſovereigns who have graced the throne of Guſtavus Vaſa. His ſon, five years of age, ſucceeded him.

CHARLES XI.

Charles XI. reſembled neither his father nor his ſon; nevertheleſs he was at war for ſeveral years, and gained in perſon two battles from the Danes, under command of their King, Chriſtian V. (that of Lund in 1676, and that of Landſcron in 1677.) Peace being concluded in 1679, Charles cemented it by marriage with the ſiſter of the King of Denmark. He immediately limited the power of the ſenate; and managed, in 1682, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the nobility, to be inveſted with abſolute power, which he preſerved to the day of his death. He took advantage of his authority to recruit the finances of the ſtate and the police of the kingdom; he knew how to make himſelf reſpected as well by his ſubjects as foreign powers: the flouriſhing ſtate in which he left the army, commerce, and finances, is ſolely attributable to the uſe he made of his ability for governing, and his acting without controul and by himſelf. He handed down unlimited power to his ſon, which that Prince frequently abuſed.

Charles XI. died in 1697, forty-two years of age; he had prepared the peace of Ryſwick, which was not concluded until after his death. Charles XI. reigned ſeven-and-thirty years, and reigned a deſpot †.

Although

* General Count Dahlberg, who was preſent at this paſſage, an attempt which ſtands unequalled in the annals of war, ſerved under Charles XI., and accompanied him in all his battles, and particularly at *Lund*, on the 14th December 1676: he was afterwards made governor of Riga, and was with Charles XII. at the famous paſſage of the Dwina, then nearly ninety years of age; he conſequently was preſent at the moſt memorable actions of three ſeveral reigns. He it is who publiſhed *Suecia antiqua*, a collection of plans and views in Sweden. He left no ſon: by the female ſide, Count *Oxenſtiern*, formerly prime miniſter, deſcends from him. Since an opportunity offers to ſpeak of this ſenator, though we may riſk offending his modeſty, we yet cannot ſuffer it to eſcape without obſerving of him what we ſhall be joined in by all who know him. To a name rendered ſo famous by the grand chancellor under Chriſtina, he unites the moſt frank and noble manners, elegance of language, an abundance of ſenſe, mildneſs, amiability, and information *void of pedantry*, which in our eſteem encreaſes its value.

† Many people deteſt the name of *deſpot*, conſidering that word ſynonimous with tyrant; what, however, conſtitutes deſpotiſm, is the power of making laws, of cancelling ſuch as exiſt, of impoſing taxes at will, and of leſſening the freedom of the people. Hence a number of perſons in France, where clear ideas on government are extremely rare indeed, notwithſtanding it is a ſubject which has employed them ineffectually for theſe four years paſt, confound the *power* with the will. Ruſſia undoubtedly is a deſpotic ſtate; ſtill

more

Although the means he made uſe of in aſſuming abſolute power, may be conſidered by ſome as worthy of blame, it will yet be difficult indeed to paſs cenſure on the uſe he made of his authority. He left to his ſucceſſor a flouriſhing kingdom, a rich treaſury, and an army; perhaps it had been more fortunate for humanity, if Charles XII. had found his kingdom in the ſame ſtate he himſelf left it: yet again who can inſure that this ungovernable character would have been reſtrained by want of power? Ought we not rather to conceive, that the condition of his ſubjects would have been much more worthy of regret, if an exhauſtion of men and money had manifeſted itſelf at the beginning of his reign? This Prince, attacked by three powers, neither regarded the ſtate of his army, nor the means of his country; he only looked to the inſult and revenge; the perſonal courage with which he was inſpired appearing to him to counterbalance every other conſideration. Sweden has reaſon to bewail the death of Charles XI., ſince his ſucceſſor in a few years loſt all the fruits of a long and glorious reign: yet can it not be concealed that Charles XII. never was the offender, and poſſibly, had he not been forced to arm for defence, (and having aſſumed arms, he certainly bore them too long,) he might have been ignorant his whole life long of his talents for war, of his fatal propenſity.

CHARLES XII.

Charles XII. ſucceeded his father, and was declared of age at the cloſe of 1697, although at that time no more than fifteen years and a half old. This Prince, ſo famous from his exploits, was attacked in 1700 by the united forces of Denmark, Ruſſia, and Poland, the ſovereigns of which countries thought to take advantage of the youth of the new King, little imagining with whom they were about to deal. Charles obliged Denmark to ſue for peace in ſix weeks' time; and in the ſame year defeated the Ruſſians at the famous battle of Narva, the relations of which differ with reſpect to the force of the contending armies; but generally agree in allowing that the Ruſſians were beaten by an army vaſtly inferior in number. Mr. Leveque hazards an aſſertion in his hiſtory of Ruſſia, on the ſubject of this action, as incredible as it is abſurd; he pretends, that in ſpite of the capitulation of a part of the Ruſſian army, the Swediſh generals detained and ill-treated even thoſe who had ſurrendered, and that in the preſence and in violation of the orders of the King. This aſſertion is evidently falſe: in the firſt place, the Swediſh generals never would have dared to infringe upon the orders of their King, and that in his preſence, of a King ſo arbitrary in his will, and whoſe engagements were ever ſacredly obſerved: moreover, it is not the character of Swediſh ſoldiers to maltreat their foes after capitulation. Mr. Leveque compoſed his book in Ruſſia; there it was that he imbibed that antipathy towards the Swedes which appears throughout his work:

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more ſo even than Turkey; which might eaſily be proved were we to enter into diſcuſſion on the ſubject; yet will no one attempt to compare *Catherine* with Nero or Caligula. Denmark alſo is a deſpotic government, perhaps as much ſo as Ruſſia; yet no one eſteems the Danes a nation to be pitied, although, according to the philoſophers of the preſent day, all ſubjects of deſpotiſm are objects of pity. We will readily grant that ſuch a caſe *may* occur, but deny that it is a poſitive conſequence. The moſt tremendous deſpotiſm is that which is exerciſed by a number, examples illuſtrative of which may eaſily be found in Europe. The more deſpots there are, the heavier the yoke they impoſe: a ſenſible and well-informed man, void of ambition, and friendly to peace, to order, and juſtice, will ever prefer the ſmalleſt number of deſpots; becauſe he will be ſatisfied that, having to obey his taſk will be but the more laborious, from being ſubmitted to the caprices of a mob always ignorant, frequently unjuſt, and ſometimes brutal. Were we to point out a perfect government, we ſhould exemplify the empire of law; but then again to how many chiefs ſhould we confide the truſt of ſeeing to their execution?

how vain ſuch poor attempts to prejudice that brave nation! No, Mr. Leveque, ſay what you will, the Swedes will never be regarded as a rude and barbarous people; the inverſe indeed would have been much more credible. The famous paſſage of the Dwina in 1701, in face of the Saxon army, is one of the moſt brilliant actions of modern warfare. We ſhall not follow Charles in his victories. Every one is acquainted with the vengeance he took on Auguſtus, the King of Poland, by dethroning him. His intention was to treat the Czar Peter in the ſame manner; but at length, after nine years ſucceſs, fortune forſook his banners at Pultawa. This battle, fought on the 27th June, (O. S.) 1709, deſtroyed the effect of his previous victories. The provinces upon which he had ſeized were retaken, his army annihilated, and the Czar thus ſaw himſelf freed from a dangerous enemy, and at liberty to dedicate his attention to the civilization of his people. Charles taking refuge with the Turks, remained five years among them; vainly endeavouring, by every contrivance, to engage them to aſſiſt him with troops. His enemy Peter, finding himſelf in 1711 ſurrounded at the Pruth with his army by the Turks, Charles was in hopes that he ſhould be allowed to profit of his aukward ſituation and attack him; but the Czar had the prudence to capitulate, and thus fruſtrated all his plans. In the mean time the Turks, weary of ſuch a gueſt, yet unable to rid themſelves of him, reſolved upon attacking him by force: then it was that Charles ſuſtained in his houſe an unexampled ſiege, and diſplayed ſo much intrepidity, that, while we can but condemn him for defending himſelf againſt all right and reaſon, we yet cannot withhold our admiration.

At length Charles departed in 1714 for his dominions, that is to ſay, to continue the war. Baron Goertz, a ſpecies of adventurer, but an able politician, having inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the Prince, was truſted with the management of his affairs. He contrived to bring to concluſion a treaty of alliance between his maſter and the Czar, tending to re-eſtabliſh Staniſlaus in the throne of Poland, (for this unfortunate Prince, after the defeat of his protector, had fallen with his fortunes,) and to place the Pretender on the throne of England: theſe vaſt projects were overturned on the 30th November 1718, by the death of Charles at the ſiege of Fredericſhall in Norway: he meditated the conqueſt of that kingdom, and every thing leads one to think that he would have ſucceeded, for never had he commanded a finer army. He is blamed by M. de Voltaire for preferring rocks and deſerts to the fine provinces of Germany, which he left to themſelves; we differ from M. de Voltaire: Norway has other recommendations than rocks; its poſition renders it ſuſceptible of an immenſe trade; and as it leans uninterruptedly on Sweden, it appears to us far more deſirable to that kingdom than provinces in Germany, which, however rich, are more diſtant, ſeparated by the ſea, and difficult to defend.

It has been ſaid that all the qualities of Charles bordered on extravagance, and that he was rather extraordinary than great; this is true: more a ſoldier than a general; this may be true alſo: nevertheleſs, he poſſeſſed a fund of military knowledge, which he proved on various occaſions; but his intrepidity, carried to exceſs, leads one to forget the general, to regard the ſoldier alone. Charles poſſeſſed ſome eſtimable qualities; he was pious, a foe to adulation and luxury, and exempt from foibles; he rewarded merit, particularly valour, which he looked upon as a principal virtue: he may perhaps not unworthily be ſtyled a great man, but he was a King, and he was not a great King: he neglected thoſe duties to which a ſovereign ought to attend; agriculture, commerce, the arts, the welfare of his people, theſe were wholly foreign to him, and every thing but arms: he left his ſtates expoſed to his neighbours, deſtitute of men and money; whence we may conclude, that this Prince may in ſome points be admired, but that it would

would be dangerous for Sweden ſhould he be imitated by his ſucceſſors: had he conſented to the peace propoſed by the Czar in the midſt of his victories, he might have dictated what terms he would, and have ranked on a level with the greateſt ſovereigns; but thirſting for vengeance he fancied fortune harneſſed to his chariot wheels. This confidence was one of his greateſt faults; another his advancing too far into a country in which, ſhould he gain a battle, his condition would not be ameliorated, but in caſe of defeat (which happened to him) he would be deſtitute of all reſources. It appears certain that the principal cauſe of his loſing the battle was the incapacity of *Mezeppa* to fulfill his engagements, to which likewiſe the wound which Charles received might not a little have contributed. Had the King appeared on horſeback at the head of his army there is no ſaying what influence his preſence and example might poſſibly have had on the event. Shortly after his death Baron Gœrtz, accuſed of tyranny and extortion on the people, was beheaded at Stockholm. We look upon him leſs as really guilty, as he did but obey his maſter's order, than as a victim to the misfortunes of the times; a victim poſſibly requiſite in the diſaſtrous poſition of the kingdom. As we proceed we ſhall ſpeak at large of the death of this King.

FREDERIC I.

Charles XII. never having been married, the ſtates and ſenate conceived no occaſion more favourable could offer for annihilating arbitrary power. Upon ſuch conditions the crown was offered to Ulrica Eleanora, the ſiſter of Charles XII. She accepted them, and the conſtitution was placed upon the ancient footing. The Queen was proclaimed *King*, according to cuſtom for Queens ruling themſelves, and was crowned in 1719; but the year following ſhe engaged the ſtates to approve of her yielding the crown to her huſband, the Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, who was crowned in May 1720. Ruſſia reſumed hoſtilities againſt Sweden, the death of Charles annulling all treaties between him and the Czar. At length the peace of Nyſtadt, in 1721, reſtored tranquillity to Sweden at the price of ſeveral provinces on the coaſts of the gulf of Finland. During the twenty years this peace continued Frederic employed himſelf on internal affairs, commerce, induſtry, and finance. In 1731 he eſtabliſhed the Eaſt India Company; in 1734 entered into a treaty of commerce with Turkey. At length, in 1741, Sweden, having cauſe to complain of her conduct, declared war againſt Ruſſia; but the ſtates failed in taking the neceſſary precautions in ſimilar circumſtances. The Swediſh army under *Wrangel* was defeated near Wilmanſtrand by troops ſuperior in number; and this was the only action during the war in which the Swedes conducted themſelves with their uſual valour; after this they kept continually retreating, ſcarcely ever obtaining any but ſlight and unfrequent advantages, a matter to be attributed to the miſunderſtanding among the generals, and the almoſt utter impoſſibility of war being carried on with ſucceſs by divided councils at the helm. Generals *Buddenbræk* and *Levenhaupt*, who commanded in the two laſt campaigns, were arreſted, and, as it frequently happens, they were made the ſcapegoats for the bad ſucceſs of the war, and beheaded in 1743, regarded, by all impartial men, rather as unfortunate than guilty victims.

To complete the misfortunes of Sweden, ſhe had to contend with enemies in her boſom; the Dalecarlians revolting were ſubjected by force alone: at length the kingdom exhauſted by ſuch a diſaſtrous war felt itſelf obliged to ſue for peace with Ruſſia. The peace of Abo, in 1743, guaranteed the poſſeſſion, on the part of Ruſſia, of the provinces before ceded, and fixed the limits of the two ſtates as they are at the preſent time.

The Queen Ulrica Eleanora died at the close of 1471 regretted by all her people, whose affections she had justly earned. The King had no children. In 1742, after long debates, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp was named as successor to the throne of Sweden by the three orders of the state (the clergy protesting in vain against the election); but this Prince, unfortunately for him, had been declared successor to the throne of Russia, and could not accept of the offer of the Swedes. In the following year the Duke of Holstein, Bishop of Lubeck, father of His present Majesty, (Gustavus III. 1791) was made Prince-royal of Sweden, and married the succeeding year to Ulrica of Prussia, sister of the great Frederic. In 1745 the King made a treaty of defensive alliance with Russia, but which lasted no longer than 1747, when he made a new alliance with Prussia, and afterwards with Denmark, upon the occasion of a tripartite league between Russia, England and Holland; but the good understanding subsisting between the two countries was not interrupted. In 1750 a canal of communication between Stockholm and Gottenburgh, joining various lakes and rivers, was begun, and but for the cataract of Trolhœtta would have been completed. This Prince renewed, in 1748, the order of the Seraphim, instituted in 1334 by Magnus Ladulos; that of the Sword, instituted by Gustavus I. in 1523, and created the order of the Polar Star.

In 1751 Frederic was taken from the Swedes, who bewailed him as a father. This Prince had no other ambition than to render his people happy; no wish but to promote the arts, agriculture, and trade; his were the virtues of peace, less brilliant than warlike deeds, yet far more solid, desirable, and necessary to the happiness of man. If with that portion of authority left him by the renewed constitution, he merited praise like this, what might he not have earned if vested with absolute power? For we are wide of imagining that absolute sway has any influence on the character of kings; it merely affords the means of displaying themselves with greater energy, and renders them, from its possession, either more amiable, or more worthy of dread: thus, though Tiberius were a monster, Titus was a god.

ADOLPHUS FREDERIC.

This Prince ascended the throne in 1751, after an oath was administered to him to maintain the constitution of government as established in 1720. The new stile of the calendar was adopted in the beginning of his reign, an academy of belles lettres instituted under the patronage of the Queen, and a pyramid in honour of the labour of Mr. Maupertuis and the learned academicians who accompanied him in 1736, erected at Torneo. The royal authority already so much diminished was expoſed to new attacks; and in consequence, in the year 1756, a revolution was attempted in favour of the King, the chief victims of which were the Count Brahé and Baron Horn. Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, conceived herself obliged to enter into the league against the King of Prussia. This war did not redound to her honour, and was terminated in 1762 without advantage or loss, except of men and money, serving to demonstrate that armies, wherein there are more than one party, more than one mind, are ever incapable of any thing great. In 1762 the two factions, known by the name of *hats* and *bonnets*, began to declare themselves openly: foreign powers assisted either one or the other party, and each triumphed in its turn. The sovereign alone, always subject to humiliation and insult, felt himself constrained to simulate a fixed determination to abdicate the throne, in order to obtain the convocation of a diet which might afford some alleviation to the long sufferings of the people. This resolution was the

more embarraſſing from the ſenate alone, that is to ſay, without the concurrence of the King, being diſabled by the laws of the realm from putting any orders into execution. This convocation of the ſtates however effected none of the changes requiſite. Adolphus Frederic died in 1771, regretted for his goodneſs and humanity, and pitied by thoſe witneſſes to a reign which the injuſtice and vexations of a corrupt ſenate rendered the epoch of miſery to the people and diſcomfort to the King. He left his ſon the name of King of Sweden, with which alone that young Prince did not long remain content.

The reigns of theſe two ſovereigns, from 1720, afford a new proof of what we have before advanced, that Kings without authority are of little value. In the wars of 1741 and 1756 who in the Swedes would look for the companions of Charles XII. and Guſtavus Adolphus? But for hiſtory one would take them for novices in war: nothing is ſeen among them but generals diſagreeing among themſelves, a divided ſenate dictating arbitrary orders to diſtant armies, of whoſe force and poſition they were perfectly ignorant. To what a deplorable government has not Sweden been ſubject for theſe fifty years! To what humiliations has the chief of a nation, pretendedly free, been ſubject! a nation which, while mocked with the title of free, groaned beneath the tyranny of a number of families, and what is even worſe, beneath a foreign yoke. It cannot be too ſtrongly enforced that to degrade the King is degrading the nation which permits it; if it be his own people who vilify him, at the peril of his life, a king worthy of the name ought to reſume the authority which is indubitably devolved on him, or if means for the attempt be wanting, (that is to ſay courage, for that alone is requiſite to begin with,) he ſhould abdicate the throne and live a private man, tranquil, and, if a virtuous man, reſpected; ſo would he fill his proper ſtation.

In the number of kings whoſe hiſtory we have ſketched, we have noticed ſeveral whoſe memory will with juſtice be renowned, becauſe they reigned ſubſtantially. A powerleſs king may be humane, affable, virtuous, a good father of a family, a good friend, but cannot be a great King. Adolphus Frederic poſſeſſed every eſtimable quality; this is a tribute paid to him by all who knew that Sovereign: was it ever ſaid or written of him that he was a great King? Staniſlaus, the preſent King of Poland, what is his character after a thirty years reign? that of being an amiable, well informed man, whoſe converſation is enchanting; but this is all. Royal dignity is eaſily forgot when but the name remains; and in ſpeaking of one ſo ſituated, the judgment given is ſimilar to what would be given on a private man.

CHAP. XV.—*Guſtavus III. the reigning Monarch.—Duke Charles the Regent.*

WE ſhall dilate more in deſcribing the reign of Guſtavus III.: to this we are induced by ſeveral motives: the revolution effected by him, ſufficient in itſelf to render his name illuſtrious; the eſtabliſhments which he has formed; all that he has done towards the welfare of his people; the ſtate in which he has left arts and ſciences; the advantage we poſſeſs of having perſonally known him, and of having had means of appreciating part of his rare qualities; his death even, a death upon which he might have calculated, ſince Henry IV. fell alſo by an aſſaſſin; his death, the greateſt misfortune that could have befallen Sweden; all tend to induce us to trace the principal events of the reign of this great Prince. This is a tribute deſervedly his due, and which with the utmoſt cordiality we offer to his memory.

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We have obſerved that Adolphus Frederic left but the title of a King to his ſon. The ſtate was torn by two oppoſite parties; the ſenate by its arbitrary exactions was oppreſſively grievous; the ſovereign alone enjoyed no prerogative, but was ſubject to the moſt humiliating vexations; in ſhort, things had arrived to ſuch a pitch that the crown could but be conſidered as a burthen to a Prince who knew himſelf capable of ſupporting alone the whole of its weight.

Let us not be ſurprized then that Guſtavus III. endowed with a ſtrong mind, with great energy of character, ſhould feel himſelf indiſpoſed to tolerate ſuch a ſhameful yoke. The revolution of 1772 is known to all the world, even in its moſt nice minutiæ; this we ſhall not attempt to deſcribe, yet ſhall we communicate to our readers an anecdote but very little known, for the truth of which we can vouch. The King of Sweden had confided his project to none but Louis XV.; nevertheleſs the ſecret tranſpired, was known in England, and mentioned to the Engliſh miniſter at Stockholm. Judge of the aſtoniſhment of Guſtavus; this unſeaſonable diſcovery engaged him to execute his plan ſome days before the time he at firſt intended, which did him not however any injury. This is the manner in which the ſecret tranſpired. Madame du Barry had noticed the King reading a diſpatch with much attention; whether out of ſimple curioſity, whether at the inſtigation of the Engliſh ambaſſador, ſhe picked His Majeſty's pocket of the letter upon his falling aſleep, and imparted its contents to the Ambaſſador, (This is a fit moment to obſerve that, notwithſtanding it be made to amount to a much larger ſum, the real aſſiſtance offered by France to the King of Sweden at this critical juncture was no more than 500,000 livres.) it got wind among many people at Stockholm, who even knew the day fixed for the purpoſe: but when they ſaw Guſtavus the evening before preſent at a new piece at the opera till eleven o'clock, and appear perfectly gay and unconcerned, they could not imagine it would take place on the ſucceeding day. We ſhall juſt remark here that when this Prince projected any important affair he always affected to give balls and entertainments, into the ſpirit of which he appeared to enter with ſo much glee that no one could think it poſſible his mind could be intent on aught but mirth and pleaſure.

This revolution, brought about by a Prince but ſix-and-twenty years old, totally changed the conſtitution of Sweden, and was effected without the loſs of a ſingle drop of blood. As Frenchmen we may be allowed, in comparing it with our own, to heave a bitter ſigh. It proves that the exceſſes which will live an immortal ſtain in our hiſtory might have been avoided; however philoſophers and the reaſoners of the day aſſure that revolutions cannot happen without violent convulſions and numerous victims: if you object the revolution in Sweden, they anſwer, *Oh, that was quite a different thing*: and indeed it was, and therefore do we ſigh; but why was it different? In both the one and the other country the conſtitution of the government was changed, the exiſting laws were annulled for the ſubſtitution of others; one power was annihilated for the creation of a different one: theſe are juſt and very ſtriking reſemblances; in what then does the difference conſiſt? In this: in Sweden, he who effected a revolution had no one to conſult; he had the genius to cauſe it to be adopted by all his ſubjects, and excited the admiration of Europe: in France, thoſe who cauſed the revolution poſſeſſed beforehand the good wiſhes of the people, yet found the ſecret of diſſatisfying and diſguſting a great part of the kingdom, and all Europe; they have been unable to fix their edifice upon a ſolid baſe, whilſt in Sweden the ſame ſtructure required but a few days for its perfect completion. We cannot tell if theſe differences will be found available in juſtifying the misfortunes and atrocities of the revolution.

Guſtavus III. unites to thoſe qualities which conſtitute a great King, thoſe the moſt amiable in individuals; he has an inexhauſtible fund of anecdotes of all deſcriptions.

Rarely is a circumſtance related in his preſence without its bringing ſomewhat correſpondent to his memory. Every age is preſent in his mind, and whatever be the nation he is equally well acquainted with its hiſtory. Frequently has he amuſed himſelf by embarraſſing ſtrangers who have paſſed for intelligent, and who have even deſerved their character on points relating to their own country: in one word, as a ſocial companion none can be more agreeable. When we look upon him as a monarch he exacts the juſt tribute of praiſe and admiration. This Prince poſſeſſes thoſe qualities which ſpur a man to great deeds from a due calculation on their ſucceſs: that natural eloquence, that talent of expreſſing with fluency thoſe ſentiments with which he would inſpire others; that gift of ſpeech, the effect of which in a ſovereign's mouth is ſure, Guſtavus received from nature; nor ever has he employed it to the multitude without ſucceſs *. He is poſſeſſed of great perſonal courage; evinced in his campaigns in Finland: indeed, if at all deſerving of reproach, it is for expoſing himſelf too much. His conduct towards the officers, condemned in 1790 by the council of war, is the higheſt proof of clemency that ever was exhibited by a Sovereign: out of a great number of delinquents ſentenced to death five of the moſt guilty, it was expected, could not eſcape the ſword of the law; one alone paid with his head the treaſon of the whole, nor would he even have ſuffered had he not delayed too long to implore for mercy. The moſt frivolous pretexts † were caught at with avidity by this monarch to ſave the guilty: this however did not prevent remarks that he was fond of decapitation; to which we advanced, as our opinion, that he appeared to us not ſufficiently ſo, ſince he might, and poſſibly ought to have taken off the heads of the other four officers, as well as that of a certain officer of rank in the navy, tried a number of times, yet never unanimouſly condemned, although highly culpable, whoſe name we may diſpenſe with mentioning; the Swedes will recognize it eaſily enough. Thus is it plain, the contagion was not confined to the army; the Admiral was equally merciful with his brother, for under any other commander the guilty man would certainly not have been tried by two councils of war, nor have ever left his ſhip again. Nevertheleſs we are firmly perſuaded that the ſovereign alone has the right of pardoning an officer guilty of diſobedience in battle; and that the General who preſumes ſo far exceeds the limits of his authority.

With the talent of ſpeaking, with courage and clemency, the King poſſeſſes great ambition, an indefatigable activity, an immoderate thirſt of glory, and what alone makes him undertake every thing, a ſtrong reliance on his good fortune. Perhaps we may deceive ourſelves, yet cannot we refrain from thinking that a man, who with all theſe qualities wears a crown, muſt draw on him the eyes of all the preſent age, and command the admiration of poſterity.

Still not to be chargeable with a want of frankneſs, and that we may ſhew that impartiality which we profeſs, let us endeavour to reply to the detractors of this prince,

* When the King of Sweden viſited France, in 1784, we courtiers thought he ſpoke too much for a King; this without doubt was occaſioned by our being ſo little accuſtomed to converſation with Kings. Not but that it ever is beſt for a ſovereign to be ſilent unleſs he ſpeak to the purpoſe, but in our opinion a king who ſhould have been able to ſpeak to could not poſſibly have done us harm.

† A certain officer having cauſed himſelf to be reported as inſane, was as ſuch confined in the lunatic hoſpital at *Dannviken*. Some imagine the King might have been the dupe of this ſtratagem; the following anecdote may ſerve on this ſcore to undeceive them. The King ſpeaking to us one evening of what we had viſited in the courſe of the day, we informed him that we had that very day been to ſee the hoſpital for lunatics —*Did you ſee K.?—We were not ſo indiſcreet as to require it, ſatisfied with noticing the pavilion in which he was confined.—So, ſo, you fancy that I give little faith to his being mad.* But in truth the King only ſought for a pretence to ſave his life.

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for he is too great not to have calumniators. He is accuſed of a crime in declaring war at a time that he had not the power of making either war or peace. This reproach is not unjuſt; we have no doubt but Guſtavus knew that he exceeded thus the powers he himſelf had obtained, and that he thoroughly repented not having inſerted ſuch an article in his conſtitution of 1772, which would have paſſed them as well as the reſt; and his deficiency in this inſtance is certainly a fault on the part of the prince which can no otherwiſe be excuſed, than by an apprehenſion he might have of acquiring the leſs from his aſking too much. However that may be, this prerogative inherent in royalty he did not poſſeſs; he was deſirous of obtaining it, but at the ſame time anxious that the war ſhould be carried on for the advantage of his country: and people worthy of credit, even in Ruſſia, agree that had it not been for the defection of his officers in Finland, nothing could have prevented the King going to St. Peterſburg, not for the purpoſe of keeping it, that he would not have been able to do, but of laying it under contribution, of drawing thence a conſiderable ſum of money, and of obliging the Emperor to agree to the reſtitution of a part of the countries wreſted from his predeceſſors; in one word, for terminating the war in one ſhort campain by a glorious peace, of which he himſelf would have preſcribed the terms.

Here again have we occaſion to admire the clemency of His Majeſty*. The campaign of 1788, was prepared a long while before in the midſt of entertainments and ſpectacles. A fine army, a fleet of nearly thirty ſhips of the line, equipped in two months time, an aſſurance of the defenceleſs ſtate of the enemy's coaſts; what a proſpect was here of ſucceſs! A traitor, a Swede, *Sprengporten*, who had gone over to the Ruſſians ſome years before, fruſtrated the grand preparations. The Empreſs propoſed to him to ſerve againſt the Turks, but he preferred being employed in Finland, where he could be of greater ſervice, aſſuring her that he ſhould be able to ſeduce good part of the Swediſh army. This villain entered the camp on different occaſions diſguiſed as a peaſant, with his pockets filled with gold, and gained over nearly a hundred officers, principally Fins. It is affirmed as a fact, that an officer can be pointed out who ſold himſelf for a hundred roubles; a cheap price indeed to take in exchange for infamy. The project of theſe wretches was not confined ſimply to a refuſal of advancing, they were likewiſe to ſeize on the King's perſon and deliver him to the Ruſſians. This Prince was in perfect ſecurity, abſolutely ignorant of this frightful conſpiracy; that he was not ſeized was wholly owing to the cowardice of thoſe who had engaged in the plot. Reflect but an inſtant on what muſt be the ſituation of Guſtavus, when his troops having entered the enemy's territory, his officers flatly refuſed to march, owing to his not having authority to undertake a war, as they aſſumed, without the approbation of the States. The King inſtantly perceived that all his blooming hopes were blaſted, all his great preparations rendered uſeleſs, in one word, the whole campaign abortive; a campaign, of the ſucceſs of which he had ſo much reaſon to be confident. He cauſed his forces to retreat, and ſent the officers to be tried at Stockholm. We are far from inclined to blame this Prince's conduct, we have no ſuch right, for clemency, even where exceſſive, is ſtill a virtue. We ſhall only ſtate what in his place we would have done. Immediately upon the refuſal of the Finiſh officers to march, we would inſtantly have had them arreſted, diſarmed, and ſurrounded by ſome battalions; advancing into the circle we would have ſaid to them: *Gentlemen, do you perſiſt in your diſobedience? Remember that at preſent you are ſoldiers oppoſed to the enemy, and not citizens deliberately in council.* Should they have anſwered

* Were we deſirous of multiplying examples we ſhould not need them. In 1772 a man convicted of offering to aſſaſſinate him was ſent to Pomerania with an appointment of 500 rix-dollars.

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We are reſolute: their determination was made a long time before, and in their correſpondence with the enemy, afterwards proved, they had pledged themſelves to perſiſt.—*That being the caſe, Gentlemen, as an officer at the head of his regiment is bound to obey as much as the meaneſt ſoldier in the ranks; and as all diſobedience in face of the enemy by military law is puniſhable with death, the law ſhall take effect:* we would then have decimated the guilty, given up to immediate execution thoſe upon whom the lot had fallen, and impriſoned the remainder in the neareſt citadel; afterwards we would have filled up the vacant appointments, and have given the word to march, with firm aſſurance that none would have ventured to heſitate. Without being a King, a general ought to have acted thus, and we could cite thoſe who would not have acted otherwiſe. This conduct on the part of the King would have been ſo much more ſecure in that the ſoldiers, although ſeduced in meaſure by their officers, would have ſided with the King immediately he addreſſed them. It is not of them that His Majeſty complained on this mournful occaſion; on the contrary, often has he repeated before us, that once entreated with the King at their head, the Swediſh troops would brave even hell itſelf.

To other embarraſſments to which His Majeſty was ſubject, is to be ſuperadded the impoſſibility of his addreſſing the Finniſh ſoldiers, except by an interpreter; the Finniſh language having no analogy with the Swediſh. We had an anecdote from His Majeſty, which for its ſingularity deſerves to be repeated. Being deſirous of addreſſing ſome ſoldiers who were murmuring, he made uſe of an officer whom he met on the ſpot for an interpreter. This officer delivered the ſpeech of His Majeſty to the ſoldiers, and the anſwer of the latter to the King, quite different to what was expreſſed by either. The Prince was not till ſome time after made acquainted with this piece of roguery, as impudent as novel. He had liberality enough not to ſeek to know who this officer was.

The King in deſpair returned to Stockholm, where ſhortly after a party was formed againſt him. The project of it was no leſs than to reduce him to the ſtate he was in on aſcending the throne, and if poſſible, even lower. The chiefs of the party ſpoke openly of their intention, and nothing but the aſſembly of the diet was waited for to conſolidate this new ſcheme. Guſtavus, in the moſt terrible poſition imaginable, heſitated whether or no he ſhould aſſemble the States: fortunately he determined for the negative, ſwayed, as it is ſaid, by the advice of two foreign miniſters; had he convoked them at that inſtant he would have been ruined. To theſe multiplied embarraſſments ſucceeded a ſudden irruption into his dominions. The Prince of Heſſe, at the head of twelve thouſand Danes, landed in the neighbourhood of Gottenburg. Guſtavus was at the time in the mountains of Dalecarlia: ſetting off with only a ſingle ſervant unknown to any one, he harangued from the ſame ſtone, on which on a ſimilar occaſion Guſtavus Vaſa had ſtood, the deſcendants of thoſe who had aſſiſted him to expel the tyrant Chriſtiern. Guſtavus III. whoſe eloquence was uniformly perſuaſive, engaged a number of theſe mountaineers to ſet off for Stockholm. (In one village, where the men were employed at their labour, the King addreſſed their wives, who pledged themſelves for their huſbands.) They arrived at their place of rendezvous, and under the command of Baron Armfeldt, cloathed and dreſſed in their country garb, with the blue ribbon conſpicuous over his Dalecarlian dreſs, took a poſition at Drottningholm, whence they had an eye on all that paſſed in the capital. The King here for the firſt time heard of the invaſion of the Danes: he immediately ſet off, and arrived at Gottenburg at an inſtant when ſought for all over the kingdom, at an inſtant when this city, incapable of defence, was about to ſurrender to the Prince of Heſſe. The preſence, the language of the King gave courage to all. No longer was heard any notion to ſurrender; the Daniſh

herald coming to demand the keys, received his anſwer from the Monarch's mouth, whom he miſtook for an officer. Mr. *Elliot* the *Britiſh* miniſter at Copenhagen then diſplayed that elevation of character ſo frequently diſtinguiſhed in the *Britiſh* nation. He declared that his court would conſider the prolongation of hoſtilities, and any refuſal on the part of the Danes to evacuate the Swediſh territory, as a declaration of war *. The Prince of Heſſe upon this cauſed his troops to retreat, and reaped no other advantage from this campaign than the obloquy of having daſtardly invaded the dominions of a King in misfortune, without even the ſlighteſt pretext. This general had landed at Gottenburg ſome months before; he was received there with the greateſt reſpect, particularly on the part of the Duke of Sudermania, who was there at the time. The whole of the city was ſhewn him as well as the forts, without the leaſt idea that in ſo ſhort a period he would avail himſelf of the information he was thus afforded. The known influence of the Prince of Heſſe on all the military operations of Denmark leaves no room to doubt of his being the director on this occaſion, a conduct which ſtamps him with infamy. This Prince was moreover, with great reaſon, blamed for not having raiſed contributions on the city of Gottenburg, or carried off the ſtock of goods with which the magazines of the Eaſt India Company were full. The villainy once begun ſome booty ought to have been made without having had the expence alone for the trouble. All this might have taken place before the King arrived; with him once there nothing indeed could have been more hazardous on the part of the Danes than to have tried the fate of arms. His Majeſty had abſolutely determined on giving them battle in a little plain adjoining the city. He had collected from three to four thouſand men; General Armfeldt was on his way to join him with nearly ten thouſand, and the Swedes, animated by the preſence of their King, who came for their ſalvation, would have ſhewn themſelves difficult to conquer. Not that the ſtate in which the King found the town was at all fit for defence. The cannons on the ramparts had balls which did not fit the calibres of the guns, and the officer of artillery there was unacquainted with the range of the mortars: beneath the maſter's eye ſoon however was all adjuſted.

It will be found hard to credit that which follows: the King who, by his preſence, ſaved the warehouſes of the Eaſt India Company from pillage, at a time they contained three cargoes to the value of from 11 to 12,000,000 of livres †, requeſted of it a very trifling loan: it granted him a part only of what he required. Here again the King was deficient; thus ſhould he have addreſſed the directors: *Gentlemen, it is evident that your ſalvation is owing entirely to myſelf: in effecting it I have incurred a preſſing neceſſity for* 100,000 *rix-dollars; this is but the twentieth part of the value of what I have preſerved to you; grant me this ſum I beſeech you immediately; I offer you to indemnify yourſelves out of the duties payable on your ſucceſſive cargoes.* If the directors were endowed with common ſenſe they would have anſwered: *Sire, we have a lively ſenſe of the obligations we lay under to Your Majeſty: we deem ourſelves but too happy in offering him this feeble teſtimonial of our gratitude; yet deign, Sire, to accept it rather as a free gift; a gift undeſerving of a thought.* The King would have thanked them as a company ſhould be thanked, as a province is wont to be preſenting the government with a ſhip, and there would have been an end of the affair.

* Admiral Byng, in the Mediterranean 1718, afforded a ſimilar example. Mr. Keith, when ambaſſador at Copenhagen inſiſted in a ſimilar manner that the government ſhould not attack the life of Matilda. From what country is it that miniſters dare to take upon themſelves, without inſtructions from their court, ſuch poſitive declarations, and without an apprehenſion of having them denied? Such procedures do great honour to any nation whatſoever.

† From 450 to 500,cool.

The King, on his return to the capital, convoked the diet; but having had especial reason to be dissatisfied with that of 1786, he had the precaution to secure the votes of the three orders for the *act of security*. The nobility alone were refractory: His Majesty consequently felt himself obliged to intimidate them by an act of vigour, no less than the arrest and confinement of a number of the most considerable among them in Fredericshoff, the present arsenal. The people sided with the King, and testified their zeal in the most unequivocal manner, by insulting those who opposed him; and in this number some of the first in the kingdom, men whose rank one should think would have guaranteed them from similar vexation: but who, if the truth be spoken, deserved the obloquy with which they were treated, more on that very account than did the others. The nobility not choosing to give way, the King determined to terminate at once these continual dissentions. He entered the House of Lords without any one suspecting his intentions. The King's party were pre-advised that if he should get into his carriage on leaving the house it would be a token that he had gained his point; on the contrary, if he should mount his horse, (some of his horses ready saddled standing in the square,) it would be the signal that force must be used for obtaining that to which persuasion was inadequate. An immense concourse of people accompanied the King to the square. He enters the house, and immediately upon his entering the chamber (entirely unattended) two gentlemen, well known by him to be of the opposite party, closed the door rudely after him. The King feels no wise disconcerted; he takes his seat and proposes the *act of security* to the assembly *, which had already obtained the suffrage of the three other orders. He puts the question to the vote; *no no*, resounds from all parts; some of the members however attached to His Majesty vociferate *yes* with all their might. Notwithstanding much the less, the King feigns to believe that the number of *yeas* is the greater: he declares as much to the assembly; again the *yeas* and *noes* are repeated in a similar proportion. The King again makes the same remark, and orders the Marshal of the diet to sign the acceptance of the assembly in the name of the nobility; adding *that notwithstanding the consent of the three other orders already obtained enforced that of the fourth, he yet preferred that the act should pass by the free will of his nobility, whose zeal and attachment to the crown he was happy on this occasion to acknowlege.* After thanks thus well deserved, His Majesty sends to notify the passing of the act, on the part of the nobility, to the three other orders then sitting. Immediately after the heralds, lessoned before hand, parade the town, and announce the diet closed. This proclamation greatly disconcerted the nobility, whose intention it certainly was to protest as soon as the King should have left the house; but His Majesty kept his seat until the dissolution of the diet was proclaimed. His Majesty then left the house, and was received with acclamation by the people, whose violence it were to be feared the nobility would have had to dread, in case things had taken a different turn. Since that period a number of gentlemen have retired to their estates, where they remain condemning the King until they shall meet again in another diet.

His Majesty, yet, is far from having as partizans all the nobility who remain in Stockholm: we could enumerate many of that body, of both sexes, who owe their all to him, but who, nevertheless, are not the less enraged at him; some women, particularly, who would have died of grief if his Majesty had omitted for three weeks together to invite them to sup with him, are among the most violent of his calumniators. As French

* This act gives the King the power of making peace and war, fixes the taxes to the next diet *without prescribing when it is to take place.* The want of money alone therefore can oblige the King to summons the states.

men we are far from being aſtoniſhed at this ſort of ingratitude. Some among the ladies, deſirous of qualifying their opinion, reaſon right and wrong on governments, adminiſtration, the power of Kings, &c. But they are unwilling to declare the real motive of their hatred, which is merely the preference they give to a government in which they have a chance of ſeeing their huſband, their brother, or their couſin, take part in the adminiſtration, to one in which there may be but one efficient *. Egotiſm glides into the heads of the fair as well as our own. Yet ſhould the nobility reflect and ceaſe to murmur, without the King they would be nothing not only in Sweden but in any monarchical ſtate whatever. The moſt opulent gentleman in the kingdom, enriched by the bounty of former Kings to his anceſtors, inhabits the capital; here he ought to paſs for ſomebody, but here, unleſs when ſpoken of as one of the chiefs of the party oppoſed to the King, arreſted in 1789, inſulted by the people, and recommended, after aſking advice of the police, to leave Stockholm, none ever ſpeak of him; the world in ſhort ſcarce knows of his exiſtence.

Let us reſume: the King had not the power of declaring war, except by firſt obſerving thoſe forms he is blamed for having neglected, by compliance with them he gave notice to the enemy of his intention, and time to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. The general approbation of the war on the part of the diet proves that his motives for declaring war were not ſo deſtitute of juſtice as has been aſſerted. Had this prince given the enemy an opportunity to prepare his defence, he would have had attributed to ſuch conduct the whole of the conſequent miſ-chances, and with reaſon. In war the niceties of the drawing-room are diſregarded. (England has almoſt conſtantly began her attack on us before any declaration of war. In 1756, two ſhips were taken by them *Le Lys*, and *L'Alcide*, before we knew of the commencement of hoſtilities.) Sweden is not ſtrong enough to ſtand againſt Ruſſia, when that power is at liberty to oppoſe her with her whole force. Guſtavus took advantage of the ſtate of ſecurity in which that power was wrapped, to endeavour to regain a part of the provinces wreſted from his predeceſſors. In theſe diſmemberments, it cannot be diſguiſed, juſtice was ſeldom regarded; they were the reſult of the wars of Charles XII. and no one but knows that Peter the Great in alliance with two other princes, attacked this Prince without the ſmalleſt ſhadow of equity, juſt at his leaving his cradle. The Ruſſians exclaim againſt the King of Sweden for attacking them without notice; but had he informed them of his deſign four months before, undoubtedly they would have laughed at him. The Ruſſians had committed a great fault in leaving their frontiers unguarded. They ſay they had no miſtruſt of the King of Sweden; thoſe neighbours with whom a nation has before been at war it ought always to miſtruſt. Their overſight was ſhameful: thanks to their roubles they eſcaped its puniſhment. Let them profit by the leſſon †. They knew how little was wanting to have made it a terrible one. The carriages of the Empreſs were in readineſs, every thing was prepared for flying to Moſcow. There were not five hundred coſſacks on the whole of the ſouthern banks of the gulph between the Swedes and Peterſburgh. The ſcarcity of men was ſuch, that three regiments were ſent poſt from the army of Prince Potemkin, ſeven or eight ſoldiers on a kibiek, by two hundred at a time.

As it is right that all ſhould be laid open, we ſhall mention to our readers a very extraordinary opinion, but which was communicated to us as well founded; it will ſerve

* The ſame reaſon cauſes the Ruſſians to diſapprove of the revolution in Sweden, as well as the laſt in Poland. They found it ſo pleaſant to be maſters in other countries!

† Since this war they have fortified the frontiers, particularly the mouth of the Kimen. Henceforth there will always be kept from 18 to 20,000 men in this part of Finland.

to prove that the brain of man is liable of acceſs to the moſt abſurd inconſiſtencies. We have been aſſured that the King having by his own fault miſſed his object the firſt year, owing to a ſiege badly planned, and an unſucceſsful campaign, himſelf engaged his officers to enter into a criminal correſpondence with Ruſſia, in order that this treachery might ſerve him as an excuſe to the nation for having undertaken an unjuſt war, and effected nothing where much might have been done. Although a ſerious reply to ſuch an atrocious and unfounded charge might well, indeed, be diſpenſed with, we yet ſhall examine its merits. In the firſt place, could it be ſuppoſed that the officers arreſted and tried would have failed to avail themſelves of ſuch an ample apology to avoid the puniſhment to which they were ſubject? A minute detail of the whole proceſs is in exiſtence, and no ſuch thing appears: beſides, this charges Guſtavus with an unpardonable offence, that of cauſing an officer to be beheaded, and many others to be impriſoned, on account of a crime ſuggeſted by himſelf. A conduct of this deſcription could be followed by none but one who had previouſly, and that provedly, done the ſame; but that the incredulous may finally be convinced, if further be requiſite for conviction, let them know that the revolt of the officers in Finland was contrived, by that traitor *Sprengporten*, at the very inſtant of his going over to the Ruſſians in 1779: that in 1783 the firſt meetings of the conſpirators took place in Helſingfors, at a lodge of freemaſons; that *Sprengporten* regularly attended theſe meetings from Ruſſian Finland, where he reſided, which was the more eaſy for him to do as the King was then abroad. The conſpirators at that time were fifty, and much encreaſed in number afterwards. Many *perſons known well enough* at Stockholm, if this work ſhould chance to fall into their hands, muſt *inwardly* own that our information is correct: eaſy in fact would it be for us to give further particulars; from ſuch we however ſhall abſtain. What we have ſaid will be enough to ſhew that the plot did not commence with the beginning of the campaign, as is generally believed.

We ſhall not dilate upon the war in Finland; it would cauſe us to exceed the limits we have preſcribed to ourſelves. We ſhall leave to hiſtorians the taſk of tranſmitting to poſterity the victories of *Fredericſhamm* and *Svenkſund*; ſatisfied ourſelves with remarking how great the difference between the Swedes in the preſent war and thoſe who fought in 1741 and 1757. The victories of Guſtavus Adolphus, Charles X. Charles XI., Charles XII., and Guſtavus III. were owing principally to their preſence. The Swedes are accuſtomed to ſee their kings at their head. If the ſoldier is guided by reaſon the preſence of his king can but have great effect on him: he will feel that where he who might peaceably and in ſecurity await the details of a battle, expoſes voluntarily his life and bears all the inclemency of the weather, he cannot himſelf retreat before the enemy, nor murmur at his toil. The preſence of a king prevents all diſobedience and all altercations, more common than is uſually imagined among generals. A king will take upon himſelf what a general would not dare without mature deliberation, in council or an order from court; in the interval of which the favourable opportunity is frequently loſt. The generals of the King of Pruſſia would not have ventured many of the battles won by that Monarch; and to his heading his troops himſelf is the high reputation of the Pruſſian forces entirely to be aſcribed. What we have ſaid of the Swedes is applicable to the French; nor is it in this inſtance alone that theſe two people reſemble each other. We know the time when the French ſoldier at the ſimple name of the king, whom he had never ſeen, would gaily have fronted certain death: what then would he not have done if he had been at the head of his army; but for a long time our kings had been unaccuſtomed to ſhew themſelves to their ſoldiers, an omiſſion which will ever meet its puniſhment ſoon or late.

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The King having obtained all he wiſhed conceived the title of ſenator uſeleſs, as the ſenate was deſtitute of power, in conſequence it was ſuppreſſed; deſirous of annihilating the memory even of a body which had ſo long abuſed ſovereignty, and under the deſpotiſm of which his people and himſelf had ſuffered for ſo long a period. We can but approve the ſuppreſſion of this heap of petty tyrants; the avidity and corruption of whom were at their height, and with whom any mode of enriching themſelves whatever it might be was allowable *.

A great part of the nobility however was connected with the ſenate; and conſequently the annihilation of a body, the omnipotence of which ſhed or appeared to ſhed a luſtre on themſelves, was not regarded by the nobles at large with an indifferent eye; yet certainly this deſpotiſm, ſhared among a few families, could at no time extend to country gentlemen, who on the contrary were cruſhed by its oppreſſion in common with the reſt of the kingdom. But it belongs to the character of man to view things in a different light to that he ought, and this poſition was amply proved by the Swediſh nobility on this occaſion. That which ought to have ſecured its eternal gratitude to Guſtavus has been looked upon by that body as an uſurpation, of which it has avenged itſelf, after a long interval, in a manner that will fix an indelible diſgrace on the firſt order of the State.

The revolution of 1772 is ſtill conſidered by the nobles as a crime on the part of His Majeſty. They repeat, and are ſupported by ſome hiſtorians, that he ſwore to maintain the antient conſtitution upon his aſcenſion to the throne, and that he could not change it but by rendering himſelf a perjured man. Proud of this diſcovery the *anti-royaliſts* are pleaſed with the idea, and imagine or pretend to imagine that this aſſumption cannot be anſwered; we ſhall however endeavour at an anſwer.

It is every where allowed that an oath extorted by violence is null: the moſt rigid publiciſts conſider thoſe engagements valid alone which are freely made, and that the unreſtrained only can pledge themſelves, or truly expreſs the real intentions they may have. Was the oath of Guſtavus on his aſcenſion to the throne unſubject to conſtraint? If the ſtate of Sweden be honeſtly regarded at that epoch, we do not believe that any ſuch queſtion can ſeriouſly be made. The ſovereign in 1771 finds his kingdom a prey to the arbitrary vexations of the Senate and the States: he ſucceeds a father, outraged continually with inſult and humiliation, even to the very day of his death; and that accelerated in all human probability by ſuch abuſe. Could he, was he at liberty to, refuſe the adoption of this conſtitution ſo humiliating to royalty? Would he not have expoſed himſelf by a refuſal to the loſs of a crown, the ſhadow of which alone the States conceded to him, but that they might poſſeſs the reality? Is it not evident therefore that the oath of Guſtavus muſt be claſſed with thoſe extorted by violence? Had this Prince and his ſucceſſors felt themſelves bound by ſuch a vow, arbitrary power would have been perpetuated to endleſs time; for it is paſt a doubt that no king would have been ſuffered to aſcend the throne without firſt taking this abſurd oath. Let the Swedes therefore ſhower down bleſſings on Guſtavus, for conſidering that a vow, the ob-

* A ſenator had ſold his ſuffrage, on a certain important occaſion, to the French ambaſſador for 4000 plottes. The ſecretary of the embaſſy, employed to carry him this ſum, met him in a coach in the ſtreet; he imparted the object of his miſſion, upon which the ſenator informed him he had only to hand him the money, which was in bank notes. The young man did as every one ſimilarly circumſtanced would have done: he gave him the money. Judge what muſt be his ſurprize and indignation, upon learning the next day from the ambaſſador that the ſenator had again demanded the ſame, denying the receit of the former. The matter was of importance, his opinion of great weight; it was thought better therefore to give 8000 plottes than to loſe 4000, and the ſum was paid a ſecond time. (The ambaſſador and his ſecretary, now an ambaſſador, are yet living, 1793.)

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ſervance of which tended to the perpetuation of abuſes, ought not to be binding, for thinking with reaſon that the good of his people ought to be above an illuſory oath, that the government of a ſingle man, ſuperior to events, were preferable to that of a covetous multitude, a prey to their paſſions, to intrigue, the ſlaves of foreign powers, and ever ready to ſell themſelves to the higheſt bidder.

It is poſſible that the affair of the diet of 1789 offended theſe nobles more than any other part of the conduct of the King; they have never been able to forgive him the paſſing of the *act of ſecurity*, the leſs for their having placed their deareſt hopes, their ſtrongeſt reliance on reducing His Majeſty, during its ſeſſions, to the ſtate he held in 1771. They ought, however, to feel greatly obliged for his forbearance, ſince by his aſcendancy over the people he could have made them ſorely repent their conduct. They complain of the King's extorting their conceſſion; but, had he not obtained it in the Houſe of Lords, that aſſembly can but know that he would ſtill have had it paſs by force, and at the price of blood; not his blood, not the blood of the people, but that of the nobles: they owed him gratitude for his mercy, and how was it ſhewn?

The death of this great Prince, the loſs of whom is already felt in Sweden; this crime, an eternal ſtain on the character of the Swediſh nobility, deſerves that we ſhould ſpeak of it at ſome length: we ſhall conſequently make it the ſubject of the following chapter.

The young King is very forward for his age, he promiſes much, and we dare pledge ourſelves for his performance: he poſſeſſes the caſe of the perfect ſovereign; far from being intimidated in a circle of half a hundred, which would but be natural in a youth of thirteen (he was not indeed ſo old when we ſaw him), he unaffectedly contrives to ſpeak of ſomething to all entirely free from embarraſſment: it is worthy of remark that when Prince-royal he had three court days every fortnight. His education is very nicely attended to, and his hours of ſtudy exactly regular. We have no doubt that he yet continues as laudably attentive to his duties as when we were in Sweden. Although a monarch now he is convinced that his youth requires yet ſome years of toil and ſtudy to fit him for the ſtation which providence has aſſigned him. Although very young this Prince muſt ſenſibly feel his loſs: what pity that thus a premature death ſhould ſo ſoon have robbed him of a tender father, a model, and a guide! Shut be his ears to the counſel given if not in uniſon with the leſſons of Guſtavus; never may he forget that he has to hand down the ſceptre to his child as free as it deſcended to himſelf; that it is a property which is but his for life, and for which he is reſponſible: let him beware of perfidious inſinuations, tending to limit his authority, preſented under the ſpecious but deceptive maſk of philoſophy. Yet again, in adhering to this advice, let him not run counter, let him not ſeek to add to the power he now enjoys; its limits are irrevocably fixed: wiſdom itſelf preſided at the eſtabliſhment of the preſent conſtitution; protect it Guſtavus Adolphus; call to mind the princes whoſe glorious name you bear, Guſtavus Vaſa, Guſtavus Adolphus, Guſtavus III.; be they ever preſent in your thoughts; and however crooked, however difficult the path you have to tread, but take them for your guide you never can go wrong.

Prince Charles Duke of Sudermania, the King's brother, is at preſent regent. The confidence repoſed in him by his brother, his friendſhip for him, which ever was unchanged, led us to imagine that the intentions of Guſtavus would be reſpected after his deceaſe; to our great regret muſt we ſtate that we have been deceived. The motive of the Regent's conduct is to us a problem: many preſent themſelves to our imagination, on which to fix we know not. Could it be contempt or indifference to the will of a dying brother? either ſeems to us incredible, the firſt ſhocking; hopes of

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doing better? Surely it were the height of preſumption to expect, in a few weeks rule, to do better than him who, not a common man, had been employed for twenty years in ſtriving to do well. Whatever may have been the motive the Regent has diſmiſſed moſt of the perſons appointed by the late King. This conduct, to ſay the leaſt of it, ſhews deficiency of judgment, in ſo much as it will prevent thoſe he has placed in their ſtead from attaching themſelves to him, leſt they ſhould experience from his ſucceſſor a ſimilar treatment. It is conſtantly highly impolitic to diſapprove *in toto* of the conduct of a predeceſſor; for as it is next to impoſſible that all his meaſures ſhould be bad, a general exception either denotes exceſſive arrogance or violent exaſperation againſt him; neither of which ſentiments are creditable, particularly with reſpect to a brother much ſuperior in knowledge to his cenſor *.

Of all the matters in which the Regent has differed from his brother none are more ſtriking than what regards the French revolution. No doubt the new power with which he is veſted has made him look upon things in quite a different point of view; for we well remember that, in 1791, he held an oppoſite opinion to that he has ſince profeſſed: if this be in its favour it has taken him ſome time to adopt.

The Regent ſet out with a moſt rigid plan of œconomy; he began with diſmiſſing the French actors, an indirect cenſure on the conduct of the laſt King, with whom the theatre was the chief amuſement and principal expence †: but then again he kept no miſtreſs (at leaſt publicly); and to us it ſeems that his pleaſures had at leaſt the advantage of decency which, in perſons of a certain diſtinction, conſtantly tells for ſomething ‡.

We ſhall terminate this article with obſerving that we did expect from the Regent a very different conduct. We yet have hopes; and pray for nothing more ardently than that they may ſoon be realized.

CHAP. XVI.—*Aſſaſſination of Guſtavus III.; his death.—Trial of the Conſpirators. Clemency of the King.*

AT length are we come to that execrable murder, which our pen would refuſe to deſcribe but for its being a duty impoſed by the plan of our work. If on the one hand the enormity of the crime excite our aſtoniſhment, on the other the magnanimity of Guſtavus, his firmneſs, his heroic courage afford us conſolation; for in the common habits of life we feel it ſoothing to find thoſe we love, thoſe we take pride in exalting, ſhew themſelves worthy of general admiration: man applauds himſelf on ſuch occaſions for his diſcernment, and with reſpect to Guſtavus III. we have no fear of any room for changing our good opinion.

That the project for making away with the King was long in agitation is an indiſputable fact: the aſſaſſins had miſſed their aim at Haga, where His Majeſty's cabinet being on the ground floor afforded great facility for the execution of their treaſon. It is well known that on the very day of his aſſaſſination it was ſpoken of at Hamburg and Bruſſels

* Leopold of Auſtria acted in a ſimilar manner on his ſucceeding his brother the Emperor Joſeph, nor was this the only fooliſh thing he did in courſe of a reign of very ſhort duration.

† It coſt him annually 100,000 rix-dollars.

‡ What adds to the indecorum (at leaſt in our eyes) of keeping a miſtreſs, is where the caſe of one poſſeſſed of an amiable and lovely wife, a wife pleaſant, playful, and lively in the extreme, whom alſo, notwithſtanding theſe recommendations, the breath of calumny has never ſullied; the cleareſt proof of innocence for none do wrong, however high their rank, but ſcandal will attaint when it has room.

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a matter already effected. It has been ſaid that the predominant party in France, apprehenſive with juſt reaſon of the influence of Guſtavus, contributed to his death: this is poſſible; and this Prince was ſo firmly perſuaded of its being the fact that, upon his receiving the blow, he exclaimed, *it is a Frenchman.* It is believed that the murderer, after making his eſcape from the iſle of Gothland, to which he had been baniſhed, (for treaſon in Finland during the war with Ruſſia,) travelled to Paris: this we do not affirm, but ſhould it have happened there can be little doubt of this monſter having been inſtigated to the deed by thoſe who had the meanneſs, the impudence to place the buſt of a regicide in their hall of audience *.

On the night of the 16th March 1792 the King, according to cuſtom, was at the maſked ball at the opera; while walking he felt himſelf ſhot in the ſide: he did not fall, but had ſtrength enough, by leaning on a perſon near him, to reach his apartment adjoining the theatre. This frightful event became immediately public: Baron Armfeldt arrived in a condition difficult to deſcribe; and as his conſternation was at its height, the King comforted him by obſerving, "*do not be alarmed, my friend, it is only a wound, you have been wounded yourſelf and know what it is.*" In the mean time the murderer, favoured by his accomplices, eſcaped, and two days expired before he was diſcovered: the piſtol he had uſed, being found on the ground, was inſtrumental to his detection; upon its being ſhewn to the gunſmith he pointed out the purchaſer.

Surgeons were ſent for from all quarters. The King immediately directed them to give their opinion, adding that, ſhould he have but a few hours to live, he was deſirous of employing them in his affairs and thoſe of the State; and conſequently that it would be but loſt time to probe and dreſs the wound. After the ſurgeons had examined it they declared as their opinion that it was not mortal: His Majeſty thereupon conſented to have it dreſſed, and was carried to the caſtle.

The next day Counteſs Ferſen, Count Brahé †, and Baron Geer, all of whom had for a long time abſented themſelves from court, came to viſit His Majeſty, who received them with great kindneſs, and expreſſed the pleaſure their viſit afforded him in theſe memorable words: *my wound is of ſome utility I find, ſince it brings me back my friends.* What remorſe muſt not a ſimilar phraſe occaſion in thoſe who had turned their backs on ſuch a ſovereign!

The remaining twelve days of the life of the King were employed in the affairs of State; his indefatigable activity was ſtill the ſame, and every interval between his pains was put to profit. His laſt act of ſovereignty was to appoint his friend General Armfelt Governor of Stockholm, an appointment which the Regent did not ſuffer him long to enjoy, as he acted upon the ſyſtem of keeping in the back ground the greater part of thoſe attached to his brother.

The King deſired to be kept ignorant of the names of his aſſaſſins; the murderer's

* This ſociety (the jacobin) ſo fearfully famous, wiſhed, by the honours paid to the villain *Ankerſtræum*, to perſuade the world that it contributed to his crime; not indeed becauſe it fancied the action laudable, but becauſe it was deſirous of a new kind of glory worthy only of itſelf; that of diſpoſing at will of the lives of ſovereigns. They are well aware, are its members, that people of ſenſe are far from giving them credit for ſuch authority; but fools, that is to ſay the mob, are ſure of it, and this is all that is wanted by a horde of plunderers who govern but by terror. How much muſt they not be ſurprized that their reign has been ſo long.

† We were of the company when Count Brahé and his lady ſupped with the Ducheſs of Sudermania: we do not now recollect upon what occaſion, but we mentioned the circumſtance to His Majeſty ſome few days after: *this for example you muſt look upon as ſomewhat indecent*, was His Majeſty's obſervation. We muſt allow His Majeſty's remark was juſt indeed.

alone was mentioned to him, and *Liliehorn**, the author of an anonymous letter which is copied further on. This villain came to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign, and begged for pardon, which was granted.

The pistol with which His Majesty was shot was loaded with two balls and several nails; a small part of the charge only could be extracted from the wound. Art was exhausted in vain, and on the thirteenth day (in the forty-sixth year of his age) Gustavus III. died in inexpressible agony, after receiving the sacrament, preserving the firmness and resignation of a great mind to the very last. He did not die without first exacting a promise from his brother that the murderer *alone* should undergo capital punishment: thus by an act of clemency, sufficient in itself to render him immortal, he terminated a glorious life by a still more glorious end.

All the accomplices, that is to say, Ribbing, Horn, Liliehorn, and Ehrensword, wrote to the young King, when the judgment of the parliament on their crime was published, all entrenching themselves behind the letter of the law, and seemingly taxing the tribunal, which as regicides had condemned them to death, with rigour and injustice. We procured all these letters, as well as that of Horn to his father, and Ribbing to his mother, in which they attempt to comfort them for the misfortune of having given them birth: in fact we know of no greater calamity than to have such children. It is fit we should observe that Ankerstroeum, Ribbing, and Horn threw with dice for which of them should kill the King, to the first of whom the lot devolved: they were bound by oath to kill themselves after destroying His Majesty; but whether from want of resolution, whether from hope of saving himself the assassin omitted this. And such wretches dare to appeal for favor to the law!

General Pecklin opposed the King in 1756; alternately in the pay of either France or Russia, he sided with the court in 1762: he was made a Colonel in 1772, and was on the point of tampering with his regiment against his master when arrested and conducted to Gripsholm, where he was detained for some weeks: there he was treated with distinction and respect; at the end of that time the King released him, an act of clemency disapproved by the world, Pecklin being known to be a very dangerous man. In 1786 he appeared at the diet but did not make himself conspicuous; in 1789 he was arrested with several other gentlemen, but only in his own house; and upon representation to His Majesty that his estates required his presence, was suffered to proceed to them. This man, who from 1772 had lived in the utmost obscurity, left it in 1792 to enter into a conspiracy against the King's person: but familiar with crime, and master of himself, he would confess nothing; by which means he established his innocency, the laws of Sweden exacting confession before sentence of death can be passed.

Address of General Major Baron Charles Frederic Pecklin to the King.

"SIRE,

"Your parliament, by its decree of 24th May last, relative to the horrible treason committed on the person of his late Majesty, Gustavus III. of glorious memory, has declared, on the subject of the denunciation made against me by the guilty, that *as*

* We were very well acquainted with this *Liliehorn* when at Stockholm. He is the son of a woman in a very inferior station about the Queen: he was brought up at the King's expence; and has had a very rapid advance, being a major in the guards at an age that would, without injustice, have allowed him to vegetate for some time to come in an inferior station. We frequently spoke of him to His Majesty: we were never pleased with the manner in which he spoke of his benefactor; but between a conduct of this description and an assassin there is so wide a difference, that we should never have suspected him capable of participating in such a crime.

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the proofs they afforded could not be looked upon as full and satisfactory, the matter, as far as it regarded myself, should be reserved for further evidence; and that in the interval I should be transferred to the fortress of Carlstein, in order there to be kept, and be exhorted by clergymen to make confession of the fault with which I am charged.

" It is not without the deepest grief that I see myself suspected, arrested, and condemned for a crime of which I am perfectly innocent, and which the witnesses legally heard have been unable to prove, since the parliament itself declares, " that full and satisfactory evidence is yet wanting."

" Your Majesty will be pleased, therefore, not to take amiss my prayer for a reversion of this decree.

" Equity is the first virtue of a King and a judge; and internally I feel persuaded, that the chief desire of Your Majesty is to exercise it, as the most secure method of establishing your power in the hearts of your subjects; and in what does it consist, unless in the fair application of the law, and the true interpretation of its meaning. Harbouring this persuasion, I dare flatter myself, that Your Majesty will not countenance the proofs accepted by the parliament, especially as, according to all I am able to comprehend, they are in absolute contradiction to law.

" The law clearly establishes, by the 17th sect. 7th chap. on the subject of trials, that " *the testimony of no person, being himself criminally indicted, is to be taken in evidence, nor that of one who turns informer, nor that of an accomplice.*" He who is objectionable not being allowed to give his evidence, the judge can certainly pay no regard to the testimony of a person objected to in law, but should on the contrary rate it wholly void of truth; hence is it that the law imposes a penalty on every informer that makes not good his charge; and if the 9th sect. of the same chapter permit, that in criminal causes the testimony of an objectionable witness may be heard, it is only, as is formally declared in the same paragraph, " *to enable the court to obtain means of acquiring legal evidence;*" but it is not said, that the testimony of the rejected person shall itself be accepted as evidence.

" As during the course of the trial, nothing has appeared against me but the relations of persons accused, accomplices, and such as have participated in the crime, of what had been imparted to me at private interviews; it appears to me, that had law been duly administered, the judge would have paid no attention to similar relations; and the less, from the disagreement in the different testimonies of the guilty parties, and from their written varying materially from their verbal evidence, as is declared by the parliament in many parts of its decree: whence it follows, that, if they were objectionable persons, their testimony for that reason is inadmissible by the 17th chap. 26th sect.; and added to this, the greater part have only related what they had heard from others, which, according to the 14th sect. of the same chapter, cannot be considered as legal evidence.

" All that appears likely is not therefore fact. History points out many examples of persons accused, who have had so many apparent proofs brought against them, that the judge, fully persuaded of their criminality, has not seen the least possibility of their being innocent; and yet, after their punishment, the real guilty man has appeared, and shewn the judge in error; wherefore, unless where no voluntary confession appears, or legal testimony, as a statesman, the judge has always held it a maxim, *to prefer saving a number of guilty to the punishment of one innocent man.*

" If, in the present instance, the individual relations of six guilty persons could furnish a half-proof, it would give birth to the absurd idea, that the relation of twelve culprits ought to be regarded as entire proof; although, in hopes of mitigating their punish-

ment, they might have agreed before the perpetration of their villainy, or at leaſt before their arreſtation, that in caſe of diſcovery, they ſhould denounce an innocent perſon as the principal inſtigator of their criminality. None but Charles Pontus Samuelſon, (Liliehorn,) and Adolphus Lewis Ribbing, who were arreſted, the one not until ſeveral days, the other till ſeveral hours after the treaſon, accuſed me in the firſt inſtance; the others have only repeated what they had heard them ſay, or ſpoken of matters which had no relation to this affair. God preſerve the country from a law which ſhould authorize ſuch traitors to appear in evidence! For who, in ſuch an age, could be certain of preſerving either his honour or his life.

"As for other circumſtances alledged againſt me, and which the parliament has looked upon as legally ſupported, they are: that I acknowledged that Thure-Stenſon (Bjelke) had frequently ſpoken to me of a revolution, rebellion, and pillage; that a number of the conſpirators dined with me on the 16th March, and that, according to the evidence of the witneſſes heard, many perſons attempted to enter my houſe the following night. But to theſe I ſhall humbly beg to object; that Thure-Stenſon never did ſay, and that I never have acknowledged that either he or others had formed a deſign to change the form of government, to excite an inſurrection, or pillage, a natural conſequence; wherefore, from his arguments relating to changes in other circumſtances varying from the affair in queſtion, I did never imagine that I had any thing to denounce, nor any danger to prevent; and being accuſtomed, at my time of life, to receive friends daily at my table, for the recreation of my retirement; as to ſome of the guilty, before looked upon as worthy people, preſenting themſelves to dine with me, this is one of thoſe innocent incidents which cannot be laid to my charge: again, their coming that day without any invitation, appears a connivance among themſelves for my ruin; and if a number of perſons came with a view of entering my houſe without being ſuffered to enter, this cannot be laid to my charge. Your Majeſty will perceive that theſe circumſtances form no matter of accuſation againſt me, and that, conformably to law, in ſpite of the requiſition of the parliament, I cannot regard it a duty to prove the probability, from the juſt ſuſpicions that I have conceived, of the reſolution entered into among certain of the guilty to effect my ruin; I truſt too much to the equity of Your Majeſty to doubt for an inſtant of your approbation in this particular.

"Hence it follows, that the charges made againſt me by the guilty, and the different relations given by them of what they have heard and ſay themſelves, or learned from others, joined to other circumſtances of little importance, cannot in any ways, according to the ſenſe given them by the parliament, afford any other than collateral evidence, or half proof; on the other hand, if the meaning of the law be regarded, if all prejudice and ſuſpicion be laid aſide, theſe denunciations and theſe circumſtances yield no proof whatſoever; for what does the law mean by appearances and circumſtantial evidence? In caſe of murder or aſſaſſination, for example, it may be produced, that arms belonging to the party accuſed have been found near the murdered corpſe; that he reſides in the neighbourhood; that he may have been ſeen covered with blood, &c.; theſe are appearances. But the ſpeaking proofs of my innocence will not eſcape the penetration of Your Majeſty. A number of my ſervants, examined upon oath, have given from their teſtimony no reaſon to imagine that I had any knowledge of the plot formed againſt the late King; ſo far from it, they have atteſted my innocence, for they have depoſed, that my doors were kept cloſe the whole night, and that none of thoſe who knocked were admitted, which certainly would not have been the caſe if I had been concerned: further, when the girl Peterſon came to inform me that the King had been wounded by a piſtol, I was ſo much hurt at the news that it occaſioned me an ill-

neſs, an inconteſtible proof of my ſurprize, and the real grief I felt at this fatal event. Moreover, who can reaſonably imagine that an old man of ſeventy years of age, weighed down and waſted by the viciſſitudes he has undergone, dropping by degrees into the grave, and occupied wholly on his latter end, could have allied his phlegm and indifference to the violence and ambition of a parcel of madmen, and plot with them a conſpiracy againſt the perſon of the King, and a revolution, contrary to his conſcience, to his reaſon, and to prudence.

"But, Sire, ſince no half-proof, nothing circumſtantial, admiſſible by law, has been produced againſt me, how can the parliament, wholly unprovided with theſe, have ventured to impoſe on me a real puniſhment, a puniſhment the moſt ſevere that in my unfortunate ſituation it poſſibly could do, that of depriving me of my liberty, and thoſe attentions which my age requires, by confining me in a fortreſs the reſt of my days.

"The chief motive of this ſentence cannot be, as alledged by parliament, to induce me, through the remonſtrances of the clergy, to make confeſſion of fault; for if this were abſolutely neceſſary, it would be equally practicable in a houſe here in the city, where clergymen are to be found more enlightened and more eloquent than could be in a diſtant fortreſs.

"And ſuppoſing the parliament to be influenced by the three royal letters cited by the King's ſolicitor, Your Majeſty will perceive that the King's letter, dated 11th November 1756, ſtates, that "*doubtleſs for the purpoſe of diſcovering others concerned, ſome of the accomplices may, even before trial, be confined in a fortreſs until more ample information be procured;*" and it is expreſsly ordained in this letter, that the priſoner ſhould be criminal, and his crime proved; but this citation cannot be looked upon as regarding him arreſted merely on ſuſpicion. As for the other two letters of His Majeſty, neither can be deemed as applying to the caſe.

"To conclude; as he who committed this horrible crime has been legally and juſtly puniſhed, and as thoſe who formed this infamous conſpiracy have been diſcovered and condemned; while againſt me, as I have ſhewn, no witneſs or legal charge has been brought in the whole courſe of the trial, I live in hope that Your Majeſty will decide that a more rigid confinement, for the purpoſe of extorting confeſſion, ought not to take place; imploring, if I ſhould have miſtaken the meaning of the law, the clemency of Your Majeſty.

"I am, for the few remaining days I have to live, with conſtant zeal and the moſt profound ſubmiſſion, Sire,

"Your Majeſty's moſt humble, &c.

"CH. FRED. PECKLIN."

Copy *of the anonymous Letter of* Liliehorn *to* Guſtavus III. *on the day of his aſſaſſination.*

"Deign, and graciouſly allow an anonymous perſon, whoſe pen is guided by the voice of honour and conſcience, with the moſt perfect frankneſs, to warn you that there are individuals, as well in the provinces as here in the city, who breathe nothing but hatred and vengeance againſt you, to the length even of your deſtruction by ſome mode of aſſaſſination. That they ſhould have failed the night of the laſt maſked ball has been a ſubject of regret with them; and they notice with pleaſure that another is announced for to-day. Aſſaſſins ſhun the day; nothing, they ſay, can be more favourable

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to them than darkneſs, and the diſguiſe which you are accuſtomed to wear on theſe occaſions; you are therefore entreated, by every thing that is ſacred, to defer this curſed ball to a more ſuitable opportunity, for your preſent and future intereſt, as well as that of ſome enthuſiaſts, from whoſe hands doubtleſs, upon reflection, the Almighty will cauſe the dagger to be thrown. I have the honour to aſſure you, in the face of heaven, which I call to witneſs the motive and purity of my intentions, that the advertiſement I give you comes from a man who is nothing leſs than a courtier, who is in need of nothing, and who is very far from approving all the raſh ſteps you have taken, either in war or politics, and particularly in what regards morality. In making this confeſſion with the utmoſt cordiality, I ſhall appear to you the leſs liable to ſuſpicion when I aſſure you, that being preſent at the diet at Gefle, I ſhould not have heſitated an inſtant to have drawn the ſword to oppoſe your mercenaries with all my powers, in caſe they had reſorted to open force, as was at one inſtant expected. Vouchſafe, therefore, to diſtinguiſh a difference between the conduct of a man of honour in his ſenſes, and that of an enthuſiaſt and a traitor: the one wiſhes well to the commonweal, aſking for nothing more certainly than to be ſo ſituated as would allow of his making uſe of means ſanctioned by religion and honour to promote its welfare; the other conceives all meaſures tolerable which may contribute to the object in view. It may, however, be difficult, if not altogether impoſſible in the end, to forewarn you againſt all the calamities which ſurround you, unleſs you put yourſelf in train to become ſincerely reconciled with the ſame part of the nation, by following a conduct, however little, yet different to that you have hitherto done.

"I have conceived it for my internal ſatisfaction a duty to reveal this ſhocking ſecret, which I learnt by mere chance two hours ago; be perſuaded, alſo, that I am not inſpired by a panic terror in taking this ſtep, but on the contrary by the dreadful certainty I have, from what has been divulged to me, of the verity of the fact. Take good heed, I further entreat you, of the ground-floor at Haga, as being, according to their declaration, a place more appropriate than any other for their purpoſes. You cannot uſe, generally ſpeaking, too much precaution: if I may adviſe, keep away entirely from maſked balls, at leaſt till after the holidays, this being of importance to yourſelf as well as to us all. You will do wrong by ſhewing a courage which nothing can move; we know that you have bravely faced the enemy; you may therefore with perfect ſecurity and without diſhonour avoid the blow of a traitor. I ſhall never ceaſe to put up prayers for your happineſs; beſeeching you, in the mean time, to make no perquiſitions for the purpoſe of detecting the author of this advice, as they would be fruitleſs, having been entirely alone while I wrote it, and not having communicated its contents to any one."

This letter was given in a garbled ſtate in all the newſpapers at the period of the fatal event; above, it is given with exactitude: the traitor who wrote it knew well enough what effect an anonymous letter would have upon the King; had he had any real intention of ſaving him, he would have perſonally divulged the conſpiracy: but we are not to wonder at the conduct of the wretch; he owed his all to the King, his ſupport, his military riſe, (he was a major in the guards,) and we live in an age in which ingratitude to the throne is looked upon as a merit; as if Kings were the only men on earth bound to do good, the only objects of unſcrupled aſſaſſination.

Extract

Extract *from the verbal proceſs at the Caſtle of Drottningholm, on the 15th Auguſt 1792, in preſence of*

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Sudermania.
His Excellency Count Wachmeiſter Rickſdrots.
His Excellency Baron Sparre, *Grand Chancellor.*
Preſident Baron de Kurck.
Preſident Baron de Reuterholm.
Preſident Count de Ruuth.
Seneſchal Rogberg.
Seneſchal Ulner.

On the above day, the report of the commiſſion being called for, and the two protocols of the 4th July being read, the ſecretary of the commiſſion, Iſerhielm, preſented the definitive concluſion of the high tribunal, upon the reviſion of the decrees of the parliament, on the 24th of May of the preſent year, againſt the former Counts Horn and Ribbing, lieutenant-colonel Liliehorn, and lieutenant Baron Ehrenſverd, as well as againſt the other perſons implicated in the horrible crime committed on the perſon of the late King; after which His Royal Highneſs was pleaſed thus to expreſs himſelf:

"All the preſcriptions of law having been exactly followed, none of the advantages which it affords the criminals having been withheld, and the confirmation from the high tribunal, of the decree of the parliament made on the 24th May, having been preſented to us, we have nothing more to do than to make known our ſentence and will upon the occaſion.

"A prey to grief, to thoſe afflicting ſenſations which agoniſe our heart, while the memory of a reſpected King and much beloved brother is united with the anguiſh which the unhappy and deplorable manner in which he was taken from us occaſions in our boſom, we have nevertheleſs, in conformity to our painful duty, cauſed repreſentation of all the occurrences of this horrible affair to be laid before us, with the ſubſtance of the different acts as they regard the ſame.

"It is not without the moſt lively emotion that we perceive, by theſe elucidations, that an unheard-of conſpiracy has exiſted againſt the life of our revered monarch, and been executed in ſuch a ſhocking manner as makes humanity ſhudder, in a manner that never could we have thought poſſible in our days and in Sweden. This ſtain, not upon the nation, known in all ages for its honour and fidelity, but upon a ſmall number of guilty perſons, ought to be waſhed away and expiated according to the rigour of the law; and this is our duty to effect. Our heart, torn by the moſt cruel remembrance, feels ſenſibly the horror ſuch an atrocious deed is calculated to excite; but theſe feelings, although ſatisfactory for our grief, are not the only ones that afflict us. What adds to our trouble is, that we are under neceſſity of rendering the juſt ſeverity of the law (which we are far from deſirous of mitigating in favour of criminals of this deſcription,) compatible with the ſacred promiſes extorted from us by the prayers and injunctions of a dying brother, our King.

"The inſtant is at hand which is to decide and make public the fate of theſe unfortunate men, who, by the nature of their crime, are more unhappy than they poſſibly could be in undergoing the puniſhments they have merited. The law has pronounced their ſentence, and we feel perſuaded that the axe falling on their heads, would be to them, in their frightful ſituation, the firſt and greateſt of favours. Our confirmation

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of this decree would ſatisfy, at this moment, the rigour of juſtice; but we are withheld by the ſtrongeſt and moſt efficacious reaſons, which we ſhall unveil for our own juſtification and the benefit of poſterity.

"Being by the ſide of the bed of His late Majeſty a few days before his death, and ſpeaking to him of the misfortune which had befallen him, and the dreadful conſequences that would follow; His Majeſty, whoſe ſenſible and generous heart was ever prone to pardon, vouchſafed to expreſs to us, that the idea of the merited torments which the guilty would have to ſuffer affected him more by far than all his pains; he added, moreover, that this oppreſſive fancy would never let him reſt, unleſs we ſhould promiſe and ſwear, upon the faith of a brother and a Prince, that in caſe he ſhould chance to die, his interceſſion ſhould avail for the ſalvation of the lives of thoſe wretched men who had been wanting to him in fidelity. Moved even to tears at ſuch noble ſentiments, we yet dared to repreſent to him that law, whether human or divine, would not allow ſo horrible a crime to paſs without penalty of death, and that the honour of the Swediſh name and public ſecurity expreſsly called for juſtice. His Majeſty, ſenſibly affected by theſe heartfelt repreſentations, then ſaid with anguiſh, that if the law of repriſal neceſſarily exacted blood for blood, that if his interceſſion was inſufficient as a party to ſave the life of the unfortunate man who lifted his hand againſt his life; he yet perſiſted that his ſhould be the only one to pay for the death he had occaſioned; and that none of thoſe concerned in the plot, however great their number, or deep their intereſt therein, (which at that time was not diſcovered or perfectly known,) ſhould ſuffer for it in their lives.

"His Majeſty at the laſt added, that this was not only his laſt application as a brother, but his laſt will as a King, as the power of pardon could not be taken away from him as long as he lived; and again exacted from me the moſt ſolemn promiſe; ſuch I could not, nor had the right to refuſe him any longer. This affecting and remarkable converſation, which will develope to poſterity the generoſity and clemency of Guſtavus III., and which, more than the victory at Svenkſund, will tend to eternize his name, ſhall be the baſis upon which our ſentence and reſolves ſhall be founded.

"As a chriſtian, a ſubject, a brother, as a man, we cannot, ought not to vary from the will of a dying King. He had the inconteſtible right of pardoning in his own cauſe. We ſhall follow loyally his orders, nor ſhall it be reproached his brother that he deceived him in the arms of death.

"In conſequence of the reaſons before alledged, we declare and ordain, that the ſentence of death awarded by the parliament, and confirmed by the high tribunal, againſt the former Counts Claudius Fredericſon Horn, and Adolphus Lewis Ribbing, the former Lieutenant-Colonel and Chevalier Charles Pontus Liliehorn, and the former Lieutenant Baron Charles Frederic Ehrenſverd, ſhall be commuted into perpetual baniſhment; that they are degraded from their nobility, and declared unworthy of all right of citizenſhip; that they ſhall be immediately conducted to the frontiers of an offended country, without hope of ever being allowed to return, and with prohibition, under pain of ſuffering the death pronounced againſt them, ever to require the ſame. The care of their puniſhment we leave to their conſcience and remorſe, perſuaded that the bitter reflections to which we deliver them will be more intolerable than death itſelf *.

* The regent deceives himſelf; men of this deſcription are ſtrangers to remorſe. Baniſhment is no puniſhment for ſcoundrels who could no longer live in Sweden: two of theſe wretches, on their paſſage even from Copenhagen to Hamburgh, proved that ſentiments of repentance, imputed to them by the regent, were far from their thoughts. Notwithſtanding the motive aſcribed lower down, it is in a fortreſs that regicides, whoſe life is not ſhortened on the ſcaffold, ſhould end their days.

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We ſhall haſten their immediate expulſion, in order ſo, if poſſible, to efface the remembrance of ſuch a horrid crime, which, by their detention in the fortreſſes of the kingdom, would only renew the remembrance of a misfortune in itſelf indelible. For ever be theſe unhappy wretches baniſhed from that Sweden whoſe calm and tranquillity they have diſturbed; and in order to encreaſe their remorſe, let them know that it is the King, againſt whoſe life they dared to conſpire, who, in his dying moments, gave them theirs.

As for other perſons accuſed ſince, we are not authoriſed by the will of His late Majeſty to leſſen the ſeverity of the law in their favour, neither can we in an affair of this nature follow our innate inclination to clemency; whereupon we confirm, with reſpect to them, the definitive ſentence of the High tribunal: in conſequence of which Councillor Von Engeſtrœum ſhall be ſuſpended from his poſt, and be confined for three years in a fortreſs. Major Hartmanſdorff ſhall likewiſe be diſplaced and impriſoned for a year; the Secretary Von Engeſtrœum ſhall be ſuſpended from his office for twelve months, and General Major Baron de Pecklin ſhall be confined in a fortreſs until more ample information; but the territorial judge Nodell, agreeably to the ſentence of the Parliament and the High Tribunal ſhall be releaſed from all charges.

His Royal Highneſs immediately appointed the fortreſs of Waxholm for the priſon of Councillor Von Engeſtrœum, that of Malmoe for Major Hartmanſdorff, and that of Warberg for General Major Pecklin.

The preſent verbal proceſs and the ſentence it contains having been read and collated, the Commiſſion broke up its ſitting, *in fidem protocoli.*

(Signed) N. JOHNSON.

We conceive that what will now have met the reader's eye requires no comment. A dying King pardons his aſſaſſins: the laſt act of his power is to draw aſide the vengeful ſword of the law, from puniſhing thoſe who had robbed him of life: how honourable, how glorious ſuch an end! How well it crowns a reign, too ſhort for Sweden, but long enough for thoſe Sovereigns diſpoſed to take him for a model, and enlightened enough to follow his ſteps.

The clemency of the King is ſo well known to us, that upon the firſt intelligence of this execrable act, we declared as our opinion, that if His Majeſty recovered, the murderer alone would be puniſhed with death. The event has ſhewn that we were not deceived.

CHAP. XVIII.—*On the Death of Charles XII.*

THIS event, ſo important from its conſequences, which paved the way for Sweden to obtain a peace wanted ſo many years before, and which changed the form of government of the country, is related in ſo many different manners, but each ſo void of proofs, that every hiſtorian, without being liable to the charge of impoſture, is left to adopt which he will. The ſtatement of M. Voltaire has had moſt partizans, yet do we conſider it wrong, and the reſearches we have been able to make put our opinion beyond all doubt. We ſhall preſently diſcuſs that of Mr. Coxe, given at great length in his *Second Voyage to the North*, publiſhed in 1791: but ſhall firſt begin with the account of *Lagerbring*, Profeſſor at Lund, taken from his Hiſtory of Sweden, vol. iv. part 3. which treats of the reign of Charles XII. Stockholm, 1779; in it will be ſeen the eſſential differences which characterize the account of each hiſtorian.

"On the 28th October, 1718, the King coming from the Weſtern *Ed*, entered Norway, followed by the other columns of the army. On the 20th November, batteries were raiſed againſt *Fredericſhall*. On the 27th, fort *Gyllenlow* was taken by aſſault, at which the King was preſent. On the firſt Sunday in Advent, the 30th November, the King attended divine ſervice in the morning, and afternoon at head quarters at *Tiſtedalen*: in the morning he burnt certain papers. At four o'clock in the afternoon the King viſited the trenches on horſeback, and at nine in the evening all was done, and the King was a corpſe. Charles ſtanding in the trench, his body bent, with his head ſupported on his arms leaning on the parapet, the officers preſent imagined him aſleep; but as he remained in this poſture a longer time than uſual, they went up to him, and found that life was gone." This is the account of Mr. Nordberg: others pretend that the engineer *Megret*, who had the direction of the works in the trenches, was ſeated ſo near the King that he perceived a kind of convulſive tremor in him, whence he concluded him dead. M. de Voltaire, whoſe relation differs from that of others, ſays that no one was near the King but *Megret* and *Siquier*. "The King was ſtanding," ſays he, "oppoſite to a battery of the enemy, whence was a great diſcharge of muſquet balls, with his body half uncovered from the enemy's fire; at ſome paces diſtant was Count Baron *Schwerin*, Count *Poſſe*, a captain in the guards, *Kalbert* an aide de camp, (it ſhould be aide de camp general Kaulbars) was waiting his orders. All at once *Megret* and *Siquier* ſaw the King fall on the parapet. A ball of half a pound weight had entered his head on the right ſide, and made ſuch a large hole that you might put in it your three fingers; the left eye was entirely flattened, and the right forced out of its ſocket. When *Megret* ſaw that the King was lifeleſs he exclaimed: *The play is over, now let's to ſupper;* but Siquier haſtened to inform Baron Schwerin, &c." Colonel Carlberg, then Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers, who was preſent alſo in the trenches, has given another relation different from the preceding. "When Colonel *Megret*, charged with directing the attack, had marked a new line with faſcines and gabions at a diſtance of no more than two hundred ells from the bulwarks of the fortreſs; the enemy began a violent fire both with muſquetry and cannon: this was the firſt time of their uſing muſquetry againſt the workmen in the trenches. The red hot balls and burning pitch on the fortreſs gave ſufficient light round about. Mr. *Carlberg*, after giving inſtructions to the men how to place the gabions, went down into the firſt trench, where ſome officers of high rank were ſtanding cloſe to the feet of the King, who leaned on the ſlope of the parapet of the trench, with his left hand under his jaw, ſo that a part of his face was above the parapet directed towards the fortreſs. Hereupon a ball ſtruck him on the left ſide of the head, (*this, from inſpection made of the wound, is evidently falſe,*) without any other movement being perceptible but that of his hand, which dropped from his jaw, and his head which reclined on his cloak. The aide de camp, General *Kaulbars*, was the firſt who perceived the death of the King; he ſtruck *Carlberg* on the ſhoulder, and begged him to make haſte to relate it to General P. B. Schwerin, who directed that it ſhould not yet be made public, and that his body ſhould be tranſported to head quarters. He thereupon was put on a litter and covered with white cloaks. At this inſtant Siquier approached the litter, took the King's hat, and put his hat and wig on him. The litter was accompanied by Carlberg, and a Captain Schultz, (ſince ennobled under the name of *Nordencrentz*) to Tiſtedalen, and the body was carried to the ſame houſe where the King had taken up his abode. After General *Schwerin*, the Duke of *Holſtein*, Field Marſhal Mœurner and General *Diiker* were among the firſt who ſaw the defunct. The Hereditary Prince of Heſſe was then at Torpum, at the diſtance of three quarters of a mile from Tiſtedalen, and on his arrival the whole army had orders to decamp." Thus

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in many circumſtances the relation of *Carlberg* differs from thoſe of Nordberg and Voltaire. The laſt remarks that no one was preſent when the King was killed except *Siquier* and *Megret*, and that the firſt of theſe related the death of the King to General Schwerin.

Carlberg ſays quite the contrary. Nevertheleſs we muſt not accuſe M. de Voltaire for relating circumſtances ſuch as they were given to him, and not improbably by the ſame Siquier *; but at the ſame time we have no right to look upon as falſe the account given by an individual who heard, ſaw, and did himſelf the things which he deſcribes, and whom neither fear nor reward could induce to write any thing but what he could vouch from actual experience †.

Different opinions were entertained of the King's wound; ſuch as examined it, maintained that it could not have been made from the fortreſs or the redoubts of the enemy. On a draught of the ſiege of Fredericſhall on which it was affirmed that the King was killed by a ſhot from the redoubts, an officer of high rank, who was at the time alſo in Norway, had written in German with his own hand, *that is not true*. It was generally conceived that the blow did not come from either a Dane or a Swede. No rumour was more common than that Siquier, the King's aide de camp, had murdered the King. It is not doubted that he himſelf confeſſed it when ill at Stockholm in 1722, but it is added that this illneſs was accompanied with delirium. Some have imagined that remorſe had extorted this confeſſion; others again have inſiſted that Siquier after his recovery, when for the benefit of the waters at Medevi, was tortured by the ſame remorſe, although then perfectly in his ſenſes and not delirious. In caſe Siquier had been near Kaulbars and others who were ſtanding by the King's feet when he was killed, it would not only have been eaſy, but his duty to have obtained their teſtimony, and by his neglecting this, ſuſpicion is no wiſe diminiſhed. Another circumſtance is alſo equivocal: *Nordberg* relates that *Siquier* and Megret followed the King into the trenches, but I have been credibly informed that Siquier had nothing to do in the trenches, and that being interrogated by a certain perſon as to what buſineſs he had there, he heſitated in his anſwer. M. de Voltaire however declares him entirely innocent. He grounds his conviction in the firſt place on a declaration made to him by Siquier himſelf. "I could have killed the King of Sweden; but ſuch was my reſpect for that hero, that if I had been ſo inclined, I ſhould not yet have dared;" and ſecondly he obſerves that "Siquier died poor, and that ſuch exploits are ordinarily well paid:" but if the miſerable wretch do not in ſuch caſes receive his wages in advance, his earnings may turn out extremely ſmall. The third circumſtance which he thinks abſolves him from the charge, appears to be of greater conſequence, to wit, "that the ball which terminated His Majeſty's life weighed half a pound, a ball of which weight would not enter the mouth of a fuſil." But how did Siquier learn that the ball was exactly of that weight, ſince in Sweden it is entirely unknown; probably it might be aſcertained from the verbal proceſs on the ſubject of an inſpection of the body by three Swediſh noblemen ‡, a copy of which I give in a note ſubjoined.

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* In admitting this hypotheſis, it is next to impoſſible not to have violent ſuſpicions of Siquier, as ſhall be hereafter detailed.

† The ſtatement of Colonel Carlberg was communicated by himſelf to the author, and the copy which he poſſeſſes he is aſſured was written by Col. C.

‡ In the year 1746, on the 12th July, between five and ſix in the morning, the underſigned went down into the Mauſoleum called Carolin or Palatine, on the equeſtrian iſle of the church at Stockholm, and opened the coffin of King Charles XII. defunct, whom they found in the condition and order following: a mattraſs or pillow ſtuffed with aromatic herbs covered the face of the King, under his head and joining

"We paſs over ſeveral other memorable things related by M. de Voltaire, probably communicated to him by Siquier, of which however the perſons in attendance by the King ought to have better information, notwithſtanding their narratives differ from that of M. de Voltaire. Another circumſtance as memorable as it is unaccountable. An officer of high rank in the neighbourhood of Fredericſhall foretold that the King would die on the 30th November. The report of this prediction was very extenſively ſpread, and no ſecret of it was made. It is not known whether it ever reached the ear of His Majeſty, but as we have before remarked, he was noticed the morning before to have deſtroyed ſome papers, and had nothing in his pockets but a prayer book and a miniature of Guſtavus Adolphus. If the death of the King had not happened, the prophecy would only have been laughed at, but as it was confirmed by the event, it was thought to have ſome ſignification.

"To judge from appearances, the King died at a very unfortunate time for Sweden; but the death of Kings is decided by powerful motives, which are not always thoſe that ſuit the intereſt of man."

The foregoing is an exact tranſlation as afforded us by a learned Swede; he further added, that the time would come when the death of Charles would be ſpoken of as at preſent we do of that of Guſtavus Adolphus, and we are very much of his opinion. We ſhall now proceed to diſcuſs the opinion of Mr. Coxe, expoſe our own, and leave our readers to determine which is the beſt founded in argument and aſſertions.

Mr. Coxe, in his Travels in the North, publiſhed in 1791, enters largely into the ſubject of this death; he pretends that Lamotraye and Voltaire have given falſe accounts of this event; this is true, it is certain, from the verbal proceſs before cited, and from the maſk moulded over the face of the King, of which Mr. Coxe ſpeaks, that his eyes were not found out of his head, that the ball did not weigh half a pound, and that the orifice was conſiderably ſmaller than reported. Mr. Coxe cites the ſame verbal proceſs as we do, with ſome ſlight difference. His tranſlator has miſtook him groſly in putting *depth* for *length*, and *penetrated* for *went out*. Mr. Coxe could have ſeen no other mark than ſuch as we have deſcribed: his concluſion from it is ſimply that the wound was made by a ſmall bullet, which is incontrovertible: but he perſiſts in believing that it came from the fortreſs, and principally ſupports his opinion by the account afforded by the old Norwegian *Elkenſon*, a cannoneer in the Daniſh garriſon during the

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his face was a cloth. The head was uncovered without any cap, but in lieu was ſurrounded by a laurel wreath. His hair was in good preſervation, of a very light brown colour, and the length of a little finger combed upwards on the ſides, but the top of his head was bald. On the right ſide juſt beneath the temple was a plaſter, which ſtuck ſo faſt that with great difficulty we could remove it; when removed, we perceived and felt an oblong orifice ſlanting in a direction towards the back of the head ſeven lines in length and two in breadth; on the left ſide which was covered with a plaſter of the ſame ſize, the whole of the temple was torn away, and the fragments of the bones evidently denoted the paſſage of the ball from that part. His face was much waſted, his mouth rather open, and ſome of his teeth were viſible. Under his head were ſeveral pillows of white linen full of fragrant herbs. Along his ſides and on his arms a number of ſmall white bags were laid filled with the ſame materials. His arms were ſtretched by the ſide of the body, and his hands covered with white gloves were placed oppoſite each other. His ſhirt was of linen of a ſmaller degree of fineneſs, and his winding ſheet of cambric.

EH. HARLEMAN.
EL. EKEBLAD.
ANDREW JOHN, of Hœpken.

The original of this atteſtation is in the King's library at Stockholm. It was communicated to the author by the Royal Librarian Gjœurwell, and may be ſeen in a work written by him, entitled *Swediſh Anecdotes*, part 3.

Baron Harleman was ſuperintendant of the King's ſhips. Counts Ekeblad and Hœpken were afterwards made Senators.

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ſiege. We reaſon therefore from the ſame materials as Mr. Coxe, but decide in a different manner. We are well perſuaded that the King was aſſaſſinated, and ſhall detail the conjectures upon which we decide, for where there is abſence of proofs we muſt be ſatisfied with conjecture.

In the firſt place Mr. Coxe, if impartial, muſt allow that it is farcical to eſteem the narrative of the old Norwegian alluded to as of any weight: will he attempt to perſuade us, or does he himſelf believe that a cannoneer in a fortreſs any more than a ſoldier in the ranks can know any thing of what paſſes except immediately by him, particularly at nine o'clock at night in the month of December. From his reſponſes we gather for certain that there was no firing that night from the fortreſs of *Oberberg*, this indeed the Norwegian muſt ſurely be competent to ſay, as he was in the fort; but this is all that he could know, and this proves nothing more than that Lamotraye is in error, aſſuming the ſhot to have come from that place. Mr. Coxe adds that the old man was of a frank character, and that there was nothing to induce him to tell an untruth: certainly not, nor did he conceal ought he knew. He ſtates moreover that the Danes made uſe of muſquetry, that the parapet where the King ſtood was perfectly within reach of the place, that a number of ſhells were fired, and that the King might have been killed by the enemy. This was all known before; and if Mr. Coxe reflects, he will ſee that this proves nothing againſt the aſſaſſination: for it is impoſſible to preſume that any one would have choſen a time for making away with the King by a muſquet or piſtol ſhot when out of the reach of the enemy's batteries, or when the enemy made no uſe of balls againſt the Swediſh trenches ſimilar to that by which he was ſtruck, that is to ſay, ſmall bullets. This would have demonſtrated to all Europe that the Monarch died by aſſaſſination, and there is good reaſon to imagine that ſuch was not the intention of the guilty. We conclude therefore, that the converſation, noticed with ſo much ſatisfaction by Mr. Coxe, proves nothing againſt our aſſumption, or in favour of his own. It muſt further be remarked, that the old Norwegian told Mr. Coxe that a number of ſoldiers were killed by the ſide of the King, ſo many indeed that they were buried on the ſpot. It is very extraordinary that this cannoneer ſhould have ſeen thus much from his fortreſs of Oberberg, (from which the Swedes were ſeparated by a hill,) or that after the army had decamped, he ſhould divine that the ſoldiers killed in the trenches had been ſo killed near the King, and at the ſame time he was himſelf. To conclude, it is very ſingular that this man ſhould have known that, of which no relation makes mention; for in all thoſe which ſpeak of the greateſt number of perſons about the King, ſpeak but of four or five without enumerating any ſoldiers whatever. Mr. Coxe ſays that the preſent King of Sweden (1791) had conjectured that *Cronſtedt* was the aſſaſſin; but afterwards confeſſed that he was miſtaken: this may be, but if Mr. Coxe has ever had the honour of ſpeaking to the King on this ſubject, he would have found that if His Majeſty no longer believes that Cronſtedt was the aſſaſſin, it follows not that he does not believe he was aſſaſſinated by ſome other perſon. Theſe are what Mr. Coxe calls proofs, finiſhing with theſe deciſive words:

"The queſtion relative to the death of Charles XII. is now rendered very ſimple: unlikely anecdotes and vague conjectures cannot weigh againſt a poſitive fact: the pretended aſſaſſination is a mere chimera." We ſee nothing poſitive in all this, unleſs it be the tone of aſſurance which Mr. Coxe aſſumes, nothing chimerical unleſs it be in his aſſertions. We ſubjoin our reflections upon the ſame data.

Firſt reflection.—According to the verbal proceſs, the authenticity of which is inconteſtible, the ball went through the head in a horizontal direction, making a very ſmall hole on entering, and tearing away the temple and ſhattering the bones as it went out

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on the left ſide; it conſequently muſt have had a violent impulſe, whence we may fairly conclude that the ſhot was from a very ſhort diſtance; then, the more near the parapet is aſſumed to be to the fortreſs, in order to render probable that the ſhot ſhould have proceeded thence, the more impoſſible do we make it that the ball ſhould have taken an horizontal direction; for it muſt not be forgotten that the fortreſs of *Fredericſtein* is on the ſummit of a perpendicular rock, and the ſituation of Charles the plain, near a craggy rock, at the end of the Governor's garden. If the ſhot therefore had come whether from a cannon, muſquet, or carbine, fired from a great eminence, it could not move in an horizontal direction, to ſtrike a point ſituated below it; perhaps it may be ſaid that the courſe of the ball was changed by ſtriking ſomewhere, as occaſionally happens; but this objection becomes a nullity, when we conſider that it pierced every obſtacle, ſhattered the parts it encountered, which are preciſely the hardeſt in the whole head, and that it neceſſarily muſt have gone through either the neck or the jaw, if it had not taken its direction in a perfectly ſtraight line. The hat of Charles affords a new proof of the ball paſſing out at the temple, ſince the hole is beneath the button, unleſs, indeed, the King wore it *a la Pandoure*, with the button on the right, in which caſe the hole would have been much enlarged by the curious, as Mr. Coxe obſerves in his firſt travels.

Second reflection.—Not only did the ball traverſe in a horizontal direction, but alſo from the right temple to the left: let us ſee if this be probable. According to all accounts the King was examining the enemy's batteries, ſtanding, and his head ſupported on his hands. Mr. Coxe indeed makes him to be ſeated on a wooden chair which was ſhewn him; as this by no means changes the poſition of the head of the King, we ſhall paſs lightly over this opinion which nobody ever gave before. The King then was in front of the batteries, and as his buſineſs there was to examine them, it cannot be preſumed that he would for that purpoſe preſent the ſide of his face, or if it be admitted that the form of one of the batteries abſolutely made a right angle with a line from the middle of the King's forehead, in ſuch caſe, in the firſt place, the trenches muſt have been opened ſo as to be liable to enfilade, and in addition the batteries have formed a perfect ſemi-circle; both theſe ſuppoſitions are inadmiſſible; the Swediſh engineers were no novices; the place was attacked in ſuch a manner, that, but for the death of the King, it muſt have been taken in a few days; and the Danes for certainty had no batteries fronting each other in their fortreſſes: ſo that in any caſe the King might have fronted the batteries without expoſing his ſide to any, as there is no doubt but he did.

Third reflection.—It is plain from the blood on the glove of the right hand, and on the ſword belt, that the King firſt put his hand to the wound, and afterwards on his ſword, which he even drew half from the ſcabbard. The firſt movement is inſtinctive; nature engages us to place the hand where pain is felt. But the ſecond ſuppoſes reflection; and however rapid the action, it appears to us not the effect of chance; it evinces a determination to repel an aggreſſion. We appeal to Mr. Coxe; would he, in the trenches, expoſed to continual fire, if he felt himſelf ſtruck, would he lay his hand on his ſword: many officers have ſeen ſimilar events in trenches, can they cite an example of a ſingle man attempting to draw his ſword againſt a cannon-ball, or the burſting of a bomb? It ſeems to us that this fact has been much too ſlightly noticed, as from due examination it ſeems important.

Fourth reflection.—The maſk of ſtucco, which we mention as well as Mr. Coxe, extends only to the extremities of the temples; but the wound is left viſible on the right ſide; why was it not alſo on the left? The temple torn away, the bones ſhattered, nothing of this is marked on the plaſter: would it be raſhneſs to imagine that this ſham

affixture was only placed there to prevent the curious from making the ſame reflections that we do now, reflections reſulting from the verbal proceſs entirely, ſince no author has ever ſpoken of the effect of the ball? If to this be added the epoch at which this maſk was moulded, the ſhort time elapſed from the event, it will readily be conceived that this precaution was uſed from a formal reſolution to make no perquiſition after the origin of his death, as has been proved by the event.

Let us now examine upon whom our ſuſpicions ought to fall, ſince, from this examination, in our opinion, we may gather, if not the certainty, at leaſt the poſſibility of aſcertaining the aſſaſſination. It has been noticed before that Siquier was generally ſuſpected, and it will be allowed from all the relations we cite, that it was not without ſome reaſon: M. de Voltaire in attempting to juſtify him but increaſes it: we think that he ought not for the honour of Siquier to have made public this phraſe, ſo highly extraordinary: *I could have killed the King, but ſuch was my reſpect, that if I had been diſpoſed, I yet could not have dared:* that is to ſay that if he had leſs reſpected him, he could have done the deed. What language! *he could*, he ſays, *have killed him*; but is there an *aide de camp* of a King with the army, who might not kill him even ten times a day? and was it ever known to come in the mind of any ſuch to ſay *he could have killed him?* This phraſe appears to us ſomething more than aukward in his mouth, at leaſt it is far from any poſſible juſtification. M. de Voltaire ſays, that Siquier died poor. Without ſpeaking again of an anſwer to this objection, the example of many might be quoted, who, in the courſe of a few years, have expended enormous ſums, ſums more than adequate to the remuneration of the greateſt crimes. As for the third objection of M. de Voltaire it is rather an evidence againſt Siquier; that he himſelf related the circumſtances; for Siquier knew well enough that the ball did not weigh half a pound, that it was impoſſible to introduce three fingers into the wound, and that his eyes were not forced out of their ſockets: he could not be ignorant of theſe matters, ſince he was upon the ſpot, and ſaw the body of the King recently after the event *. He had therefore a very formal intention to diſguiſe the truth: would he have acted thus if the ſhot had truly come from the citadel, and if he had not had very cogent motives for putting ſuch conſtruction on his death? We ſee Siquier take the King's hat and carry it immediately to the Prince of Heſſe; why take his hat? If he had ſimply to announce the death of the King what need was there of a ſpeaking proof? It would have been believed without that. We ſhall add to theſe obſervations an anecdote, but little known, which we have from good authority. "Sequier, upon his arrival, found the Prince of Heſſe about to ſit down to table, waſhing his hands in a golden ewer: upon learning the death of Charles, he immediately made a preſent of the ewer to Siquier, no doubt as an acknowledgment of the value of the information." Such a preſent, in our fancy, would have been more properly beſtowed on the bearer of intelligence of a victory. Theſe details do not juſtify Siquier, but they are evidence, not againſt him alone †. We lay no ſtreſs on the circumſtance of almoſt all the well-informed Swedes coinciding with us in opinion as to the aſſaſſination, becauſe conjectures are not facts; but we think we have

* He is even without excuſe, ſince Counts Lieven and Carlberg who had ſeen the body of the King, as well as him, affirm poſitively (according to Mr. Coxe in his firſt travels) that the ſhot proceeded either from a muſket or a piſtol. What tends further to criminate Siquier, is his miſtating the fact ſo as to do away with the idea of his being aſſaſſinated. Could a murderer, we aſk, or the accomplice of a murder, do more.

† This is not the only example which might be found in modern hiſtory of a ſovereign; a frightful ſuſpicion of whom would have tarniſhed the memory, but that the ſplendour of a long reign has cauſed it to be forgot.

thrown

thrown as much light as poſſible on an event which will never be known for certain. Our readers will appreciate the arguments pro and contra, and will judge for themſelves. We are very bold in daring to contradict Mr. Coxe, who is *convinced* that Charles was ſtruck by a ſmall ball, *becauſe* from the neareſt baſtion, he was *not* more than from five to ſix hundred yards diſtant; and who, farther on, *is ſure* that the King was killed by a ball from the citadel, and *boldly contradicts* the aſſertions of thoſe who pretend that he could not be within muſquet ſhot; a poſition which nobody of ſenſe has ever maintained for the cauſes formerly aſſigned. We are not ſo poſitive of our aſſumption: we expoſe our doubts. Mr. Coxe may be in the right; it is very poſſible he may be wrong.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Morals of the Swedes. — Religion. — Laws. — Government. — Taxes.*

OF all the nations in Europe, that which, on account of its morals, deſerves the higheſt rank, is inconteſtibly the Swediſh nation. The people are naturally good, virtuous, and attached to their religion, and their Sovereign. Probity is general among them. In 1790 we met with waggons laden with the knapſacks of the ſoldiers who died in Finland; they were eſcorted by a certain number of country people, who were relieved at ſucceſſive ſtages. They were on their way to Scania, that is to ſay the extremity of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of reſtoring to the relatives of the deceaſed, the effects they had left behind them. Frequently have we left our carriage open in the high road for hours together, both by day and night, but never did we miſs a ſingle article. If any thing can tempt a Swede to appropriate to himſelf the property of another, it is brandy, the love of which is at its height with them; it would be dangerous to leave it within his reach; for frequently the temptation is too ſtrong for his honeſty. In this character of the people we ſpeak of the country alone, the cities being as corrupt as they are found elſewhere.

The Swedes are not covetous: they are ever content with what you give them, and oftentimes aſk nothing for their ſervices. They are ſober in every other particular, brandy excepted. This lamentable habit begins in infancy, and may be regarded as one of the cauſes of the depopulation of Sweden. We have ſeen children, nine or ten years of age, drink ſuch large glaſſes of brandy as we ourſelves never could compaſs *.

The conſtitution of the fair ſex is frigid; there is, nevertheleſs, no dearth of libertiniſm in great towns; there it begins ſometimes earlier than at twelve years of age, and is carried to exceſs until eighteen or twenty; the young folks then become prudent, that is to ſay, confine themſelves to one lover, and after ſome years marry, commonly to great advantage, the men not regarding in the leaſt their former way of life.

From ſo much debauchery prevailing, it is not ſurpriſing that venereal complaints ſhould be common, as they are; and what is more unfortunate, there is ſcarcely one man in Sweden, on whom you can depend on occaſion.

The habit of drinking, far from being peculiar to the common people, prevails among the higher claſſes. We are ſorry to have to confeſs that it is not unuſual to ſee great noblemen occaſionally on riſing from table unfit for ſerious avocations. This defect does not, however, diminiſh their other good qualities, (for they are polite, affectionate, and engaging,) it is rather to be regarded as a vice peculiar to the country than to individuals, a vice, which, however, would be better laid aſide. Some travellers pretend

* The glaſs of brandy is called *ſoup*; the *pour boire* of the French; the *trinkelt* of the Germans; our *ſup of beer*, or *ſomething to drink your honour*.

that women, as well as men, drink brandy before their meals; this is falſe. In Sweden, as in other countries, brandy is the beverage of none but a certain claſs of females, and is not uſed in good company.

The eſtabliſhed religion of Sweden is the confeſſion of Augſbourg, without any variation. All religions are tolerated freely. There are more than two thouſand catholics at Stockholm (where they have a church), and within the kingdom at leaſt ſix thouſand: many families are eſtabliſhed in Finland, and come to Stockholm once every year or two to fulfil their duties.

We muſt mention the *Skevikare*, who inhabit the ſmall iſland, *Wermdœun*, near Stockholm. They are a remnant of thoſe ſectaries who, from a ſcrupuloſity of conſcience, ſeceded from the Swediſh church in 1738. In the beginning, as they affected to continue public worſhip, the ſacraments, and particularly prieſts, they neceſſarily drew upon themſelves a perſecution, which even extended to baniſhing them the kingdom; but in 1746 they were permitted to form an eſtabliſhment in the iſland of Wermdœun, where they bought the eſtate of *Skevik*, whence they are called *Skevikare*. There is much whimſicality in their doctrine, but their lives are virtuous.

The Swedes are better informed than the people of other nations: all the country people, without exception, know how to read; hence Guſtavus III. whom nothing eſcaped, and who was reaſonably apprehenſive of the effect which news from France might have among them, forbid any notice, whether favourable or otherwiſe, of our revolution to be taken by the Swediſh Gazetteers; he conſidered he was rendering his ſubjects an eſſential ſervice in keeping them entirely ignorant of the ſubject.

The code of laws now followed, were digeſted in the reign of Frederic I. They are clear, wiſe, and preciſe: in civil actions each party pays his own coſts, the loſer never being condemned with all coſts. The criminal laws are humane, as they ought to be in a country where great crimes are extremely uncommon. No perſon accuſed can ſuffer death without confeſſing his crime. Criminals ſentenced to die are beheaded. There is a latin tranſlation of the Swediſh code of laws, in quarto.

The preface of the law of Upland, ameliorated and publiſhed by Birger, ſon of Magnus, in 1295, begins thus:

"God himſelf made the firſt laws, and ſent them to his people by his ſervant Moſes, the firſt great Judge of his people: ſo, likewiſe, the powerful King of Sweden, and Gothia Byrghir, ſon of King Magnus, ſends this book of the precepts of Viger, and the laws of Upland, to all thoſe dwelling between the ſea, the river Sœva, Œudmorda (the northern foreſt).

"Laws ſhould be pronounced and executed for the government of all, the rich as well as the poor; to diſtinguiſh what is juſt, and what unjuſt. It ought to be obſerved and pronounced for the protection of the poor; the peace of the wiſe; it ſhould exiſt for the benefit of the innocent and virtuous man, and as a bar to the criminal and wicked. The country ought to be governed by law, and not by violence; for that country is always in a good ſtate in which the laws are obſerved: if all men were juſt there would be no need of laws.

"The firſt inſtitutor of theſe laws was Viger Spa (that is to ſay the wiſe), a pagan in the time of paganiſm; he was ſent by King Ingiard. What we have found in his collection applicable to every body, we ſhall tranſcribe into this book; what is not applicable, and too harſh, ſhall omit: what was unknown to the pagans, that is to ſay, chriſtian and eccleſiaſtical law, we ſhall add at the beginning of this book; and in this law ſhall follow our anceſtors, Eric the Holy, Byrghir Jart (that is to ſay Duke Byrghir), and King Magnus: but in what thereto is added or omitted, we ſhall follow our own

mature deliberation, with that of our ſenators, which all wiſe men will applaud: this is compoſed for the uſe of all dwelling as we have deſcribed.

"This book of the law was made and written in the year from the birth of God 1295: the learned lords who follow being preſent:—M. Andre, Provoſt of Upſal; M. Rœud-Kœuldorſſon; M. Bendict-Boſon; Ulver Lagmanſſon; Hagbarder de Suderby; Andre de Forekarleby; Thorſten de Sambran d'Attundalande; M. Philippe de Runeby; Jlakan, the great provincial Judge; Eſkil-Skielghi, Sighurd the Judge; Jowan Gaſabogher de Fiedhundraland; Ulver d'Oldmſtum; Gotric and Ulridin, Judges; beſides theſe, the greater part of the learned of the three diſtricts of Upland, as well judges as feudatories were ſummoned, and all gave their conſent to this law, which Byrger the great judge cauſed to be tranſcribed in this book, according to the advice of all thoſe before-mentioned.

"We, Byrghir, by the grace of God, King of Sweden and Gothia, ſalute all thoſe who ſhall ſee this letter, with the ſalutation of God, and his own," &c.

N. B. It is difficult to tranſlate into the French language, and preſerve the energy of the ancient Swediſh laws; the Latin language is better adapted for expreſſion; add to which the language of theſe laws is widely different from that at preſent uſed in Sweden, ſo much ſo that few of the learned are able to comprehend and appreciate the value of the words.

Torture was aboliſhed by Guſtavus III.; another benefit conferred on Sweden by this Prince.

It does not form any part of our plan to ſpeak at large of governments; we ſhall only ſay that the government of Sweden appears to us more perfect, than thoſe the moſt extolled, as to the manner in which the nation is repreſented at the diets; the peaſantry forms a fourth order in the ſtate; this is the only great country in Europe where the cultivator is looked upon as ſomebody*. It might be poſſible to correct ſome abuſes which exiſt in the mode of election of the peaſants, and the number of members at the diet, but here the adage may be applied; *the beſt is ſtill a foe to good.* The Swedes, content with enjoying a conſtitution preferable to that of other people, tolerate the ſmall number of abuſes by which it is accompanied; they fear damaging the trunk in lopping the branches. The real, and poſſibly the only abuſe, in the Swediſh conſtitution, is, that it is impoſſible for the King to keep where he is placed by it; but this is an evil without a remedy; the ſovereign, in a monarchical and hereditary ſtate, muſt neceſſarily, in proceſs of time, aſſume an aſcendency over the other powers, of whatſoever deſcription they may be†. Wherefore, as this evil is infinitely ſmaller than that of being governed by an elective King, we prefer the Swediſh conſtitution, which we regard as being moſt free from faults of any that we know.

The taxes are numerous, and even burthenſome in the cities; yet do they produce but an inconſiderable ſum; the total revenue of the ſtate not amounting to more than thirty-three millions of livres.

Every poſt under the government is liable to a certain tax, ſuch perſons as hold ſeveral, pay but on one, but that is always the moſt conſiderable. Thoſe who have the title without being actually employed, pay double.

* The ſame practice exiſts in the Tyrol, a ſmall province belonging to the Emperor. In France we conceived the people were repreſented by giving a double repreſentation to the *tiers état*, as if lawyers, doctors, and coffee-houſe politicians, were the people. What an abſurdity!

† If he does not aſſume this aſcendancy he will be overwhelmed; there is for him no mean; wherefore, in order to diſtinguiſh which of the two be preferable, let a look be caſt on the relative ſituations of England and France.

The taxes conſiſt 1. of a perſonal tax; 2. of an impoſt on appointments, revenues, and funds producing income; 3. a tax on windows, luxury, horſes, and carriages, ſuperfluous ſervants, ſilk furniture, gilding, and watches; (theſe latter taxes were laid on by the diet of 1789, and the others at the ſame time encreaſed;) 4. on ſilk * dreſſes, ſnuff, and tobacco, for the maintenance of the King's different palaces, the parliaments, and the fund of the college of phyſicians.

There exiſts a book on the impoſts, granted by the ſtates at the diet of 1789; they were granted until the next ſeſſions, without fixing any time. We are ignorant if that held at Geſle in 1792 has occaſioned any change.

CHAP. XX.—*Population.*—*Commerce.*

SWEDEN and Finland fill a large ſpace of country; nevertheleſs, they contain no more than three millions of people. The nature of the ſoil frequently unfit for cultivation; its numerous foreſts, and the ſeverity of the climate in its northern parts, all concur to the want of population in Sweden. The frequent uſe of brandy, which we before have noticed, is another cauſe of diminiſhing the number of its inhabitants, from the great number of victims who die before they reach maturity, or who, if they live, remain in conſequence unfit for procreation. But this is a misfortune which we muſt be ſatisfied to lament; we conſider this ſhocking habit too deeply rooted to allow of eradication; it is too inveterate among the nations of the north. We have witneſſed the diſorders of which the populace were guilty, upon the King's prohibiting the peaſantry from diſtilling their own brandy; nobody can deny that his motive was good, or that in a country in want of grain, it is abſurd to conſume a part thereof in brandy; nevertheleſs he could not ſucceed, and has felt himſelf obliged to leave the abuſe uncorrected.

The commerce of Sweden is very inconſiderable, and for ſome years back has been in its dis-favour. Its articles of merchandize are iron, (the moſt important,) copper, deals, pitch, herrings, allum, &c. The following tables will give a perfect idea of the ſtate of its trade.

Its annual importation of raw and clayed ſugars, amounts to from two to three million pounds weight; the price regulated by the markets at Bourdeaux, as well as the the price of refined ſugar by that of Hamburgh.

One great abuſe exiſts in this country, which is the facility that bad-intentioned men have of becoming bankrupts; his account once rendered, the inſolvent gives himſelf no more uneaſineſs; it will readily be ſeen how diſcouraging this muſt be to a certain claſs of men, and for our parts we are at loſs to conceive how an abuſe of ſuch magnitude can be ſuffered any longer to exiſt.

* The ſumptuary laws forbid the wearing of coloured ſilk, and are obſerved. The common dreſs in ſilk is black, with, in a court dreſs, an addition of flame-coloured ſilk banks. The ſumptuary laws, with reſpect to the number of diſhes allowed to be ſerved up at table, are leſs rigorouſly regarded. We have, however, been preſent at entertainments at which they were obſerved.

A general Account of the Number of Ships belonging to each Town, with their Tonnage as given in 1787.

Towns.	No. of Vessels.	Under 100 Tons.	Above 100 Tons.	Of 500 Tons and upwards.	Total Tonnage.
Bieœurnebourg,	10	845	546		1,391
Borgo,	3	244 1/2	412		956 1/2
Braheſtadt,	6	335 1/2	742 1/2		1,078
Boſtadt,	9	490 7/10			490 7/10
Calmar,	49	3,615 2/5			3,615 2/5
Carlſcrona,	46	2,049 7/10	3,739 1/8	890 2/3	6,679 2/5
Carlſham,	41	1,979 2/5	644		2,623 2/5
Chriſtinœſtadt,	5	299 1/2	727		1,086 1/2
Chriſtianſtadt,	2	504 3/20			504 3/20
Cembritſham,	1	36			36
Ekinœs,	10	945 5/6			945 5/6
Engelholm,	1	26			26
Falkenberg,	2	134			134
Gottenburg,	200	13,716 3/10	8,920 1/3	7,274	29,970 9/10
Geſle,	52	4,067 11/20	2,545 17/20		6,612 7/9
Gamla Carleby,	16	656	3,382		4,038
Halmſtadt,	24	1,076 2/5	264 1/3		1,341 2/5
Helſingbourg,	10	344 1/3			344 1/3
Helſingfors,	10	434	1,555	582	2,569
Hudwickwall,	3	182 1/3			182 1/3
Hernoſand,	7	281 1/2	994		1,275 1/2
Hallandſlan,	4	153			153
Jacobſtadt,	10	706	1,266		1,972
Kungheſf,	6	487	218		705
Kongbacka,	1	22			22
Kullenſkone,	1	38			38
Landſcrana,	15	1,074 4/5			1,074 4/5
Louiſa,	8	633 3/10		1,103 19/20	1,436 1/5
Laholm,	1	29 1/2			29 1/2
Malmoe,	33	1,733	742 2/3		2,475 2/3
Marſtrand,	1	26			26
Nycarleby,	2		230	552	782
Norkiœuping,	33	2,327 2/3	2,265		4,582 2/3
Nykiœuping,	3	153 1/4			153 1/4
Nyſtadt,	1	40			40
Poſkallawick,	1	60			60
Piteo,	2		524		524
Skanor,	4	161			161
Stockholm,	259	17,698 19/20	25,696 13/20	5,179 21/30	48,574 7/60
Stromſtadt,	11	775 4/5			775 4/5
Sundſwall,	1	124			124
Sœuderham,	1	134 4/5			134 4/5
Torneo,	2		636		636
Uddewalla,	74	4,992 8/9	2,396 7/9	700	8,089 2/3
Ulcoberg,	22	528	4,283 3/5	1,195 2/3	6,007 1/3
Umei,	4	203	510 3/5		713 2/5
Warberg,	18	1,510 1/3			1,510 1/3
Waſa or Kaſk,	7	219	1,790 1/2		2,009 1/2
Weſterwik,	35	2,983 1/2	1,179		41,62 1/2
Wiſby,	71	4,758 11/20	926		56,84 11/20
Yſtadt,	35	2,027 2/3	220		22,47 2/3
Abo,	24	1,778 1/2	1344	1,762	48,84 1/3
Œurebro,	1	62			62
Œuregrund,	19	1,353 1/2			1,353 1/2
Oſtammar,	1	60			60
	1224	79,138 13/20	68,816 43/60	19,239 11/15	167,195 77/120

The

The fummary Account of the Commerce of Sweden with the different Powers of Europe in 1785.

EXPORTS.	In French money 24 livres to the Pound ſterling.			IMPORTS.	In French money 24 livres to the Pound ſterling.		
	Livres	Sous	Den.		Livres	Sous	Den.
To France,	10,986,799	11	10	From France,	7,706,781	17	10
England,	8,344,298	0	0	England,	3,081,469	0	0
Holland,	2,394,602	7	6	Holland,	1,693,376	15	2
Spain, Portugal, Italy,	3,886,141	17	0	Spain, Portugal, Italy,	3,156,153	17	0
Ruſſia,	1,140,040	0	3	Ruſſia,	7,153,476	10	3
Denmark, Poland, Pruſſia, and Germany,	10,608,993	4	0	Denmark, Poland, Pruſſia, and Germany,	14,343,618	7	6
Total value of Exports from Sweden.	37,360,875	0	7	Total value of Imports in Sweden.	37,134,876	7	7

Balance of Trade between Sweden and other Countries.

	Livres	Sous	Den.		Livres	Sous	Den.
France,				Sweden exports above her imports,	3,280,017	14	0
England,				do. do.	5,262,829		
Holland,				do. do.	701,225	12	4
Spain, Portugal, and Italy,				do. do.	729,988	0	0
Ruſſia, the imports exceed the exports by,	6,013,436	10	6				
St. Bartholomew,				do. do.	321,568	10	0
Denmark, Poland, Pruſſia, and Germany,	3,734,625	3	0				
The Eaſt India Company,	3,159,510	10	0				
Profit of Freight to the Swedes				From one foreign port to another,	600,000	0	0
					10,895,628	16	4
				Balance to the diſadvantage of Sweden,	2,111,943	7	2
	12,907,572	3	6		12,907,572	3	6

Table

Table of Exports from Stockholm in the Years 1786, 1790, and 1792.

	1786.	1790.	1792.
Iron in bars,	183,942 Schip. 15 Lisp.	222,382 Schip. 4 Lisp.	209,960 Schip. 10 Lisp.
in small bars, flat, round, &c.	18,417 do. 17 do.	19,290 do. 1 do.	5,888 do. 7 do.
Anchors,	194 do. 4 do.	867 do. 13 do.	361 do. 2 do.
Tinned iron, &c.	35 do. 16 do.	2 do. 7 do.	39 do.
Cannon,	4,226 do. 14 do.	541 do. 13 do.	4,017 do. 4 do.
Ball,	273 do. 2 do.	265 do. 6 do.	
Cast iron,	195 do. 12 do.	207 do. 13 do.	739 do. 17 do.
Iron plates,	4,867 do. 3 do.	4,144 do. 4 do.	2,017 do. 15 do.
Nails,	481 do. 6 do.	1,070 do. 7 do.	760 do. 5 do.
Polished iron ware,	439 rix-dol.	241 rix-dol.	
Steel,	4,232 schip.	2,948 schip. 11 lisp.	2,517 do. 19 do.
Copper, wrought,	925 rix-dol.	61 rix-dol.	
refined or pure,	2,574 schip. 2 lisp.	3,148 schip. 13 lisp.	1,319 do. 16 do.
in plates or coined,	1,109 do. 9 do.	1,730 do. 5 do.	108 do. 6 do.
in sheets,	248 do. 11 do.	833 do. 16 do.	
Brass,	3,311 do. 14 do.	2,762 do. 6 do.	96 do. 2 do.
Alum,	1,876 do. 5 do.	888 do. 14 do.	1,556 do. 7 do.
Vitriol and copperas,	621 do. 6 do.	187 do. 8 do.	419 do.
Salt,	40,241 tons		5,713 do.
Beer,	232 barrels	169 barrels	
Herrings and fardines,	5,013 tons	5,068 tons	2,211 tons
Herring oil,			86 do.
Pitch,	12,924 do.	11,140 do.	13,738 do.
Tar,	75,661 do.	95,464 do.	59,479 do.
Red ochre,	1,059 schip.	1,800 schip.	613 schip. 17 lisp.
Deals, less than 1⅛ inch thick,		2,085 dozen	21,113 deals
of 1½ inch,			
less than 2 inches thick,	26,700 deals		
from 2 to 2½ do.	348,744 do.	6,172 do.	
3 inches do.			
Square timber and spars,	1,202 pieces	386 pieces	1,021 pieces
Capstan bars,	303 dozen	136 dozen	
Book and globes, to the value of	1,540 rix-dol.	603 rix-dol.	
Furniture, do.	1,902 do.	3,225 do.	
Wrought silver, do.	717 do.	1,210 do.	
Morocco leather and skins, do.	14,011 do.	8,907 do.	
Watches and clocks, do.	1,045 do.		
Divers clothes, do.	2,272 do.		
Flags and sails, do.		973 rix dol.	
Oats,	174 tons		
Tea,	1,367 cases		
Linen,		1,305 pieces	
Gunpowder,			511 barrels.
Various merchandize, to the value of	9,315 rix-dol.	3,600 rix-dol.	

A Table

A Table of the Imports into Stockholm in the Years 1786, 1790, and 1792.

		1786.	1790.	1792.
Oats,	tons	5,176	5,411	318
Wheat,	do.	47,437	11,454	23,947
Barley,	do.	72,983	64,768	32,733
Malt,	do.	31,106	41,716	43,133
Rye,	do.	192,530	123,930	59,689
Peas,	do.	1,836	11,349	2,001
Grits,	do.	316	258	114
Wheat flour,	lisp.	2,326	34	47
Rye do.	tons	5	34	294
Arrack,	awms	35	63	127
White thread ribbons,		397	318	357
Lead,	schip.	897	1,508	444
Litharge,	lbs.	7,291	969	1,896
Pencils, to the value of	rix-dol.	58	149	218
Cotton,	lbs.	143,181	163,159	195,121
Brandy,	awms	86	4,614	351
Cambrick,	ells	11,528	16,255	43,282
Ducats,		2,000	1,554	750
Cabillao,	tons	37	67	19
Dried cod,	schip.	4,942	4,127	1,503
do. dried differently,	do.	43	39	7
Ling,	do.	822	1,012	745
Herrings,	tons	2,111	2,216	4,899
Dried fish,	do.	20	3	10
Stockfish,	do.	352	338	196
Whalebone,	lbs.	2,449		3,117
Feathers,	do.	140	44	337
Sweet oranges,	No.	20,140	31,460	24,550
Lemons,	do.	206,437	342,909	337,662
Seville Oranges,	do.	20,890	22,595	42,630
Apples,	tons	846	521	1,059
Alum,	lisp.	94	68	88
Pruſſian blue,	lbs.	99	192	
Other blue,	do.	3,762	7,982	10,076
Ceruſe,	do.	111,396	142,728	120,879
Brazil wood,	do.	133,481	74,488	119,159
Cennabar,	do.	2,216	1,811	1,864
Cocheneal	do.	4,057	3,250	5,788
Pernambuco wood,	do.	55,567	26,066	48,738
Gallnuts,	do.	7,589	21,657	55,653
Gum,	rix-dol.	3,694	3,179	2,325
Indigo,	lbs.	39,136	25,819	58,549
Colours,	do.	57,309	39,909	63,303
Carding machines,	rix-dol.		161	
Red chalk,	lbs.	1,377	773	1,969
White do.	tons	314	525	560
Vermillion,	lbs.	6,041	367	9,950
Roucou, a perfumed cake from Cayenne,	rix-dol.	786	651	1,703
Potaſh,	lbs.	2,610	5,594	
Sandal wood,	rix-dol.	559	476	941
Shumuck,	lbs.	11,077	3,900	26,446
Verdigreaſe,	do.	771	1,859	4,465
Umber (colour),	do.	253	322	774
Vau, (do.)	do.	609	430	290

Table

Table—continued.

		1786.	1790.	1792.
Vitriol,	lbs.	57	98	433
Soap,	do.	37,634	60,624	75,666
Plants for extraction of colour,	rix-dol.	269	1,324	645
Colours,	lbs.	24,339	13,532	41,969
Ye low colour,	do.	33,872	13,176	31,063
Calaminaris,	rix-dol.	3,406	4,925	3,172
White cotton thread	lbs	551		27,012
Red do.	do	20,572	15,144	10,446
Horfe-hair do.	do.	8,120	5,601	
Coarfe thread,	do.	27,345	17,081	31,448
Dutch do.	do.	487	942	1,208
Plaifter,	tons	598	45	548
Guinea cloths,	ells	216,215	253,258	59,434
Pearl barley,	lbs.	614	1,935	623
Rice,	do.	84,260	86,098	185,864
Sago,	do	4,364	3,620	6,548
Hemp,	fchip.	6,337	4,655	4,895
Colophanium,	lifp.	587	255	208
Ox hides,	rix-dol.	8,814	5,639	33,625
Flax,	fchip	2,299	1,563	2,889
Hards of hemp, flax, &c.	do.	676	384	244
Linen cloth,	ells	890	752,920	626
Sole leather,	lbs.	118,504	164,462	237,107
Upper leather,	do.	587	516	3,052
Mineral waters in ftone bottles,		17,274	16,956	21,876
in glafs do.		14,202	12,177	16,988
Muflin,	ells	8,167	7,752	55,215
Olive oil,	cans	11,426	9,107	23,783
Hemp oil,	awms	91½	116	55
Linfeed and turnip oil,	do.	777	536	676
Oil of turpentine,	lbs.	3,380	6,399	20,970
Blue paper,	reams	230	431	354
Brown do.	do.	167	213	156
Grey do.	do.	341	256	630
Writing paper, coarfe,	do.	1,334	1,000	2,574
grey, finer,	do.	36	20	126
large, white,	do.	76	106	116
Paſteboard,	rix-dol.	486	55	212
Paper vellum,	reams	339	48	70
letter,	do.	1,268	1,115	1,604
royal,	do.	24	45	121
common writing,	do.	3,376	3,448	5,902
printing,	do.	192	165	600
Furs,	rix-dol.	7,095	5,868	8,160
China ware,	do.	596	789	2,255
Quickfilver,	lbs.	915	3,850	1,908
Salt,	tons	114,554	107,713	158,646
Silk gauzes,	ells	15,909	651	25,072
Silks,	rix-dol.	34,092	963	777
Silk, Bologna,	do.	20,385	13,909	24,554
flowered,	lbs.	714	735	541
ſpun,	do.	13,440	3,703	9,028
Coin,	rix-dol.	20,971	20,000	9,616
Aniſe,	lbs.	28,105	17,057	27,192
Anchovies,	do.	4,116	3,063	5,358
Borax,	do.	1,122	467	869

Table—continued.

		1786.	1790.	1792.
French plumbs,	lbs.	4,522	3,586	1,588
Camphor,	do.	1,120	1,774	1,923
Millet,	do.	8,031	7,108	12,225
Cinnamon,	do.	2	3	66
Cocoa,	do.	8,536	8,702	988
Coffee,	do.	1,260,298	1,044,426	927,926
Capers,	do.	2,012	1,375	2,304
Cardamom,	do.	432	288	457
Prunes,	do.	26,591	13,006	27,052
Chocolate,	do.	427	248	450
Lemon juice,	cans	2,658	5,507	3,931
Citron, candied,	lbs.	636		549
Currants,	do.	15,283	25,402	8,333
Fennel,	do.	16,859	2,928	12,045
Figs,	do.	150,967	193,919	146,982
Ginger,	do.	31,775	32,412	20,467
Laurel berries,	do.	5,150	811	2,786
leaves,	do.	3,502	2,733	1,690
Liquorice,	do.	33,228	41,448	80,084
Scented waters,	rix-dol.	508	836	1,353
Almonds,	lbs.	83,472	65,756	94,159
Nutmegs,	do.	896	459	474
Mace,	do.	527	346	196
Cloves,	do.	429	210	339
Sattin,	ells			117,443
Olives,	cans	765	527	811
Pepper,	lbs.	28,502	18,608	22,848
Orange peel,	do.	32,967	64,518	65,310
Raisons,	do.	505,072	687,063	217,731
Saffron,	do.	195	306	331
Muſtard,	tons	72	79	74
Senna,	lbs.	1,402	1,584	929
Plumbs,	do.	373,606	388,960	471,174
Turpentine,	do.	20,291	8,800	7,343
Glaſſes,	rix-dol.	347	236	510
Looking-glaſſes,	do.	2,074	844	7,386
Tin-leaf for glaſſes,	lbs.	802	377	873
Spirits of wine,	awms	486	24	10
Charcoal,	tons	14,227	6,020	22,174
Fiddle ſtrings,	rix-dol.	90	107	532
Sugar, raw,	lbs.	1,114,587	1,406,705	1,665,774
clayed,	do.	1,210,951	938,367	1,123,110
Briſtles,	liſp.	1,948	1,593	2,849
Tin,	ſchip.	154	136	161
Tobacco leaf,	lbs.	331,626	354,501	403,041
manufactured,	do.	2,208	548	1,768
Dutch,	do.	392	668	469
Wool,	liſp.	16,938	22,647	13,796
Spaniſh,	do.	1,426	260	2,079
Bacon (flaſk),	ſchip.	131	4,650	437
Salted meat (kyott),	tons	255	810½	367
Butter,	ſchip.	18	473	107
Cheeſe,	do.	227½	3,188½	3,275
Tallow,	do.	1,100	714½	1,563
Wax,	lbs.	21,847	2,728	1,144
Wax lights,	do.	10,592	16,776	26,159

Table—continued.

		1786.	1790.	1792.
French wines,	awms	5,150	5,376	5,661
Rheniſh and Moſelle wines,	do.	194	191	346
Spaniſh and Portugueſe do.	do.	162	230½	118
Vinegar,	rix-dol.	179	1,177½	55
Drugs,	lbs.			1,124
Books,	rix-dol.		1,955	6,863
Porter,	cans		3,382	5,433
Lemon peel,	lbs.		1,886	
Flints,	pieces		232,000	209,000
Diſtilled oils,	lbs.		292	
Sugar in loaves,	do.		186,051	202,113
Antimony,	do.			4,400
Oil of vitriol,	do.			9,131

CHAP. XX.—*Trade in Iron, Steel, Copper, Braſs, &c.—Money, Weights, and Meaſures of Sweden.*

IRON is the moſt important branch of Swediſh commerce, its exports thereof amounting to three hundred thouſand ſchippunds, at the ſmalleſt computation, being about three-fourths of the annual production of the mines.

The iron warehouſe at Stockholm is ſituated near the ſouthern flood-gates, where the communication takes place between the lake Mœler and the ſea; it is an immenſe building, as may readily be imagined when remembered, that all the iron embarked at Stockholm is depoſited there. Perſons finding themſelves preſſed for money, can borrow of the bank upon their iron; the bars pledged are, on ſuch occaſions, tied together with a ſtring, which is ſealed, and cannot be removed until diſengaged by repayment.

Statement of ſuch forges as work fifteen hundred ſchippunds of iron and upwards.

Places or names of the forges.	Quantity worked in ſchippunds.	Quality.	No. of hammers.	Proprietors.
Axmar in Geſtricia,	1,500	good,	2	Beppen and Schinkell.
Malengſbo in Dalecarlia,	1,500	do.	2	Madame Ehrenhielm.
Bakhammar in Weſtmania,	1,750	good and inferior,	2	Jacob Romſell.
Boggo in Weſtmania,	2,127	inferior,	3	Madame Byuggren.
Forſbacka in Geſtricia,	1,600	do.	2	M. Nordin.
Wellenſberg in Nericia,	1,800	good,	2	M. E. Hoffſten.
Watolma in Upland,	2,000	do.	3	Count Brahè.
Byorkborn and Bœufers, in Vermeland,	2,070	inferior, breaks when hot,	3	M. Robſamſon.
Laſen., Nericia,	1,748	good,	2	M. Hauſſoff.
Gammelbo in Weſtmania,	2,875	inferior,	4	Heiknſchœulds.
Wirſbo, idem,	1,725	good,	2	Baron Silverſchœuld.
Larſbo in Dalecarlia,	2,200	inferior,	4	Terſmeden.
Engelſberg in Weſtmania,	1,539	good,	3	Sœuderhielm.
Forſmark in Upland,	2,875	do.	4	Uggla.
Maroker in Helſingia,	2,475	breaks when hot.	3	Werenberg.

Table

Table—continued.

Places or names of the forges.	Quantity worked in ſchippunds.	Quality.	No. of hammers.	Proprietors.
Graninge in Angermania,	2,000	inferior, breaks when hot,	3	Claſſons.
Gimo, Romœus, Robersfors, } Upland,	2,875	good and very good,	7	Lefebvre.
Finoker in Weſtmania,	1,943	good,	3	The family of Ferſen.
Kihlafors, Helſingia,	2,000	inferior,	3	M. Setons.
Gravendahl, Dalecarlia,	2,450		4	The family of Graves.
Lœfta, Upland,	9 to 10,000	good,	6	Charles de Geer.
Haſslefors in Nericia,	1,725	good, very good,	2	Senior Falkenbergs.
Œuſterby, Upland,	5 to 6,000	inferior,	4	Œrill.
Lœgdœu and Logfors, Med.	1,525	do.	2	M. Kraps.
Olofsfors, Angermania,	2,000	do.	3	Paulii and Smarœus.
Koſkis, Finland,	1,500	good,	2	Haſſelgrenar.
Okerby, Upland,	2,000	inferior,	3	Ch. de Geer.
Pauliſtrœum, Smaland,	2,400	good,	4	Peklius.
Romnœs, Weſtmania,	2,025	breaks when hot,	3	Sœuderhielm.
Bernſhammar, do.	1,950	inferior,	2	Julin Schœulds.
Longwind, Helſingia,	1,600	good,	2	Stokenſtrœum.
Schebo, Upland,	2,275	inferior,	3	Arvedſon.
Nekſiœu, Geſtricia,	1,600	good,	2	Ch. Cederſtrœum.
Stromberg and Ulfors, Upl.	3,100	do.	4	Ch. de Geer.
Hœugbo, Geſtricia,	1,625	inferior,	2	Hyertas.
Woxna, Helſingia,	1,900	good,	3	Muller.
Krakfors, Nericia,	1,500	do.	2	Falcker.
Suderfors, Upland,	1,840	very good,	5	Grill.
Gyſinge, Geſtricia,	1,800	good,	2	Wittfohls.
Ferna, Weſtmania,	2,400	inferior,	4	Rumſell.
Tolfors, Geſtricia,	1,800	good,	2	Sœuderhielm.
Finſping, Oſtrogothia,	1,810	inferior,	4	J. J. de Geer.
Loœdvicka, Dalecarlia,	2,400	do.	3	Cedereutz.
Hargs, Upland,	3,400	good,	2	Baron Oxenſtiern.

There are altogether two hundred and ninety-nine large forges, which furniſh - - - 227,507 ſchippunds,

Beſides ninety-two ſmaller ones, belonging to ſocieties of peaſants, which furniſh - - - 18,236 do.

Making a total of - - - 245,743 do.

Theſe eſtabliſhments keep three hundred and ſeventy-three hammers at work; in addition to theſe are twelve others of no great conſequence, the hammers in which or produce are not marked.

It is to be obſerved, that this ſtatement accounts for no more than ſuch iron as is brought for ſhipment to Stockholm; to this amount, therefore, will be to be added that of the ſhipments from other ports, as Gefle, Gottenburg, &c. and that of the following tables.

Note. The quantity of iron deſignated is that which is allowed to be forged, the proprietors, owing to a ſcarcity of wood and coal, not being allowed to exceed the limited quantity. With reſpect to ſteel there are not the ſame preſcriptions, wherefore the quantity wrought will not be conſtantly the ſame as that inſerted in the table.

Forges for ſteel.	Hundreds of packages and caſes.	Proprietor's names.
Nyquarn in Sudermania,	1,000 to 1,200	Baron Leyonhufvied.
Rockſholm, Weſtmania,	5 to 600	Holmgren.
Ferna, do.	1,000 to 1,200	Rumſell.
Carlguſtafstadt, Sudermania,	1,500 to 2,000	Rothoſs.
Skippſta, do.	4 to 500	Vahrendorf.
Wijk and Wilmanſhytta, Dalecarlia,		Greiff.
Graninge, Angermania,		Claſſons.
Wirſboda, Nericia,		Robſam.
Hellefors, Weſtmania,		Heikenſchœulds.
Remmens, Vermeland,		Mynnan.
Schiſchyttan, Weſtmania,		Ornſchœuld.
Gravendahl, Dalecarlia,		The family of Graves.
Brenninge, Sudermania,		Poſt.
Okerby, Upland,		Chevalier de Geer.
Œuſterby, do.		Grill.
Doringſiœu, Dalecarlia,		Vahrendorf.
Wedevog, Weſtmania,		Hallencreutz.

Forges of iron plates.	Schippunds.	Proprietors' names.
Rackhammar, Weſtmania,	from 4 to 500	Schulzenham.
Roſkeſholm, do.	250 to 300	Holmgren.
Wedevog, do.	3 to 400	Hallencreutz.
Ferna, do.	250 to 300	Ramſell.
Carlholm, Upland,	3 to 400	Chevalier de Geer.
Mariefors, Weſtrogothia,	100 to 150	Beckman.
Sathers, Dalecarlia,	3 to 400	Malmſten.
Skinſkatteberg, Weſtmania,	4 to 500	Hiſings.
Garphyttan, Nericia,	250 to 300	Uggla.
Gravendahl, Dalecarlia,	2 to 300	Family of Graves.
Hellefors, Weſtmania,	2 to 300	Heikenſchœulds.
Clunefors, Nericia,	2 to 300	Eſſen.
Kiazllfall, Weſtrogothia,	150 to 200	Count de Hordt.
Frowinedra, Weſtmania,	150 to 200	Dahlman.
Frowi Offra, do.	2 to 300	Foek.
Giſſarbo Offra, do.	150 to 200	Ornſchœuld.
Boxholm, Oſtrogothia,	200 to 300	Baren.
Oloffsfors, Angermania,	200 to 300	Paulu and Smareus.
Jaders, Weſtmania,	100 to 150	Mannerſtrole.

Braſs manufactories.	Schippunds.	Proprietors' names.
Skultuna, Weſtmania,	6 to 700	Adlervall.
Biurfors, do.	5 to 600	Vahrendorff.
Nykoping, Sudermania,	280 to 300	Syœuberg.
Guſum, Oſtrogothia,	400 to 450	Spalſencreutz.
Alius,	400 to 450	Weſterberg.
Norkiœuping, do.	900 to 1,000	Paſch.

Manufactories.		Schippunds.	Proprietors.
Fagerwick, Nyland,	ſulphur,		Hiſingers.
Dylta, Nericia,		250 to 300	Okerhielm.
Dylta, do.	vitriol,	5 to 600	Do.
Fahlun, Dalecarlia,		5 to 600	Gahn and Hermelin.
Lœufver, Smaland,	allum,	1,000 to 1,500	Buſch.
Kafvelos, Weſtrogothia,		5 to 600	Baron Mapercreutz.
Andrarum, Scania,		2 to 300	Count Piper.
Helierum, Smaland,		4 to 500	Cederbaum.
Garphyttan, Nericia,		900 to 1,000	Uggla.

Duties

Duties payable by the buyer at the iron warehouſe, per ſchippund, on the articles before mentioned; on	Schillings.	Roundſt.
Iron in bars,	2	7
in lots or packages,	5	1
in thick ſheets,	6	1
in common do.	9	3
Breenſtohl ſteel in packages or caſes,	10	1
Garf ſteel, do.	16	9
Nails of 2 inches length,	11	11
3 inches,	10	7
4, 5, 6, do.	9	3
7, and upwards,	7	11
Iron tinned and manufactured,	5	11
Caſt iron or lead,	2	11
Iron cannon,	2	5
Copper, red, yellow, or compoſed metal,	4	8
Sulphur, vitriol, and allum,	2	11
Anchors,	1	6

Swediſh Currency.

Gold Money.	Value in the Country. Rix dol.	Schil.	Purity. Carats	Grs.
The Adolphus,	5	0	23	3
Ducat,	1	16		
Old Ducat,			22	0

Silver Money.	
The Dollar, or ſilver crown,	1
Dollar, or copper crown,	3 to the dollar.
Silver mark, Swediſh mark,	4
Copper mark,	12
Siklar, Slautar, Styfver, Œr Sylber,	32
Œer Kypfer, or copper œr, Rundſtiick,	96
Œrleigs,	128
Pfenninns,	768

Other Money.	Value in rundſtiicks.	French Deniers, Grains.
The double ſchlanten, ſtyfer,	6	
Silver ſtyſer,	9	
Carolin,	75	8
Dollar Carolin or double Carolin,	150	
Plotte, Bank dollar,	192	
Dollar in ſpecie, rix-dollar,	$266\frac{2}{3}$	10
Ducatoon,	300	11

Currency

Currency of Swediſh Pomerania.

	Value in the Country. Rix-dol.	Purity. Carats. Grains.
The gold Adolphus, —	5	
Rix-dollar, —	1	
Florin of the Empire,	1½ to the do. rix-dol.	
Florin of Pomerania,	3 to do.	
Swediſh mark, —	6	
Groſchen, —	24	
Schelling, —	48	
Seſling, —	96	
Altinwiten, —	192	
Pfinnings, —	576	

Value in French and Engliſh Money.

	French Money. Liv.	Sous.	Sterling. £.	s.	d.
The golden ducat, —	11	10	0	9	7
Rix-dollar, —	1	15	0	4	9½
Plotte, — —	1	18⅓	0	1	7⅙
Silver dollar, —	0	19⅚	0	0	9 7/12
Schilling, — —	0	28 den.	0	0	1⅙

The ton of gold is 100,000 ſilver dollars, cloſe upon 4000l. ſter.: viz. 3993l. 1s. 1⅓d.

The rix-dollar is worth 3 plottes; 6 ſilver dollars; 18 copper dollars; 48 ſchillings, and 192 ſtivers.

Weight, Value, and Aſſize of Gold and Silver, according to Ordonnance.

The mark for the aſſize of gold is divided into 24 carats, the carats into 12 grains.

The mark for the aſſize of ſilver is divided into 16 loths, each loth into 18 grains.

Wrought ſilver ſhould be 13 loths and a quarter fine, but an allowance on aſſaying is made of one eighth part of a loth.

The mark of gold and ſilver is moreover compoſed of 16 loths, 64 quintins, or 4284 aſſes.

The ordonnance of 1664, which regulated the weight of coins, is ſtill obſerved; according to this, one mark of gold makes 62 ducats, and of ſilver, five rix-dollars and one fifth, which is 15 loths 2 grains each; anſwering, according to Tillet and Cateau, to 3 ounces 5 groſs 10 grains French weight. Cantzler quotes ordonnances with reſpect to coin, as far down as to 1706, beginning with 1594. Within that interval no alteration had been made in the ſtandard for ſilver coin.

According to Cateau, eight rix-dollars are made from one mark of ſilver, of the ſtandard of 14 loths 1 grain. He ſtates he omitted fractions.

The ſtandard of the ordonnance correſponds with 10 deniers 13 grains French. From authentic experiments made at Paris, the Swediſh rix dollar weighs 540 grains, and is of the ſtandard of 10 deniers 10 grains. The ducat weighs 65 grains, and its ſtandard is 23 17/24 carats.

The common money is after the rate of 50 rix-dollars per ſchipund of 272 pounds. Ever ſince 1745, copper ſheets have not been current as money; this currency has become rare even, and it is now almoſt impoſſible to procure collections of it for the cabinets of the curious.

Theſe

Theſe ſheets were made of a very ſoft and highly malleable copper, in the ſhape of a long ſquare, and about as thick as three half crowns laid together, and were marked at the four corners with the arms of Sweden; in the middle the value was ſtamped. Thoſe which were current for a rix-dollar, weighed five pounds and a half.

180 dollars *ſilbermunt*, or 540 dollars *koppermunt*, in ſheets of the value of 4 dollars to half a dollar *ſilbermunt*, or from 12 dollars *koppermunt*, were made from a ſchippund of 320 pounds proviſion weight. 900 dollars of copper money ſtamped and rimmed, of from 6 œrs to half an œer *koppermunt*, from one ſchippund of copper, proviſion weight.

The ſtandard of the pieces of one œer,	is	2 den.	8 grs.
of thoſe — of four œrs,	—	3	18
of thoſe — from 5 to 10,	—	5	8

In 1716, pieces of five and ſix oers were coined much inferior to the ſtandard of the coins before mentioned.

Impreſſions.

The golden ducat has the King's head on one ſide with his name in latin, and this legend: D. G. REX SUECIÆ; on the other a circular ſhield, the ground azure, with three golden crowns ſurrounded by the chain of the order of the Seraphim, and this legend: FADERNESLANDET. The date is under the ſhield, and is divided by the croſs of the order which alſo diſjoins theſe two letters O L diſtinguiſhed above the date.

The impreſſion on the rix-dollars, plottes, and double plottes is ſimilar to that on the ducats, except that on the field of the reverſe, the value for which they are current is ſtamped, and on the rim is ſeen this legend: *Ne lædar avaris manibus.* The ſmaller ſilver pieces have the initial of the Sovereign on one ſide, and within his diſtinguiſhing cypher with the ſingle word: *Faderneſlandet*; on the oppoſite ſide they have the ſame ſhield as the ducats, but without the chain. On the right of the field the value is ſtamped, and R. O. M. on the left, in a line with the figures.

The copper coins have an argent ſhield with three bars undulated with azure, a lion crowned, with his throat ſtrongly marked, and an abridged legend compoſed of the initial of the Sovereign with his diſtinguiſhing cypher, and S. G. V. R. The three crowns which form the arms of Sweden, are placed one on the dexter ſide, the other on the ſiniſter, and the third at the bottom of the ſhield. On the other ſide are two arrows making a St. Andrew's Croſs, with the crown of Sweden, the date and a mark expreſſive of the value. Late coins have a chain round the rim. The rundſtiick has three crowns on one ſide, and above them G. R. S., below is the date; on the other ſide is a ſhield with two arrows forming a St. Andrew's croſs; on the right of the ſhield is figure of I. and the letter K., on the left the two letters O. R., below which M. is placed.

Obſervations.

The Swediſh coins are generally well ſtruck, particularly thoſe of gold and ſilver. Little ſpecie of the coinage of the country is ſeen in circulation, but a number of Dutch ducats. They are exchanged at par for thoſe of Sweden, notwithſtanding the Dutch ducat be only 23 carats 5 grains fine. Somewhat more of the ſilver coin is in circulation; they, as well as thoſe of gold are ſtamped with the greateſt nicety, and in conſequence are in high eſtimation; the exportation of them is rigidly prohibited, as well as the copper coinage, which offers a gain of 30 per cent.

There is no fixed relation of value between gold and ſilver in Sweden. In 1755, the proportion was 1 to 18, which is difficult to believe; in Swediſh Pomerania it is

1 to

1 to 16. The Swediſh rix-dollar, although it have the advantage in purity over that of Holland by one grain as well as that of Hamburgh, is yet exchanged with both at par.

There is regularly but one mint in Sweden, which is at Stockholm: although in Dalecarlia there be a copper coinage on which the arms of the province are ſtamped, and which has currency throughout that country and its neighbourhood.

The accounts of the crown are kept in dollars *ſilbermunt*, as are accounts in general in Scania, Halland, Bleking, and Gottenburgh; in theſe parts moſt payments are made in paper. Bank notes are conſidered as caſh, and are even frequently taken with greater avidity. The paper of the States, particularly that of Finland recently called in, are at a ſmaller or greater diſcount according to circumſtances. Merchants keep their accounts in dollars and œrs. The ſchelling or ſcaling is an imaginary money, 48 of which go to the dollar.

Although the exchange between Sweden and other countries varies according to the balance of trade, by the ordonnance of 1776 the courſe was fixed as under.

On Amſterdam,	-	45 ſchillings per rix-dollar current.
Copenhagen,	-	100 rix-dollars ſpecie per 120 rix-dollars current.
Spain,	-	41 ſchillings per ducat of exchange.
Hamburgh,	-	47 ſchillings per rix-dollar banco.
Liſbon,	-	22 ſchillings per cruſado of 400 ries.
London,	-	4 rix-dollars 15 ſchillings per pound ſterling.
Paris,	-	25 ſchillings per Ecu de 60 ſous Tournois.
Stralſund,	-	100 rix-dollars ſpecie per 132 rix-dollars of Pomerania.

Extract of the Royal Ordonnance relative to Money, of the 27th November, 1776.

No one whatſoever ſhall be obliged, in payments above the value of a rix-dollar, to receive a larger quantity of ſmall copper coin at one time than half a rix-dollar.

Gold coins being requiſite for the convenience of trade, Swediſh ducats as well as thoſe of Holland, of full weight, and with a chain round the ridge, ſhall be received in circulation in concurrence with the rix-dollar at the rate of 94 ſkillings or 1 rix-dollar 46 ſkillings; which in currency amounts at the period of the date of this to 35 dollars 8 œrs in copper money, or 11 dollars 24 œrs *ſilbermunt*.

All purchaſes, ſales, and tranſactions of every deſcription regarding money, and being in writing, ſhall be ſtipulated from the commencement of the enſuing year in rix-dollars, and in default of compliance with this ordonnance, ſhall be deemed illegal.

Weights of Sweden and Stralſund.

The Skolpfund is 1 lb. which is divided into

32	— —	Loths,
96	—	Quintins,
132	— —	Dragmes,
and 1848	— —	Aſſes.

The four weights uſed in trade contain	—	Aſſes.
The weight for proviſions. *Vigt.*	— —	8848
Mark, miner's weight. *Bergverkſvigt.*	—	7221
Mark, Flat country or Town weight. *Lund och Stadts vigt.*		7078
Pound, Apothecaries' weight,	— —	7416
The Sten,	— — — —	32 lbs.
Liſpund,	— — — —	20

16 Liſpunds a *ſtaple* ſchippund, 20 liſpunds a ſchippund. The ſchippund of Stralſund, commercial weight, is 20 liſpunds or 280 lbs.; the centner, 8 liſpunds or 112 lbs.; tee ſten, 10 lbs. In grocers' and other ſhops, a weight is uſed $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. lighter than that uſed in trade, ſpoken of higher up.

The Swediſh *as* correſponds exactly with the *as* Troy of Holland.

The pound *, or *ſkolpfund* weighs 1 mark 7 ounces 7 grains, 8 grains poid de mare French.

Dry Meaſures.

	Value in the Country.	Cubic French inches.
† The *Tunna* or ton contains —	—	7386
Spanns, — —	2	
Half ſpanns, — —	4	
Fierdings or Viertels, —	8	
Koppars, — —	32	231
Kanne, — —	56	132
Stoppe, — —	112	
Qwarter, — —	448	
Jungfre œrt, — —	1792	

Meaſures for Dry Goods.

	Value in the Country.	French cubic inches
The ordinary laſt, Laſt or ton of 1000 herrings, — of foreign beer,	— 12 tons.	
— of tar, pitch, whale oil, aſhes,	13 tons.	
— of Spaniſh or French ſalt, —	18 tons.	
— Hemp, flax, cordage, hops, tallow,	120 liſpunds.	
	Kannes.	
The barrel of malt, — —	66	8771
of ſalt and lime, —	59	7848
Ton of wheat rye, barley, oats and peas,	63	1210

* 100 lbs. Swediſh weight is equal to 93 lbs. 7 ounces Engliſh. The Engliſh pounds conſequently contain 9523 aſſes *feré*, of Swediſh weight, and is heavier than the Swediſh in the proportion of 320 to 299.

The ſtaple ſchippund weighs therefore of Avoirdupois weight Engliſh, 299 lbs.
The ſchippund (of 20 liſpunds), — — $373\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.
The liſpund, — — — $18\frac{11}{16}$ lbs.
The ſkopfund, — — — 14 oz. $15\frac{6}{10}$ drams.

† Reduction of the table of meaſures of capacity to Engliſh meaſure, computing 7386 French inches to the tunna, and the French foot to be to the Engliſh as 1068 to 1000.

The tunna will contain 7888 inches Engliſh, or $28\frac{1060}{1088}$ Gallons Wincheſter Dry meaſure.
Spann, — — — $14\frac{530}{1088}$
Halfſpan, — — $7\frac{265}{1088}$
Viertel, — — $3\frac{132}{1088}$
Koppar, rather more than $\frac{1}{32}$ of a gallon.
Kanne, rather more than half a gallon.
Stoppe, a quart.
Qwater, half a pint.
Junfre œrt, $\frac{1}{56}$ do.

The laſt of twelve tons, 347 gallons and upwards, of thirteen, 376 gallons, and of eighteen, $521\frac{1}{2}$ gallons. One ton Engliſh Avoirdupois, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.

At Stralſund.

		Value in the Country.	French cubic inches.
The laſt contains, corn meaſure,	Drœmts,	8	
	Barils,	32	5892
	Scheffels,	96	1964
	Fehrts,	384	
	Metzers,	1586	

Meaſures of capacity of Liquids.

	Value in the country.	French Inches.	Added by tranſlator. Engliſh. Inches.	Winchester Wine Meaſure. Gallons.	Dec.
One Freder or Vat contains				220	2
Pipes	2			110	1
Oxhofts,	5				
Ahms,	6			36	7
Nembares or Eimers,	12	3,960	423,928	18	35
Omkares,	24	1,980	211,964	9	17
Kannes,	360	132	14,098		612
Stoppes,	720	66	7,049		30
Quarters,	2,880				075
Jungfres,	11,520				018
At Stralſund.					
One Stubgen contains	1	196	209,3		906
Pottes,	4	49	52,34		226
The other meaſures the ſame as are uſed at Hamburgh.					

Long Meaſures, ſuch as are uſed for Cloths, Carpenter's Work, and Diſtances.

		French lines	Engliſh.
The foot contains	1	131 6	140 5
Inches,	12		
Lines,	144		
The ell, or allen, contains feet,	2	236 2	281 0
Fam, or fathom,	6		843 4
Riethe, or perch,	16		

The

	French.	English.
The Swedish mile consists of feet 36,000,	32,900,	6 miles $\frac{293}{440}$ths.

For carpenter's work, a measure of a foot of 10 inches, or *tumbs*, in length, is used, divided into 10 lines, which are again sub-divided into ten other parts.

The tuna, a measure used in carpenter's work, is 46,772 square feet.

At Stralsund

The Pomeranian foot is 125 French lines.
Ell is 258.

In Sweden after measuring by the strike an addition is given to the buyer of four kappers, on every measure of wheat, rye, oats, and peas; and six kappers upon each ton of salt, or lime.

CHAP. XXI. — *Route from Stockholm to Upsal, by Gripsholm, Oker, Elskilstuna, Skultuna, and Westeros.*

WE left Stockholm by the same road we arrived on coming from Gottenburg. After crossing the southern suburbs, of a prodigious length and most wretchedly paved, we reached Gripsholm by *Fitja, Sœudertilje*, and *Kumla*; over a superb road six miles and seven eighths in length. Half a mile beyond Fitja, you have a charming prospect of a lake lying along the left of the road. Half a mile from *Sœudertelje*, on the left is a handsome *chateau*, pleasantly situated on the side of the lake, belonging to the President Eyriengranat. Before we arrived at Gripsholm, we crossed one of the extremities of lake Mœler, over a bridge at a place called Laystadt. There it is that the iron and cannon from the foundry of Oker, and the neighbouring forges, are embarked for Stockholm. Mr. Vahrendorf had begun building two warehouses there.

Gripsholm is an ancient royal chateau, to which the court formerly went very frequently; it has not been thither since 1784. The first court is absolutely irregular; the building of brick; a large tower at the bottom of the court. There are four of them of unequal size, and irregularly disposed. In the first court are two calverins in bronze, fifteen and seventeen feet in length, the caliber seven inches; we esteemed them forty-eight-pounders. They each weigh eighty-five schippunds, and were taken from the Russians in 1581, at the siege of Iwanogorod, by Baron Pontus de la Gardie: several times has it been in contemplation to found them. The inscriptions upon them are in Russian characters, and state them to have been cast in 7085, and 7087, (1577, and 1579,) by the Czar Iwan Basilowitz; some marks of shot which have struck it are visible on the smaller piece. Thence a vault leads into a very small court. The interior of the chateau presents nothing worthy of notice. In the King's apartments are twenty-seven portraits of Turkish Emperors, from Osman I. who died in 1326, to Abdulhamid, the last Emperor deceased. In the bed-chamber is an iron chair, used by Gustavus Vasa. Above in a tower, is a pretty divan; the walls of it are nine feet thick; it is very handsomely furnished, and commands a charming view of the lake. In another tower is an apartment in which Eric XIV. was confined for two years; it is of an irregular figure, and seventeen feet long at its greatest length; it is lighted by three small windows with iron bars. The theatre is small, but very handsome. It is supported by

ſixteen fluted columns, which, as well as the reſt of the body of the theatre, which forms a demi-circle up to the ſtage of forty feet in diameter, are gilt. In the apartment of the Princeſs, the late King's ſiſter, is the buſt of a woman veiled, compoſed of three different kinds of marble. In that of the Queen is a ſmall copy of the Borgheſe hermaphrodite. In the reading-room, two vaſes of Ruſſian marble. The moſt remarkable contents of this chateau are its numerous collection of portraits of the Princes and Princeſſes of Europe, ſince the time of Guſtavus Vaſa; it is very conſiderable, yet not complete. In a long gallery, which ſerves as a dining-room, are the portraits of the different Sovereigns contemporary with Guſtavus Vaſa; and in the ſaloon, which is a large rotunda of more than forty feet in diameter; in the great tower are thoſe of the Sovereigns who reigned at the time Guſtavus III. aſcended the throne. The firſt, that is to ſay thoſe of the time of Guſtavus Vaſa, are *Francis* I. King of France, taken in 1542, when forty-eight years of age. *Sigiſmund* I. King of Poland, who died in 1548, eighty-one years of age. The *Emperor Maximilian*, 1519 (the year of his death,) fifty-nine years old. *Charles* V. Emperor and King of Spain when thirty years of age, in 1530; he died in his fifty-eighth year. *Ferdinand* I. King of Hungary and Bohemia, aged twenty-nine years, 1531; he died in 1564. *Lewis* II. King of Hungary and Bohemia, killed in battle in the year 1525, in his twentieth year. *Frederic*, Duke and Elector of Saxony, 1525; he died aged ſixty-two. *John*, Duke of Saxony, died in 1532, in his ſixty-third year. *Joachim*, Margrave of Brandenburg, died 1571, ſixty-ſix years old; was painted in 1547. *Henry*, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, died in 1578, ſeventy-nine years old. *William*, Count Palatine of the Rhine, died in 1550, fifty-ſeven years old. *George*, Duke of Saxony, died in 1539, ſixty-eight years old, his likeneſs taken when fifty-nine. *Eric*, Duke of Brunſwick; he died in 1540; ſeventy years of age, painted when 63. *Henry*, Duke of Saxony, died in 1541, ſixty-eight years old, painted when fifty-eight. *Henry*, Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, died in 1572, ninety-three years old, painted in 1534. *Albert*, Duke of Mecklenburg, died in 1547, ſixty years old. *Andrew de Greti*, Doge of Venice, died at the beginning of the 16th century, painted in 1533. *Stephen Schlick*, Count of Baſſau. *George*, de Fronſberg, *eques auratus*. *Philippe*, Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, died in 1557, at forty-three years, painted when twenty. *Chriſtopher*, Duke of Wirtemberg, died in 1568, painted when eighteen. *John* II. junior, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Deux Ponts, died in 1534, fifty-one years of age. *John*, ſenior, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Deux Ponts, died in 1604, fifty-four years old. *Wolfgang*, Count Palatine of the Rhine, died in France in 1569, forty-three years of age. *John*, Margrave of Bradenburg and Pomerania, died in 1571, fifty-eight years old, was painted when eighteen. *René*, Count de Naſſau, Prince of Orange, painted when thirteen years old. *Erneſt*, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenberg, died in 1546, forty-nine years old. *Philip*, Landgrave of Heſſe, he died in 1567, aged ſixty-three years, painted when thirty. *Ulric*, Duke of Wirtemberg, Count de Montbeliard, died in 1550, aged ſixty-three years, painted when forty-ſix. *Joachim*, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Pomerania, died in 1535, aged fifty-one years. *John Frederic*, Duke of Saxony, died in 1534, aged fifty-one years. *Henry* VIII. King of England, who died in 1547, aged fifty-ſix years, painted when fifty-one. *Guſtavus* I. taken in 1542. *Eric* XIV. Thoſe of the grand rotunda, are *Guſtavus* III.; Joſeph II.; Catharine, of Ruſſia; George III. King of England; Ferdinand IV. King of Naples; Maria Frances Iſabella, Queen of Portugal; *Chriſtian* VII. King of Denmark; Lewis XV. King of France; *Charles* III. King of Spain; *Abdulhamid*, the Turkiſh Emperor; Staniſlaus Auguſtus, King of Poland; Frederic II. King of Pruſſia; Victor Amadius, King of Sardinia; the Empreſs Maria Thereſa;

Thereſa; *Pius* VI. the Pope; *Ferdinand Lewis*, infant of Parma; *Maria Amelia*, infanta of Parma. Thoſe in italics are half lengths, ſuch as are in Roman characters at full length. The difference of the dreſſes has a very pleaſing effect.

It is not exactly known at what period this chateau was built; all that is certain is that the Chevalier Harald Torſſon, was the firſt mentioned poſſeſſor in 1280. In the ſucceeding century it belonged to the Grand Chancellor, *Bo Johnſon Grips*, (without any account how it became his;) from whom it received the name of Gripſholm; he was maſter of it in 1383. In 1396, his ſon, Knut Boſon Grips, ſold it for a trifle to Queen Margaret. King Eric XIII. of Pomerania, poſſeſſed it in 1434. The Keeper has a publication in the Swediſh language, which gives more ample information reſpecting the Caſtle. In the immediate vicinity, is the town of Mariefred, very ſmall, not containing more than four hundred inhabitants, and poſſeſſing nothing worthy of notice.

Diſtillery.—Near to Gripſholm is the moſt conſiderable diſtillery in the whole kingdom; three-fourths of it belongs to Mr. Vahrendorf, and the remaining fourth to Gen. Duwal. It has been granted them by the crown for twenty years; their privilege expires in 1795, when it will belong entirely to the King. The firſt expences of the building amounted to 80,000 rix-dollars, which, when the eſtabliſhment is minutely inſpected, may readily be believed. It works annually one thouſand two hundred Riga laſts of grain, or eighteen thouſand tons; one fourth part of which is barley; each ton yield twenty-two kannes of ſpirit; of theſe the King receives nearly twelve; ſo that the proprietors retain for themſelves about ten kannes, which they ſell at 16 ſkillings 4 runſtiiks per kanne; making, upon eighteen thouſand tons, one hundred and eighty thouſand kannes, upon the whole produce nearly four hundred thouſand. On the eſtabliſhment are thirteen managers, who receive from 200 to 300 rix-dollars annually, and ninety-ſix workmen, at from fourteen to ſixteen plottes per month. On account of the too great heat of the ſeaſon at that interval to allow of working, there is a ceſſation of the diſtillery from the middle of July to the middle of September. For the purpoſe of raiſing water, a machine is uſed of a ſingular although very ſimple conſtruction; it is an upright cylinder with cogs, which acts upon ſix pumps, three on one ſide and three on the other, which ſupply the firſt and ſecond ſtory; it is worked by four horſes. Below are ninety-ſix vats of equal ſize; they are ſeven feet in diameter, rather wider at the bottom, and four feet deep; in each is put four and a quarter tons of flour (fourteen liſpunds *vigt.* each), 2000 kannes of water, and ten cannes of common yeaſt. Each vat yields from eighty to eighty-four kannes, and ſometimes, according to the grain, ninety kannes. The mixture is ſtirred at intervals until fermentation takes place. Upon this the vats are covered, luted down with lime, and in four days the waſh is ready for the ſtill; if the weather be warm in a ſhorter time; after it has ſufficiently fermented the waſh paſſes twice through the ſtill. There are twenty-ſix ſtills, four of which contain four thouſand cannes, the others two thouſand. The waſh takes ſix or ſeven hours before it all comes over. There are three malting kilns, two of which will dry two thouſand kannes, the other three thouſand. The daily conſumption is from ſeventy-five to ſeventy-ſeven tons of grain, of fifty kannes each. Each ton requires three-fourths of a meaſure of wood, or two tons of Engliſh coal, which comes nearly to the ſame expence, the meaſure of wood coſting 6 plottes, and Engliſh coal from 32 to 36 ſkillings. The brandy delivered to the King muſt be ſix degrees above proof, equal to 16° of the hydrometer of Reaumur. We adviſe thoſe who go to Gripſwald, to return their horſes, as otherwiſe they may have a long time to wait.

From Gripsholm to *Oker* is a mile. There is not an inn in the place, and no other accommodation than what the house of Mr. Vahrendorf the proprietor affords, or those of some of the officers belonging to the foundry. So that in case of Mr. Vahrendorf being absent it may not be amiss to be provided with a letter from him: it will be still better to wait until he may himself be there.

This place is very interesting on account of its handsome foundry for cannon.

Cannon foundry. The ore which is made use for founding cannon comes from six different mines: it should be poor or at least mixed so that the aggregate may contain no more than thirty per hundred of metal, and particularly it should contain none of that quality which breaks when hot. The first roasting of the ore is carried on in the same manner as at Fahlun in the open air. There are two furnaces for the fusion, each acted upon by two bellows; they yield a schippund of iron per hour for cannon: every twenty-four hours one piece of twenty-four pounds and one four-pounder are cast, or one thirty-six-pounder. These two furnaces require three hundred and twelve tons of wood daily, and the whole, including the other fires, three hundred and eighty. Ten tons cost 16 schillings. The moulds are made of the country clay, and are hooped with iron to render them more firm. Round the shape for the mould hards of tow are put mixed with tallow and clay, over which potter's earth or clay mixed with sand. Five men are occupied in fashioning the earth about the mould when cannon is casting, three knead the clay while two turn the shape; the clay is put on crosswise: when the mould is completed there are no more than three persons employed in placing the earth about it. It requires two days for the mould to get thoroughly dry; for this purpose, when the wood is taken from it, coal and small wood are burnt within and coal alone without, which is turned about as the mould dries. The melting furnaces are very large, built of granite, and the stones are supported by masses of iron from eleven to twelve feet long, in shape of beams. The two cannon of twenty-four and four pounds are cast in eight minutes; in three hours time, notwithstanding the pieces be yet red hot, the sand is removed in which the mould is placed. This is in a wooden vat of eleven feet deep, and eight feet in diameter: conceive but an instant how violent the heat the men must experience at the bottom of this vat, employed so near this burning mass in removing and throwing out the sand: they are consequently very quickly relieved.

In six hours' time the mass has acquired a sufficient consistence to allow of the piece being withdrawn; but it cannot be bored until after it has laid two or three days in the open air. The first operation then is to cut off the head of the cannon which is at least a foot in length: this is done at first with a round plate of steel more than six lines in thickness; the head is cut on three sides by turning this round plate, the piece remaining motionless, which operation in a piece of twenty-four pounds takes up six hours. By that time the head holds but a very slender piece on the three sides; iron wedges are then struck into the part cut by a mallet of a lispound in weight. The more excellent the iron the greater the length of time before the head breaks off; it has taken up four minutes when we have been present: after this the surplus at the end of the cannon is cut off, and the end polished, which takes up two hours; then the boring begins at first horizontally, the piece remaining immoveable: one man and a boy only are employed in working the wheel, which forces forward and turns the wedge in the piece; this wedge or rather this bar is two inches thick, but the mouth of the cannon is seven lines more, owing to the steel end fitted to the bar, which serves as it turns to bore the gun, being one inch and a half. The first hole is drilled, afterwards it is bored perpendicularly, the borer turning and the piece being depressed to meet

meet it: the arms are of iron and the borer of ſteel. The borers are of ſeven different ſizes; each inſtrument has four, the laſt only ſix, and one which traverſes at the end in order to poliſh the interior of the cannon. The depreſſion of the piece is after the rate of more than an inch a minute; there are twenty-one minutes of interval between the operation of one borer and another. When requiſite to raiſe the piece, in order to withdraw the borer, two men and one apprentice turn the wheel which raiſes it in five minutes; it takes four to let it down again. In caſe of neceſſity a twenty four pounder may be bored in ſeventeen hours, viz. ſeven hours for the firſt boring and ten for the ſecond, for which the workmen are payed two plottes: theſe two works cannot always be done at once on account of their being acted upon by the ſame head of water, which is not conſtantly ſufficient to work the two hydraulic engines. It takes two hours to drill the touch-hole, which is done by a bow, the drills are of iron of different ſizes but equal length: on theſe three laſt operations only three workmen are employed; all that remains of the cannon, conſiſting of rough iron, is ſent to different other forges of Mr. Vahrendorf, at which it is made into bars. There are ſcarcely thirty men employed at the cannon foundry: the workmen earn but little; they have, however, as is the caſe at all the foundries, their grain afforded them at half price, and may receive at pleaſure their wages either in proviſion or money.

The water proceeds from a lake of ſufficient elevation, ſince there is a fall of forty-eight ells to the great wheels; theſe wheels work all together five machines: 1. a ſaw-mill (near the lake); 2. that which blows the bellows; 3. that which is uſed for cutting of the heads of the cannon; and 4. and 5. the two machines which bore the cannon. The manufactory is diſcontinued in December, and re-commences in March.

From four thouſand three hundred to four thouſand four hundred ſchippunds is made into cannon annually. The greater part goes to Holland, Naples, and Portugal; to the latter country chiefly thirty-ſix pounders. They are proved in the preſence of an artillery officer belonging to the King, who marks them at the mouth with the arms of Sweden (thoſe of the powers for whom they are deſigned are engraven on the breech), and likewiſe with a bomb if he belong to the army, or if to the navy with an anchor. A certificate from the officer is abſolutely neceſſary before the pieces can paſs the cuſtoms and be ſhipped. Twelve pounders are proved with from ten to eleven pounds of powder, firſt with one ball, afterwards with two; the cannon of other caliber in proportion. Their coſt, with all expences paid, in board, is 7½ crowns of Hamburg *banco*, (equal to from 51 to 54 ſchillings). Portugal pays more on account of its taking credit. Ball is ſold at 5½ crowns: very little is made at Oker on account of the great quantity of ore required for the other works. Mortars are dearer than cannon, by from 3 to 4 crowns, owing to their frequently burſting on trial, which occaſions loſs. Bombs coſt ſomewhat more than cannon, and ſhould coſt leſs, as they occaſion ſcarcely any waſte. All Swediſh ball weighs much more than the ſtipulation, nearly one fifth part. The ball for Naples and Portugal is 5½ inches in diameter, and the thickneſs of the gun at the mouth is three inches nine lines. Dutch weight is a little yet but a trifle greater than that of Sweden. The calibre of the Swediſh forty-eight pounder is ſeven inches one line and a half; that of the thirty-ſix pounder ſix inches and a half; of the twenty-four pounder five inches eight lines; the eighteen pounder five inches one line; the twelve, four inches four lines and a half; the ſix, three inches ſeven lines and a half; the braſs ſix pounders weigh five ſchippunds, thirteen liſpunds, eight marks; the long twelve pounders eleven ſchippunds, three liſpunds; the twenty-four, twenty-four ſchippunds, thirteen liſpunds, thirteen marks: the mark of the foundry ſtamped on one of the arms. The ſhip cannon are from ſixteen to ſeventeen calibers in depth; (they are

found to be too short, and recoil too much, they should be twenty calibres;) those for fortresses from twenty-two to twenty-four. A twelve pounder for the navy weighs eight schippunds, and is six and a half feet long; for fortresses twelve schippunds, is nine feet long, and is two inches two lines in thickness at the mouth; a twenty-four pounder for the navy weighs sixteen to seventeen schippunds; for forts twenty-four; a thirty-six pounder for the first weighs from twenty-three to twenty-four schippunds; none of this calibre are made for fortresses: the thickness of a navy twenty-four pounder at the breech is seven inches and a half.

Oker about fifty years ago belonged to the crown, who sold it under an engagement to supply a certain quantity of wood at a very moderate price. Mr. Vahrendorf affords subsistence to nearly eight thousand persons, women and children included, which may readily be conceived when the extent of his possessions are considered; his different mines, forges, and manufactures in Sudermania, Nericia, Dalecarlia, &c. The following is an account of what they annually produce him: from ten to eleven schippunds of iron in bars, of the value of from 6 to 7 rix-dollars; from four thousand three hundred to four thousand four hundred schippunds in cannon, at 7 rix-dollars and a third; two thousand in ball, at 5½; from eight hundred to one thousand schippunds of brass, at 50 rix-dollars; three hundred of copper, at 45 crowns; two to three quintals of steel, at 3¾ or 4 rix-dollars: in all at least 180,000 rix-dollars, exclusive of many articles, particularly the brewery before mentioned. This is the instant proper to remark that neither M. Vahrendorf nor other manufacturers of brass sent any to France in 1791, which must have occasioned great inconvenience to the town of Leigh and its neighbourhood, the sole dependance of which rests on its manufacture of pins; and which drew, if not all their brass, yet a very considerable part from this country. M. Vahrendorf has made some very pretty gardens, in spots before uncultivated, by dint of labour, in a very little time, overcoming the natural barrenness of the soil.

From Oker we proceeded to *Strengnæs*, a small town of a thousand inhabitants; this we left on the right a mile beyond Malmby. The country has a cheerful appearance, and is well cultivated; thence through *Ekesog* and *Tiulstadt* we passed on to *Eskilstuna*. This is a very interesting town on account of its numerous manufacturers of iron of every kind. The traveller will lodge at the post-house; but if it should be kept by the same hostess as in 1791, he is cautioned to bargain with her beforehand, as she makes it a practice to fleece strangers, considering that they visit her but once, and she sees them no more. It will be right to be provided with recommendations to M. *Rynmänn*, who has written a work on iron which is held in high estimation, or to *Nourdwal*. The first is aged and infirm, but the second is extremely complaisant, and speaks French.

Eskilstuna. This town is divided in two, and is situated precisely at the place of communication of the two lakes *Mœler* and *Hielmer*. Its situation is very pleasant; it contains altogether about two thousand inhabitants, from six to seven hundred of whom (three hundred of them workmen, including one hundred mastermen,) live in that part called the *free tozon*, separated from the other by a bridge. Here it is that all those workmen dwell, willing to avail themselves of the privilege granted by the King to such as come thither to settle. Charles X. was the founder of this establishment; and *Locksmiths* street, built by him, is still called *Rademacher*, from the name of a German whom the King invited hither, and who was the first director: the whole of the remainder is the work of Gustavus III. Soon as a workman presents himself, he is first examined, and if approved the King gives him a house and an allotment of land of seventy-

ſeventy-five ells in length by fifty. From that inſtant he becomes a proprietor, and works on what branch he pleaſes: if deſirous of buying a houſe, it is afforded him at half its value, and he pays on this ſtipulated price 6 per cent. per annum for twenty years, after which it becomes his in perpetuity.

Mr. Chriſtian Johanſin paints different pretty things in a charming manner upon ſteel, ſuch as, he ſays, cannot be done in England: this however is doubtful, for we have ſeen ſimilar in France which did not come from *Eſkilſtuna*. His principal employment is damaſquining ſwords for officers, the expence of which is 2 rix-dollars, 8 ſchillings each. He makes buttons with landſcapes on them, which are as high as 16 ſkillings each; ſciſſors at from 40 ſkillings to 2 rix-dollars, and other inconſiderable articles. He ſells in Sweden alone, and has but one workman. There is here a manufactory of ſword blades and ſabres for the army. The iron tempered into ſteel (which muſt be of the beſt quality) comes from *Graningen* in Angermania. The blades of the ſabres of the cuiraſſiers are three feet long, and coſt 1 rix-dollar, 6 ſkillings; of the huſſars, are thirty-four inches long, and coſt 1 rix-dollar, 16 ſchillings; of the dragoons, thirty-three inches, nine lines, and coſt 1 rix-dollar 16 ſchillings; of the cuiraſſiers of Prince Charles, thirty-ſix inches ten lines, at 1 rix dollar, 16 ſchillings; of the regiment of cavalry of Oſtrogothia, thirty-five inches, at 1 rix-dollar, 16 ſchillings; the cutlaſſes for the navy, twenty-ſix inches, and coſt 1 rix-dollar, 8 ſchillings; for the infantry, twenty-three inches, 20 ſchillings; for the miners, twenty-five inches, three lines, 1 rix-dollar; for the Savolax regiment of foot, twenty-five inches, ten lines, 1 rix-dollar, 8 ſchillings; for the dragoons, a ſtraight flat ſword, thirty-one inches, eight lines in length, 1 rix-dollar, 8 ſchillings: all the manufacturers employed in the making theſe come from *Solingen*. Three edged ſwords, 1 rix-dollar, and foils, 16 ſkillings. Theſe earn moſt of all the workmen, ſome even 32 ſchillings per diem, and more; locksmiths and cutlers earn at leaſt 8 or 10 ſkillings.

There are ſeven workſhops of two hammers, one of which (very large) for ſteel, and a ſmaller for large nails, of which ſcarcely more than two are made in a minute. (It requires three men to manufacture large nails, only one to make ſmall ones.) The iron employed is brought from Weſteros. The whole quantity annually manufactured is two thouſand ſchippunds, half of which in caſt articles, and the remainder wrought. The firſt coſts 3 rix-dollars, the other from 6 to 6½. There are four furnaces for ſteel, at which none but coarſe work is wrought. The furnaces are made of French clay; the principal walls are brick: the principal bottom of double ſheets of copper. To convert the iron into ſteel requires ten days fire; and the conſumption of fuel during the ten days is forty laſts: each laſt of twelve tons coſts 32 ſkillings. The quantity of ſteel yielded is conſtantly from two to three ſchippunds more than the weight of iron put into the furnaces, which ariſes from the phlogiſten taken up by the iron in its proceſs of ſtulification: if the exact quantity put in were yielded the operation would be deficient (ſee the work of Mr. Jars). Freſh fuel is added every ſix hours. The ſteel takes twenty days to cool, but leſs in winter. The length of the furnace, in which the bar iron is placed, intended to be converted into ſteel, is four feet ten inches. Every ten days eighty ſchippunds is turned out of each furnace: nevertheleſs no more is made annually than two thouſand ſchippunds, and frequently leſs, according to demand. The greateſt part is ſhipped for Liſbon. There are two furnaces, and a large hammer for forging iron bars; of theſe there are made from ſeven to eight hundred ſchippunds, which quantity might be extended to one thouſand. Six workmen are kept for the two furnaces, two of which foremen. The foreman receives 12 ſchillings for each ſchippund of iron forged; and pays the two workmen himſelf: they can forge three

ſchippunds daily; they work in the German faſhion; the difference between the German method and the Walloon are, 1. That by the firſt manner they melt and work at once at both forges: by the ſecond, the one is kept for founding, while they work at the other. 2. The fuel is meaſured out to the Germans, whereas it is afforded as required to the Walloons without limitation. 3. The firſt melt the iron by degrees in ſmall lumps, the other inſert the whole at once: the Walloons hammer the iron leſs than the Germans, and conſequently make much more, even five ſchippunds per furnace per diem, whereas the Germans can work but three. From what has been obſerved, the Walloon plan will be viſibly the deareſt. There are likewiſe three workſhops, in which there are two grindſtones and four wooden wheels for ſharpening and poliſhing cutting inſtruments. A ſmall hammer alſo for giving their primitive ſhape to ſcythes.

In another part of the town copper is flattened into ſheets to the amount of about 700 ſchippunds, the workmen receive one rix-dollar per ſchippund for ordinary ſheets, and 12 ſchillings additional for ſuch as are four feet long by one and a half; there are three workmen employed on copper, and the quantity which may be flattened is from one thouſand to one thouſand two hundred ſchippunds: there is moreover in the ſame place, a hammer for faſhioning iron bars, another for nails, and different other ſmall eſtabliſhments the ſame as in the free town. The annual conſumption of coal is ſix thouſand laſts. Here we ſhall ſpeak of the different qualities of iron, and the mode of diſtinguiſhing them. Good iron is difficult to break, and breaks at once; within it is of a dulliſh white colour; it is lighter than other iron, but among this ſpecies the heavieſt is preferred, as well as in caſt ſteel. Iron which is grey internally breaks more eaſily. Iron which breaks when hot is known by groves acroſs it; when they run lengthways the iron is good: that which breaks when cold is of a ſhining appearance, granulated when broke. This is the beſt for reſiſting the weather. The lighteſt iron is ſeven and a half times the weight of water, the heavieſt from eight to eight and a quarter. There is no dearth of water at Eſkilſtuna, nor is there any interruption to the works even in the depth of winter.

From Eſkilſtuna to *Kolbeck* by *Smedby*, is three miles and a half. On the firſt ſtage ſome commons and blocks of granite diſtinguiſhable on each ſide the road. At half a mile beyond Smidby we arrived at the brink of the lake *Mœler*, which is croſſed on a raft in order to reach the ſmall iſland *Nickel*, about a third of a mile in length, belonging to Count de Creutz: on the paſſage you have a delightful view of the lake. Upon leaving the iſland you paſs over a ſmall arm of the lake and land in Weſtmania. The iſland is ſandy and apparently ſterile. Shortly after you croſs a third branch, which as well as the two preceding, is very narrow, and the fare of the watermen extremely moderate, it is a projection of the lake, into which the canal of Stromſholm diſembogues itſelf: nothing would be more eaſy than the conſtruction of bridges over theſe creeks, at leaſt the two latter *, leaving the firſt open for the paſſage of veſſels; after paſſing the laſt ferry, the ancient royal caſtle of Stromſholm is ſeen. Shortly after the road turns along ſide the ſtables, conſiſting of three piles of wooden buildings of the greateſt ſimplicity. Leaving firſt the caſtle and afterwards the church to the right we croſſed a bridge over the river which, by a canal we ſhall ſhortly deſcribe, is connected with the lake. In order to ſee this canal we were obliged to go from *Kolbeck* to *Skantzen*, three quarters of a mile diſtant; when finiſhed, it will no longer be neceſſary to travel ſo far for this purpoſe, yet will that ſpot be ever an object of curioſity from the abundance of intereſting objects found there, as will be conceived from the detail we are about to

* Poſts which are ſtill viſible at the laſt ferry indicate that there has been formerly a bridge there.

make.

make. As there is no poſt-houſe at Skantzen, it will be requiſite to bargain with the poſtillion who drives you from Kolbeck, to proceed to Skultuna or Weſteros; in caſe of his refuſing, you muſt of neceſſity return to take horſes at Kolbeck.

The canal of Stromſholm begins at Norberg, in Weſtmania, and ends at Stromſholm, where it joins lake Mœler; it is ten miles in length. In ſome parts the river was found to be navigable, but in moſt it was either deepened or new channels cut. The firſt lock is at *Semla*, ſix miles and a half beyond *Skantzen*, and the laſt at Stromſholm: there are to be five and twenty. This canal was begun in 1777, and poſſibly may be compleated in 1794 if great exertion be uſed; throughout the whole length there is ſix feet depth of water, at the bottom it is ſixty feet broad, and at the ſurface ninety; the largeſt veſſels which the canal will bear are forty-ſeven feet in length, draw five feet water, and are one hundred and fifty ſchippunds burthen, (about forty-five tons). When we ſaw it, veſſels proceeded no farther than to the ſixteenth lock: twenty-nine paſſed annually, but this number will be vaſtly increaſed when the canal is entirely finiſhed; the paſſage by it is cloſed in November and reſumed in May. Above the lock number fourteen, there are ſix hundred fathoms of maſonry, on account of the quality of the ſoil. Three hundred fathoms below this, is lock number fifteen; and a hundred fathoms beyond number ſixteen; at a diſtance thence of one thouſand five hundred fathoms are numbers ſeventeen and eighteen cut out of the rock, after which the canal makes a ſharp turning through the natural rock to the left. The original plan was changed in this ſpot. Five hundred fathoms from number eighteen are the locks nineteen, twenty, and twenty one, which are together. One ſingle lock coſts 100,000 dollars *koppermunt*, 1330l. ſterling; the double and triple locks in proportion. Each lock has a fall of nearly ſixteen Swediſh feet from ſurface to ſurface. The total fall of the canal is one hundred and ninety-two fathoms: in leſs than half an hour's walk you meet with eight locks, that is to ſay from number fourteen to number twenty-one, from the firſt to the laſt the fall of water is ſixty four fathoms; in the neighbourhood of number ſixteen is a ſteel furnace; near to twenty-one a ſmall hammer for iron. The maſts of the veſſels are fixed ſo as to lower at pleaſure, as on many of the locks there are bridges. Over the ſixteenth lock is a very pretty ſmall bridge, with parapets and corner ſtones of granite, with this inſcription in the Swediſh language: "This bridge, the firſt built of Swediſh granite, was conſtructed in the reign of Guſtavus III. the granite hewn by order of the ſenator Baron Charles de Sparre. The work was directed by John Uſtrœum, the peaſantry hewed the ſtones in 1787." Employed on this work are about five hundred men, who are paid from 16 to 48 ſkillings per ¾ of a cubic fathom, according to the nature of the ground. Veſſels paſſing along the canal pay 14 ſchillings 8 rundſtücks per ſchippund, of which 6 ſchillings 8 rundſtücks towards the locks. This canal will be of great utility for tranſporting at ſmall expence the produce of the mines, which is very abundant in the part where it begins; once arrived at lake Mœler, the after expence of tranſport to Stockholm will be very trivial. It will be neceſſary the traveller ſhould obtain a letter of addreſs to Mr. *Berger*, the director of the canal. From Skantzen to Skultuna is two and a quarter miles, on the way you croſs the *Swartz*: there is no inn at Skultuna nor any remedy but in taking up your abode with the proprietor of the manufactory.

Skultuna. Here is a braſs manufactory. M. Galen in his work on the art of transforming copper into braſs, which makes a part of the arts and trades, has very well deſcribed this operation; he took his detail from the manufactory eſtabliſhed at Nordkiœuping, to which all in Sweden bear reſemblance. At that at Skultuna are three large kilns, the chimneys of which, built of brick, riſe to a conſiderable height; in one of theſe kilns there are five furnaces, four in the ſecond, and three in the third, altoge-

ther twelve: but nine are ſufficient. When the copper is broken and reduced into ſmall pieces by the means of ſledge hammers, it is put into crucibles of French clay; the dearneſs of this article prompted the proprietors to make ſearch for ſimilar in Sweden: it has been found in Scania, and promiſes ſhortly to equal that of France, which will therefore become unneceſſary. In order to make it into ſheets it is run on a table of granite, over which another is ſuſpended; they are thirteen feet in length by five in breadth, and from eight to ten inches thick: they come from St. Malo, and coſt 200 plottes the pair: in general it happens that out of every ſhipment the half of what comes are bad. It appears aſtoniſhing that Sweden, which ſuperabounds with granite in every quarter, ſhould be obliged to import it from abroad: that of St. Malo is however preferred on account of the mica and blende being more equally diſtributed, and in greater abundance. For cutting the ſheets intended to be drawn into wire, a ſimilar machine is made uſe of to that of the Engliſh: when the braſs has been cut and drawn, it is put into a kiln, where it remains for half an hour: it is drawn five times, and even eight if the wire be required of that fineneſs. The packages of braſs wire are made up to weigh forty pounds; there are twenty wire-drawing moulds of ſteel; the manufactory is worked by a cylinder with wings, which the water puts in motion; the water is ſupplied by the Swartz, (black river,) which empties itſelf into the lake at Weſteros, and which conſtantly furniſhes it in all ſeaſons. In the nine furnaces before mentioned, the metal is melted twice per day, that is every twelve hours; each melting yields two hundred and forty pounds of braſs. The whole quantity made in a year ſcarcely exceeds from ſix to ſeven hundred ſchippunds; it might be extended to one thouſand. The ſheets of braſs are five times roaſted, and are as often put into the cylinder which reſembles that at Afruſtadt. On coming out they are ten ells long by three feet eight inches in breadth: it undergoes no alteration in its dimenſions. Copper in its transformation into braſs gains nearly twenty-five per cent., the preciſe quantity depending on the quality of the calamine. Hungary furniſhes two ſorts of this article, red and white; Poland but one, which is a reddiſh grey: the Hungarian calamine is conſidered to be the beſt; it coſts 1 rix-dollar 43 ſchillings per quintal, (three and a half to the ſchippund.) The coſt of Poliſh calamine is 25 rix-dollars per ton of between five and a half to ſix ſchippunds, about 1 rix-dollar 12 ſchillings per ſchippund: the annual conſumption of this article is one thouſand two hundred ſchippunds of calamine, and three thouſand laſts of wood. There is likewiſe a petty furnace for the running of ſmall utenſils, which are afterwards poliſhed. The filings are remitted, but experience a loſs of 50 per cent. In all from ſixty to ſixty-two workmen are employed. The whole of this manufactory was conſumed by fire about ten or twelve years ago: the loſs was enormous to the proprietor, a Mr. Adlervull, to whom the traveller ſhould have recommendation. At preſent he has inſured the whole, even the wood and charcoal; the inſurance for buildings entirely of wood is two per cent. and from one to one and a half for other buildings, according to the quantity of brick and ſtone contained in them.

From Skultuna we proceeded to Weſteros, the diſtance a mile and a half, the roads full of holes and bad. As a traveller rarely remains more then a few hours at Skultuna, he ſhould keep his horſes.

Weſteros is a very ancient city which contains nothing worthy of remark. The tomb of Eric XIV. in the cathedral is abſolutely undeſerving notice. The ſteeple of this church, built on a ſquare tower, is reckoned the higheſt in Sweden, yet is not very high. At the extremity of a long jetty lined with warehouſes, is the port at which great quantities of iron are ſhipped for Stockholm. The left ſide of this jetty is a marſh; before you arrive hither, you ſee the government-houſe, which is a handſome building. Weſteros is the capital of the province of Weſtmania, one of the fineſt in Sweden,

Sweden, poſſeſſing meadows, arable lands, and mines of all deſcriptions. Its poſition with reſpect to lake Mœler affords great facility to the tranſport of its productions, principally iron, of which it exports a conſiderable quantity. Two famous diets have been held at Weſteros, the one in 1527, the other in 1544; the firſt deprived the clergy of its poſſeſſions, and the ſecond ſecured the throne, before elective, to the deſcendants of Guſtavus Vaſa.

From Weſteros to Upſal by *Niqwarn*, *Enkœuping*, (a town,) *Liſtena*, and *Sefva*, is altogether ſeven miles and one eighth: after the firſt ſtage you croſs the *Serva* or *Sagan*, the ſame river as flows by Sahla over a bridge, which paſſed, you are in Upland. This is a fine road; the bridge which ſeparates the two provinces is built ſharp of aſcent, on account of being liable to be covered by the water at the melting of the winter's ſnow. Enkœuping is a city, which elſewhere would be looked upon only as a conſiderable village; its ſituation is advantageous at the bottom of a creek of lake Mœler.

CHAP. XXII.—*Route from Upſal to Abo, by Dannemora, Œuſterby, Lœfta, Forſmarck, Griſleham, and the iſle of Aland.*

AS we have already ſpoken of the city of Upſal, we ſhall proceed directly to the deſcription of thoſe objects which we noticed on our paſſage to Abo in Finland; this trip is very intereſting on account of its affording a ſight of the richeſt mine and the moſt capital forges in Sweden.

From Upſal to *Huſby* one mile and a half; thence to Anderby is two and a quarter; the road never bad, but frequently extremely narrow. Half a mile from Huſby we came to Natholma, an excellent forge belonging to Count Brahé; and a little beyond this to his ſeat, which has a handſome appearance *. In the two laſt ſtages we paſſed over ſeveral plains. From Anderſby to Dannemora is three quarters of a mile, thence to Œuſterby the ſame diſtance, although there is a nearer road. The road to Œuſterby turns to the right, that to the mine to the left, you paſs under the machinery of the pumps, which is ſo low as to enforce your attention in caſe your carriage be any ways elevated.

Dannemora. This is the mine which may juſtly be called the Peru of Sweden: it produces the beſt iron, and of that at leaſt a tenth part of the production of the whole kingdom; it is ſituated in the hamlet of Œuſterby. It is far from curious in itſelf as a mine, ſince it has no galleries, no vaults, nor interior works; but merely a quarry open at the top. We ſpeak of the great hole into which the curious are wont to deſcend, and which alone yields twenty thouſand ſchippunds, thus divided: two fifths to Lœfta, two fifths to Œuſterby, and one fifth to Gimo. It is the beſt iron of this mine, wholly monopolized by the Engliſh, of which they make their ſteel; it coſts nearly a rix-dollar more than other iron. M. de Vergennes, during his embaſſy to Sweden, contrived to ſend ſome of it to France for ſteel manufactures, but the importation was not continued. From the firſt works to the laſt, there is a diſtance of a thouſand ells in one direction. Seventy-three openings have been made, but great part of them are cloſed, either on account of their not yielding ore, or the works being overflowed.

This mine was worked for the firſt time in the thirteenth century; but the moſt authentic monuments reſpecting it, are of the date of the fifteenth; its greateſt

* He has another ſeat between Upſal and Stockholm, where are many manuſcripts, particularly in the Poliſh language.

depth

depth is eighty Swediſh fathoms; it ſupplies ſeventeen forges with iron, and belongs to thirteen proprietors; each of the ſeventeen great forges among which the ore is diſtributed keep a man at the ſpot to look to the fair diſtribution of the produce. The mine is capable of yielding ſixty thouſand ſchippunds of ore, but no more than from forty to forty-two ſchippunds is extracted. The ore yields from ſixty to ſeventy-two per cent., the work in the mine is extremely eaſy, being nothing but a block of metal; it was inundated in 1693, and twenty years were employed before it could be emptied, and its works be reſumed. A very conſiderable work has even become neceſſary on the ſide of the lake which acts on the pumps, for the prevention of a ſimilar accident. This undertaking has enabled the miners to begin a new ſearch, in which ore has been found at a very inconſiderable depth. There are in all four hundred workmen, if the women and children be included, who are very numerous in the large hole. Wood was formerly uſed for heating the ore, which cauſed a very great conſumption; at preſent they uſe powder alone, as has been the caſe for ſeven and twenty years; from two hundred and ten to two hundred and fifteen quintals are thus annually expended at a coſt of from 10 to 11 rix-dollars per quintal. The tribute paid to the crown is a tenth of the rough iron; the ore is blown up every day at a fixed period, to wit, noon. The great hole is conſtantly full of ſmoke, unleſs when expelled by a violent wind, when alone the bottom can be diſcerned from the ſummit. There is a ſtaircaſe but dangerous and conſequently not uſed; the only mode of deſcent in practice is by buckets; we were five minutes and forty ſeconds in going down; the depth is ſeventy-eight toiſes, there is day-light in every part; even in July we met with ice here and found it cold. In one corner is a forge for the tools of the workmen; no horſes are employed within the mine, but eighty without for daily work: all the buckets are acted upon by horſes; the wheel that works the pumps is twenty-four ells in diameter; it is the largeſt in Sweden, and is worked by a very trifling head of water.

Few years paſs over without ſome accident from the falling of ſtones; but the rope was never known to break; it is related that a girl being in the bucket, the bucket ſtriking againſt a projecting rock was overſet, but the girl's petticoats fortunately catching the rock, ſhe hung by them till ſuch time another bucket was let down to her relief; what was however equally extraordinary, the girl had the courage to go down again the ſame day as if nothing had happened. Since the uſe of gunpowder in the mine the workmen have earned more, as being enabled to do more labour; ſome have even made money and built themſelves ſmall houſes. Corn being dear in 1791, the labourers of the mine inſiſted upon paying no more than the fourth, inſtead of half of the market price as uſual, but the proprietors who had a year's ſtock of ore on hand, refuſing to employ them on ſuch conditions they deſiſted from their demand.

The following minerals may be obtained at this mine; black and bluiſh granulated iron ore, ſometimes naturally poliſhed on the ſurface; many varieties of amianthus; mountain leather and mountain cork; cryſtals of calcareous ſpar, pyramidal and hexagonal in *druſes*; pale amethyſts; cloudy topazes; cryſtals of white quartz in druſes, moſtly without priſms; rock garnets, ſometimes cryſtalized; rock pebbles, of various colours, ſometimes in layers; mineral pitch; and martial pyrites in cubes. The iron of this mine, the deareſt in Sweden, is ſhipped at Stockholm, and not at Oregrund, where formerly it uſed to be ſhipped, and the name of which place it has preſerved in foreign countries. By the ſide of the mine are the mineral ſprings of *Harvick*, the flavour and properties of which bear great analogy to the waters of Balaruc.

Œuſterby is a quarter of a league from Dannemora; here you may have accommodation at the inn, which is tolerable, and moderate of charge. This eſtate belongs to

Meſſrs. Grill and Pyhl; it did belong to Guſtavus Adolphus, who dwelt here, but with ſeveral others was given to the family of Geer, who had rendered the King great ſervice: the preſent poſſeſſors bought it for 140,000 rix-dollars, but according to the increaſe of the value of coin, its worth is about 300,000 rix-dollars; the chateau is handſome and well built, of brick and ſtone (notwithſtanding the Dutch traveller reports it of wood); within it has little to recommend it; its neighbourhood is pleaſant, particularly for a country ſo much towards the north. The traveller will do well to viſit this forge, as all the different works are carried on at it, whereas at Lœſta and Forſmarck no pig iron is run. This forge has three hammers, without including one for ſteel and another for iron; each hammer is capable of working from forty to fifty ſchippunds weekly; what is highly ſingular, one of theſe continually works more than the other two by from ſix to ſeven ſchippunds, and notwithſtanding the workmen have been changed, the reſult, without their being able to account for it, has yet been conſtantly the ſame. The Walloon method of working is followed here, becauſe more work is completed by that method, and the iron leſs hammered; this practice is requiſite at this forge as well as that of Lœfta and Gimo, as all the iron is manufactured at theſe three different places, of which the Engliſh make their ſteel. Here five thouſand ſchippunds are forged; ſome years they have, from want of water, been able to forge no more than three thouſand; ſometimes there is alſo a dearth of charcoal; what is bought coſts 32 ſchillings, if brought by the peaſants it coſts from 6 to 7 dollars. For iron in bars, 4 laſts per ſchippund is required, of which two for the rough iron of the firſt caſting. The charcoal for the kilns is much more burnt than that for melting. The ſteel is worked with ſea-coal, after the Engliſh manner, with artificial bellows. Samples of it have been ſent to France, but they could not vie with the Engliſh. The price of nails is, if under five inches long, from one to ſix dollars the thouſand. Large nails are ſold by the ſchippund, at from 10 to 15 rix-dollars, according as the heads are more or leſs wrought.

The water comes from a lake, three-fourths of a mile in length, which formerly was a marſh. Channels were cut in the neighbouring foreſts connected with it, in order to gather in one place all the rain-water; in dry years there is but little, as was the caſe particularly in 1790. It frequently raiſes higher than the ground in its neighbourhood, which has neceſſitated the conſtruction of a ſtrong dam; ſhould this give way, not only the forge but the plain as far as Upſal, and a part of the town even, would be overflowed. In 1751 or 52, only four inches were wanting of its reaching the ſummit of the dam. The Governor of Upſal perceiving the waters ſuddenly riſe, came in perſon to Œuſterby, to ſee if the dam had not given way. By the ſide of the lake is another reſervoir, and two more below this. From the firſt to the laſt there is a fall of from twelve to thirteen ells. The ſame water ſupplies Lœufta in great meaſure.

All workmen requiſite to a colony are found here: the village is compoſed of ſeventy houſes, diſpoſed in four ſtreets after the manner of the Dutch; each houſe contains two families, and has a little garden; there are one hundred and fifty workmen, and altogether ſeven hundred inhabitants. The Walloon colony at Œuſterby has preſerved a conſiderable portion of its antient manners: the people compoſing it intermarrying only among themſelves, and holding the peaſantry around in ſovereign contempt. In 1790 they attempted to imitate the people from Liege, but this kind of revolt had no conſequences. In their contract there is a ſtipulation for wine, and they are paid in ſilver. Their ſupport requires ſix or ſeven thouſand tons of corn annually, and as the eſtate produces no more than from nine hundred to a thouſand, the reſt is purchaſed, which occaſions a conſiderable expence. In this forge labour ceaſes from eight in the morning of Saturday, until four on Sunday evening. The Director's ſalary is from five

to

to 600 rix-dollars, he has moreover a dwelling, and like the workmen is furniſhed with charcoal and grain at half price. Iron is extracted from the droſs the ſame as at Suderfors, and as well as at Suderfors they here make bricks of it for building. Their grain is dried by a flue, through which the fumes from the furnace are conducted beneath ſheets imperceptibly bored and inclined the ſame as the roof of a houſe; flues for this purpoſe proceed from the two furnaces belonging to the hammer on the ſide. There are two chambers of this deſcription, each of which dries twenty tons every twenty-four hours. They are a contrivance of Mr. Veſtrœun, and have been very generally adopted.

From Œuſterby to *Bra* is half a mile, (it will be neceſſary to pre-adviſe one of the clerks belonging to the forge of the time at which you wiſh to depart, as there are no horſes at Œuſterby.) To *Hokanſbo* one mile and a half. This poſt-houſe is ſome diſtance out of the great road, on the right; at a quarter of the diſtance of this laſt ſtage, there is another road to the right which leads to Forſmarck, a ſimilar diſtance. To Lœuſta three quarters of a mile; from the inſtant of leaving the road to Forſmarck you have nothing but foreſt, and will decide which of theſe two forges you will viſit firſt, according to your courſe afterwards being either northward to Geſle, or ſouthward on return to Stockholm, or to regain the high road to Finland.

Lœuſta. The inn is at the extremity of a long ſtreet planted with trees; on one ſide are the houſes of the work people and perſons employed, on the other, of the dependants on the caſtle, which is of one ſtory and pretty enough, but not equally ſo, in our eſteem, with that of Œuſterby; as you enter the court on the right hand you find two ſmall apartments; upon the gardens are five apartments in ſucceſſion, among which are the ſaloon and dining-room; the furniture is of a common deſcription; there are ſome family pictures, and paintings of Italian monuments. A Cleopatra in tapeſtry, much extolled, which had no charms for us, and which is valuable but on account of the perſon from whom it was received by the poſſeſſor. Among the portraits, that of Charles de Geer is diſtinguiſhable; the firſt who came from Holland to Sweden in 1652. He was proprietor of the eſtates of *Finſpongs*, *Lœuſta*, *Gimo*, *Œuſterby*, *Godegord*, and *Skilberg*. On the firſt ſtory are ſome very plain apartments. The gardens are handſome, particularly when conſidered they are north of 60° of lat. The library is without the caſtle; it does not contain more than ſeven thouſand volumes, among which nothing peculiarly valuable, except a folio volume of inſects and birds, extremely well painted in colours. It is a deſcription of the cabinet preſented by Charles de Geer, Marſhal of the Court, to the academy of ſciences, where it ſtill is under the direction of M. Sparrman. A manuſcript of memoirs to ſerve to give light to the hiſtory of the age in which he lived, written by Charles de Geer, with a number of drawings by himſelf, alſo a very beautiful work. Round the caſtle are ſeveral pavillions ſerving for ſtables for ſixty-four horſes, kitchens, and other offices. A volery, two hot houſes containing orange-trees, aloes, coffee-trees, &c. A magazin of fowling-pieces, containing at leaſt a hundred, with a number of piſtols, ſeveral Runic ſticks, and Lapland furniture. In a very ſmall apartment is a cabinet of natural hiſtory.

The forge is very conſiderable, it employs four hammers, each of which capable of working fifty ſchippunds weekly, when in full play; in the whole they turn out from eight to nine thouſand ſchippunds at the moſt. The pigs are run in other forges in the neighbourhood belonging likewiſe to the Baron de Geer. This is done for the ſake of ſaving charcoal which is rare at Lœuſta. Nothing is made here but bars; their manner of working, the Walloon. The hammers are at a ſtand from eight in the morning of

Saturday until Sunday at midnight. Grain is dried here in the ſame manner as at Œuſterby. This village alſo like that forms a colony of itſelf.

In caſe of ſtopping but for a few hours at Lœufta, the traveller will do well to retain the horſes he brings with him, to take him to the firſt poſt town, ſeeing there are none at Lœufta, and that he will otherwiſe have to wait. From Lœufta to *Rethibo* three quarters of a mile; thence to Forſmarck one mile and a quarter; although the real diſtance be altogether no more than ſeven quarters, it is yet the cuſtom, upon what account is not known, to exact a quarter of a mile more. On the firſt ſtage the road begins to be very narrow, and you paſs through nothing but foreſts. There is accommodation for the traveller at the inn at Forſmarck, where he may lodge.

Forſmarck. The manſion-houſe at Forſmarck has a more impoſing appearance than either of the two preceding; it is two ſtories high; eleven windows by ſix; a handſome court and agreeable gardens, which are the more ſtriking from the wildneſs of the road to Forſmarck, from which nothing is to be ſeen but rocks and woods. The iron is not run into pigs here on account of the ſcarcity of charcoal; the eſtabliſhment has two hammers, and forges about three thouſand ſchippunds. The ore comes from Dannemora; the pig iron from the neighbouring forges and from one in Finland, belonging to Mr. Uggla. There is here a very ſmall furnace of the ſame ſhape as thoſe in which the pigs are run; the droſs is founded here which falls from the pigs when under the hammer; when in train there are eight meltings per week, each yielding from three to four liſpunds of iron. The Walloon method is followed here, where there ſtill remains a number of Walloons. All trades requiſite to a colony are followed here as well as at the other forges, there is likewiſe a ſchool for children. The work at the forges finiſhes on Saturday at night, and is reſumed on Sunday night. They have here a machine for drying grain ſimilar to thoſe at Œuſterby and Lœufta: the warehouſes are handſome and well built. The eſtate of Forſmarck was ſold by Mr. Jennings to Mr. Uggla twelve years ago, for 100,000 rix dollars, it is now worth upwards of 200,000. The mother of Guſtavus Adolphus is ſaid to have dwelt here. *Johannefors* is three-eighths of a mile diſtant, where there is a ſmall hammer for ſteel-works and one for nails; here alſo axles are made and ſprings for carriages. Tire for wheels is made at Forſmarck. To make the ſteel they uſe Engliſh coal which coſts one rix-dollar the ton. Here it is that the ore which Mr. Uggla ſends to Finland to be melted is embarked on a canal, and the pig iron returned thence is unloaded; it is very near the ſea, which here forms a ſmall bay and looks moſt like a lake. There are here ſaw and corn-mills, over the corn-mills is a ſmall *belvidere*, whence the ſea is diſcovered, and where the viſitor inſcribes his name in a regiſter kept for the purpoſe.

From Forſmarck to *Norrſicdicka* is one mile and a quarter (really one and a half,) near the firſt mile poſt there is a road to the left which leads to Œuregrund, a ſmall town and ſea-port. To *Marka* is one mile farther, the road ſandy, the country well wooded; on the left is diſtinguiſhed the little town of Oſthammer, and ſhortly after by the ſide of a church you leave the road to Upſal on the left. Before you arrive at the poſt-houſe you keep for ſome ſhort diſtance along the banks of a lake. To *Sanda* one mile and a half, nothing but woods and ſand, and rocks. Half a mile from this place by the ſide of the church is a monument erected by Baron Oxenſtiern, in memory of his wife, who died in 1786, it conſiſts of a ſmall iron column ſurmounted by an urn with an inſcription; beyond is the village compoſed of one ſtreet, with the houſes built only on one ſide; it is ſmall but very well built; on the left you diſtinguiſh the ſeat of Baron Oxenſtiern, in a charming ſcite near the ſea; this eſtate, called Hargs,

has a conſiderable forge which employs two hammers. To *Harmaby*, one mile and a half, ſands and woods and rocks. To *Troſta*, one and a half mile; at the beginning of this ſtage you meet the road from Stockholm to Griſleham, and at length enter a more direct road: this ſtage is a bad one, has a number of riſings and deſcents in it, and affords proſpects of nothing but ſands and woods and rocks. To *Griſleham* three quarters of a mile; upon leaving the poſt-houſe you croſs a very narrow arm of the ſea which ſtretches deep in ſhore, in a boat (the charge exceedingly ſmall.) Griſleham is badly placed on the map of the roads, it ought to be more towards the north.

Here it is that paſſengers embark for the iſland of Aland; the boatmen employed for the occaſion are regiſtered marines; but as they live at their own homes, frequently at great diſtances from the ſhore, you have to ſend before to give them ſeveral hours notice unleſs you prefer waiting. On embarkation you pay a duty of four ſchillings each perſon. The paſſage over to Ekereu, in the iſland of Aland, is ſaid to be ſeven miles, for our part we do not think it ſix: we were five hours within ten minutes in croſſing: we have been aſſured that the paſſage has been made in two hours, but ſuch an event muſt be very uncommon; the boats have no decks; if a ſmall boat be taken the charge is two rix-dollars, if a larger, three, (we adviſe the latter.) In the winter time, that is to ſay from October 14, to April 14, the charge is double. Half a rix-dollar is given to the men to drink. Provided you embark with the courier on Wedneſday or Saturday morning, you croſs for a triſle; the ſtipulated fare being hung up in the poſt-houſe you cannot be miſtaken as to what you have to pay. The worſt periods to paſs are the beginning of autumn and ſpring, but particularly the latter. The iſland of Aland as well as thoſe before met with, are dependencies of the government of Finland. In theſe *Fadenhielm* notes are current (ſo called from the perſon by whom they are ſigned); theſe notes were iſſued during the war of 1788; they are current in Finland alone, where they are obligatory; there was a diſcount upon them when exchanged againſt thoſe of *Rikſens*, of from twelve to thirteen per cent. and conſequently a loſs of twenty-five per cent. or thereabouts, when exchanged againſt bank notes: but, as is juſt, theſe notes are received by the collectors of the taxes, and are conſequently uſed by the Fins for payment of their impoſts. It has been in contemplation to annihilate them entirely, an object much to be deſired*.

From Ekereu to *Marby* is ſeven eighths of a mile. Here you leave your horſes and croſs an arm of the ſea in an oared boat; the ſea here is about a quarter of a mile over; provided you take with you a very light carriage ſuch as are generally uſed in the country the wheels are not taken off, if not it will be neceſſary to take them off, and even to have two boats ſhould it be heavy and carry much luggage; you are from twenty to twenty-five minutes in croſſing. If on foot, on horſeback, or with a light carriage, you pay three dollars; four for a carriage with four wheels, and eight for two boats. The little iſland of Ekereu is very ſandy; has a quantity of foreſt and rocky ground, ſome few corn-fields, and appeared to us tolerably well peopled. The iſland of Aland, upon which we landed is about three miles in breadth, from eaſt to weſt, and ſomewhat more in length. It is pretty well peopled although it has no towns; is very woody, has abundance of rock, but leſs ſand than the preceding. In it blocks of red granite, are ſeen on every ſide; it is indented by many arms of the ſea which form numerous gulphs, and muſt neceſſarily render a direct communication difficult at certain ſeaſons of

* In 1793, the Regent ordered them to be paid. Count M. had iſſued a number of forged ones; but his property was ſequeſtrated for the payment of them, himſelf degraded from his rank, and baniſhed the kingdom.

the year. Landing on the iſland of Aland you find the poſt-houſe of *Frebenby:* thence to *Enkarby* is one mile and a quarter; to *Haraldby* one and a quarter; almoſt towards the end of this ſtage you croſs a ſmall arm of the ſea in a flat boat, the charge is one ſchilling per each horſe, the carriage is not diſmounted. To *Bomarſand* three eighths of a mile; at the firſt eighth after paſſing a wooden bridge you diſtinguiſh on the right the ruinated caſtle of *Caſtelholm*, in which the unfortunate Eric XIV. was confined in 1751. By the ſide of it is a ſmall building which ſerves as a priſon. At Bomarſund you embark for Finland; if the wind be good it will be adviſeable to take boat direct for Abo, thus avoiding the inconvenience and loſs of time ariſing from repeated embarkations and diſembarkations. In this caſe, as you travel through the village of Finby, half a mile before you reach Bomarſand, you muſt treat with a boat maſter in order not to have to wait: a boat to Abo coſts five, or at moſt ſix rix-dollars; the diſtance nearly ſixteen miles and a half. We croſſed in fifteen hours, and had not the wind changed towards the latter part of our courſe, ſhould have completed the paſſage in leſs than eleven, as we had already got fourteen miles on our way in eight hours: with the exception of the paſſage called *Delet* nearly three miles broad, you are conſtantly ſurrounded by iſlands, and at hand to take refuge in caſe of contrary winds. Of theſe iſlands, ſome are nothing but rocks, others are covered with wood and inhabited. Some are more than a league and a half in breadth, ſuch as *Vardo*, *Kumlinge*, and ſeveral others as you approach the coaſt of Finland. This inceſſantly varying ſcene affords a ſingular proſpect, before you reach Abo, you perceive the little town of *Nodendahl*. If the traveller prefer following the cuſtomary road he may conſult the book of poſt roads; he will however do much better in taking our advice, ſo ſaving both money and time.

Abo, the capital of Finland, is ſituated on a ſmall river about half a mile from the ſea; it has a number of ſtone houſes, and contains ten thouſand inhabitants. It is imagined that the laſt war may poſſibly have ſomewhat diminiſhed this number. At the entrance of the channel or river of Abo, on the left, is the old caſtle in which the unfortunate Eric XIV. was for ſome time impriſoned, as well as John III. in 1563. In 1791, this caſtle was repaired for quarters for troops; a plan was reſolved upon for eſtabliſhing there a third flotilla compoſed of a dozen of bomb ketches and about three ſcore gun-boats. They are to be under ſhelter; when the caſtle is finiſhed it will afford quarters for one hundred and eighty marines.

The cathedral is a tolerably large building of great antiquity: it contains the monuments of a number of noble families buried there; that among others of Catharine Manſdotter, Queen of Sweden, married to Eric XIV. who died in Finland in 1612. In the ſame chapel that of Count de Tott her ſon-in-law, and her daughter Sigrida. The organ is the preſent of a citizen of Abo, who thought he had a right to tranſmit his likeneſs to poſterity, and for that purpoſe cauſed himſelf to be painted at length in the middle of the front.

The univerſity was founded in 1640, during the minority of Chriſtina: it contained in 1791 three hundred and fifty ſtudents: it is regulated in the ſame manner as the univerſity at Upſal. The library contains ten thouſand volumes; its revenue is no more than 120 rix-dollars; it was founded by Count Brahé at the ſame time as the univerſity: this library contains nothing particularly curious; we were ſhewn a manuſcript in folio of one thouſand three hundred and forty-one pages, entitled, *Minutes of a commiſſion nominated in* 1676, *and of the ſentence pronounced on certain malefactors and magicians, written in the Swediſh language by Andrew Engman, the Notary of the ſaid Commiſſion*: it wants ſome leaves at the beginning. *Miſſale Abenſe*, Lubeck, 1588, with

with wooden cuts; only two copies are in exiſtence; the other is in the library at Upſal, and is not complete. *Dialogus creaturarum moralizatus.* The hiſtory of the library has been written by Henry Gabriel Porthun, profeſſor of Rhetoric.

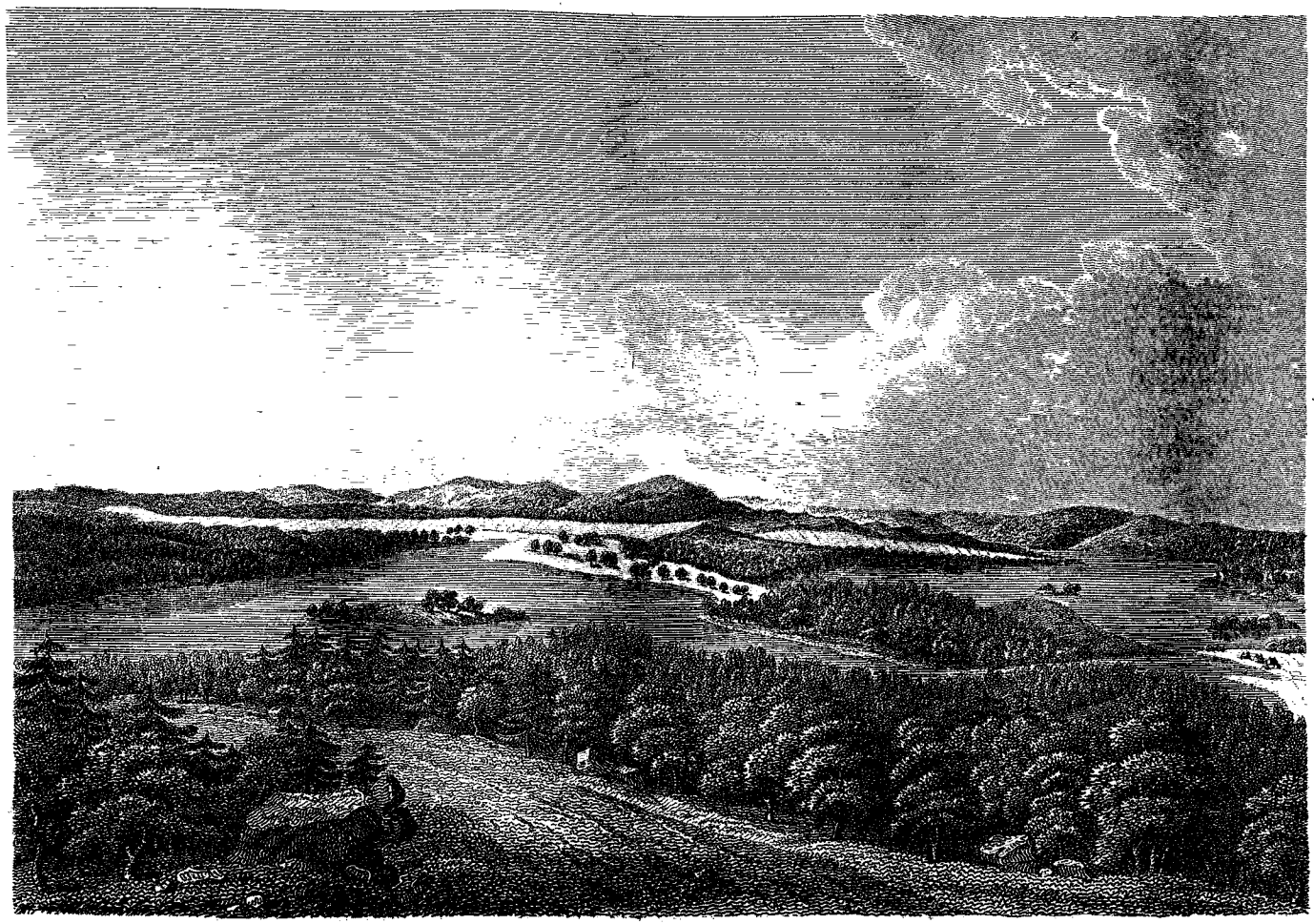
CHAP. XXIII.—*From Abo to Peterſburg by Helſingfors, Fredericſhamm, and Wyburg.*

FROM Abo to *Pikie*, commons, heaths, ſome hills, and ſome meadows, but of no great extent. To *Viſta* the ſame country, a number of windmills. To *Handelœ*, an interſected country, ſandy roads, aſcents and deſcents frequent, woods. The poſt-houſe is on the left, on an eminence out of the high road. To *Hakeſtaro* no change of ſcene, many hills, the deſcent of ſome of which bad. *Haſla*, the firſt mile ſands, woods, and rocks, aſcents and deſcents in very quick ſucceſſion, the reſt of the road not ſo bad, preſents ſome valleys and meadows. To *Swandby*, (on this ſtage you pay for a quarter of a mile more than the real diſtance,) ſands, rocks, and hills; a quantity of foreſt both before and after you paſs a bridge: in the middle of the ſtage you meet with two roads which are the ſame; houſes extremely rare. To Biorſby, ſands, rocks, woods, the road hilly: at about three quarters of a mile on this ſtage you leave to the right a road leading to a newly conſtructed fort, and take that through the wood. To Miollbolſtadt the ſame ſort of road, many proſpects of the ſea, and of a ſeat on the right belonging to Mr. Aminoff: the road by the ſide of a river on which are ſeveral hammers for iron; the banks of it are well peopled, at length you croſs it, and after paſſing the bridge leave the road to *Ekenœs* on the right. To *Kockis*, ſands and almoſt uninterrupted foreſts; this ſtage is exceedingly rugged: the poſt-houſe is on the right out of the high road. To *Bolſtadt* the road better, the country well peopled, and cultivated; the poſt-houſe away from the road. To *Quis*, a far leſs agreeable ſtage, frequently ſtony, woody, and full of hillocks. To *Bombœule*, hills, ſands, the country well populated and in good cultivation. To *Helſingfors*, ſands and mountains. Provided the traveller be not inclined to go to Helſingfors, which is to the right out of the great road, he will proceed from Bombœule to Hackſbœule. At almoſt all the poſt-houſes from Abo there are accommodations for ſleeping, either good or bad: at Helſingfors there are a number of inns, the beſt is kept by a German.

Helſingfors. Notwithſtanding this be the reſidence of the Commander in chief of Finland *, it is a town moſt horridly paved, and contains no more than a thouſand inhabitants; we may with perfect truth affirm that we ſaw as many cows in the ſtreets as paſſengers; but for the fortreſs of Sweabourg it is totally unworthy of being viſited: this fortreſs is more than half a mile from the ſhore, and is deſerving the minute attention of the curious traveller. For this purpoſe an order from the miniſter or the Governor of Finland is indiſpenſibly neceſſary.

On one ſide of the town is a magazine for the field artillery, which is to conſiſt of one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, many of which are now caſting, and eight thouſand muſquets. There are other magazines in Finland. The officer who conducted us, informed us that there were nearly four hundred pieces of cannon employed in the laſt war, which, when to one acquainted with the roads and the country, muſt appear extraordinary indeed. Twenty-four horſes are required for a twenty-four-pounder, ſix for a ſix-pounder, and for cannon of other dimenſions in proportion.

* The houſe occupied in 1791 by General Klinſporre, is the very ſame in which the lodge of Free Maſons was held, of which we ſpoke in our account of the conſpiracy againſt Guſtavus III.; at that period it was inhabited by General Poſſe.



Engraved by J. Storer.

View in Finland.

London Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, Paternoster Row, May 1, 1809.

Sweabourg. This fortreſs is compoſed of ſeven ſmall iſlands or rather rocks, three of which are joined to each other by bridges. It requires half an hour to paſs from Helſingfors over to the principal iſland (Guſtafholm), on which the governor's houſe is ſituated. No communication between the fortreſs and the town is practicable during the prevalence of a ſtrong ſouth-weſt wind. The conſtruction of this place was begun in 1748, and although it be not yet complete, it is in a perfectly defenſible condition, but would for that purpoſe require a garriſon of ſix thouſand men. The garriſon in July 1791, conſiſted of three battalions of infantry (levies), and two of marines, making together two thouſand men. There was beſides a company of artillery, but that was in another iſland, where alſo is the arſenal, and magazine for the land forces only. On coming from Helſingfors, you leave this iſland on the left. Independent of the garriſon, there are other inhabitants, which, with the wives and children of the ſoldiers, may make the whole population amount to four thouſand. It has neither ſpring nor well, but an immenſe reſervoir for preſerving rain water. The buildings are extenſive and well finiſhed; caſemates are faſhioned for five or ſix thouſand men, with ſeveral powder magazines, three of which alone are built of brick. (The powder coſts His Majeſty 10 rix-dollars the quintal.) There is a complete ſtaff here, and all deſcriptions of workmen requiſite to a colony. There are beſides common priſons in the citadel. The harbour is excellent, being capable of containing ſixty ſail of the line: large veſſels cannot enter but by an extremely narrow channel, commanded by the guns of the fortreſs; we ſaw, excluſive of mortars, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which point upon this paſſage, and nearly a thouſand pieces altogether, including the land batteries in the different forts. Many of the works are cut out of the rock. A very handſome dock is now making, which when finiſhed, will be able to hold fifteen veſſels under cover, twelve of which for the ſake of preſervation, and three at the extremity of the dock for repairs, between two ſluices. This dock is three hundred and ſeventy-two Swediſh feet in length, by one hundred and fifty in breadth. Another new one is conſtructing, which will ſoon be finiſhed, and be capable of containing the largeſt ſhips of the line.

This is the firſt ſtation of the flotilla. Here are xebecs, frigates, praams, floating batteries, gun boats and yawls in dry dock under cover, but no galleys. The number of theſe veſſels is very conſiderable, many of them frigates of thirty-ſix guns, and ſhips called *Tourma*, which carry twenty-four thirty-ſix pounders, and are the more tremendous, from their ports being no more than four feet from the water. Theſe contributed greatly towards the victory obtained at Svenkſund. We ſaw ſome veſſels, which looked like xebecs, carrying ten guns placed in the middle, and which can be turned in any direction. On board the galleys the ſupply is one hundred broadſides, the ſame for the yawls and gun boats; theſe latter carry from ſixty to ſixty-four men, in which caſe fifty ſoldiers, eight ſailors, and ſix gunners. The complement of the yawls is eighteen men, commanded by a petty officer; they carry one gun of from eighteen to twenty-four pounds, fixed in ſuch a manner, that the boat recoils upon its being fired and not the piece itſelf; in front is a ſort of projection, with a platform, from which the gun is loaded, after which the man re-enters the boat. A diviſion is generally compoſed of ten gun boats and ſix yawls, ſometimes more. Colonel *Kiercher*, commandant at Sweabourg, (of whoſe civilities we cannot ſpeak too highly,) has contrived a kind of bomb ketch, which has not yet been put in ſervice. It conſiſts of a very large veſſel, the maſt of which is made to lower at pleaſure; the mortar is ſtationed near the main-maſt, in the middle of the veſſel; it is couched on a frame of ſtrong planks, under which is a heap of birch bark of great depth, for the purpoſe of diminiſhing, by the elaſticity of the bark, the violence of the recoil. The mortar is calculated to throw a

bomb

bomb of eighty-eight pounds, beſides at the ſame time one of forty pounds *. M. de Kiercher is employed on the map of Finland.

Diſtributed among the three ſtations of the fleet at Sweabourg, Stockholm, and Abo, there are one hundred and thirty-three gun boats, ſixty-three yawls, forty galleys and demi-galleys, about forty ſquare built ſhips, ſuch as frigates, xebecs, cutters, &c. At Landſcrona, a fourth ſtation is to be formed, on the plan of that of Abo. For manning this fleet there are one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-five men regiſtered, that is to ſay, eight hundred and twenty-five in Finland, and four hundred and fifty in Sweden: the eight hundred and twenty-five are divided into fourteen companies, two of which, of one hundred men each, for the two colonels at Sweabourg and Abo; three of ſeventy-five, for the lieutenant-colonel and the two majors at Sweabourg; and eight of fifty, commanded by captains. The four hundred and fifty in Sweden form ſeven companies, four of which of ſeventy-five men each, and three of fifty. The companies remain the ſame in time of war: they are engaged for ſix years, receive 5 plottes per month, and two pounds of bread per diem. Every three years they have furniſhed them a jacket, waiſtcoat, and three pair of breeches of blue cloth, which coſts 36 ſchillings an ell; two coats and two pair of breeches of coarſe grey cloth †, and two waiſtcoats of coarſe unbleached cloth †; three pair of long pantaloons, and three aprons of ſail-cloth, which coſt from 5 to 8 ſchillings per ell; three pair of ſhoes, (1 rix-dollar eight ſchillings,) and three pair of ſoles; four ſhirts and four pair of woollen ſtockings (one with another from 16 to 20 ſkillings); two pair of long rolled up hoſe, which cover the thigh; two pair of leathern overalls; a hat (untrimmed 32 ſkillings, with the band and hoop, &c. 24—1 rix-dollar 8 ſchillings); and a hair ſtiffener for the neck (16 ſchillings). The cloak is given only once in nine years, the knapſack once in ſix years, and the muſket and bayonet the ſame (6 rix-dollars).

At Sweabourg we ſaw ſome ſix-pounders, which had as many as forty calibers. Experiments have been made of cannon to move on a pivot, but without ſucceſs. We had ſome Ruſſian pieces ſhewn us almoſt as long as cannon, the mouths of which were ten inches in diameter, and from which they fire thirty three-pounders at a time; they will carry from five to ſix hundred fathoms; the Ruſſians place two of them on the poop of their Ships.

There is an eighth iſland, perfectly contiguous to that in which the fortreſs is ſituated, whence, in caſe of the enemy getting a ſtation, it might be ſucceſsfully attacked. It is in contemplation to fortify it, which is highly neceſſary, for it would be an eaſy matter to bombard thence, under cover of the rocks, not only the fortreſs but the flotilla in the harbour alſo. If the engagement of the 9th of July had had a different reſult, it was intended that Sweabourg ſhould have been attacked, and from this iſland was it they meant it ſhould be bombarded. The Ruſſians are in poſſeſſion of very exact plans of this fortreſs, given them by the traitor Springporten ‡.

The principal court of the fortreſs is regular and handſome: at the bottom is the governor's houſe, well furniſhed, nay much better than could be looked for on a rock in the middle of the ſea. In the court is a tomb elevated ſome few ſteps; it is that of Mr. Ehrenſvard, the governor of the place, who formed the plan of the fortreſs. In

* At the map and chart office at Stockholm, ſome very handſome charts of the Baltic and the Gulph of Finland, by Vice-Admiral Nordenanker, may be procured. There were ſeven publiſhed in 1791, which number is to be made up ten: they are reported to be minutely correct, and coſt but 24 ſkillings each. There are alſo three charts of lake Wener.

† Of hemp or flax.

‡ We have been aſſured even at Peterſburg that the Ruſſians had friends in the fortreſs, upon whom they could depend; but this we are unwilling to believe.

the governor's houſe, which formerly was the hoſpital, he is painted extremely well in crayons, on cloth. The picture of him was taken by Mr. Sjœuſtiernal, a Swediſh officer, wounded at the battle of Hogland; this officer ſerved in France during the American war. (At that time we had nearly fifty in our navy; twenty-eight of whom returned to their own country, all of them remunerated with the Order of Merit.) This fortreſs, of the greateſt conſequence, deſerves the full attention of the traveller.

From Helſingfors to Hackſbœule the roads are tolerably good, few mountains, ſome ſands. On leaving the town, you croſs two ſmall arms of the ſea over bridges. At the middle of the ſtage you leave on the left the great road, quitted on the way to Helſingfors. This ſame road leads to Tavaſtehus, and into the Savolax. On the left you diſcern a large plain; frequently rocks and ſome woods. At Sibbo, a tolerably handſome poſt-houſe, an abundance of wood; the country conſtantly full of rocks, but pretty well cultivated; ſome few ſands. Half a mile from the poſt-houſe, on the right hand, on the road, is a ſmall glaſs-houſe; it employs but five hands, and has but one furnace with five openings: the firſt earth is brought from Stralſund, and coſts 12 ſchillings per nine pounds Swediſh weight: here glaſſes of all deſcriptions are made, and plate glaſs; the largeſt plates are forty-ſix French inches by twenty-four to twenty-five. We did not conſider them of very good colour. This glaſs-houſe is called *Mariendahl*: there are three others in Finland, one at Biorneborg, one at Uleaborg, and the third at Tavaſtehus; the laſt is the moſt conſiderable. The poſt-houſe at Sibbo is on the left out of the road; here you may ſleep.—To *Vokoſki*, ſome ſhort but very rapid aſcents, woods, and rocks. On leaving the poſt-houſe, you paſs a road on the left, which leads to St. Michael. The poſt-houſe of Vokoſki is on the left, out of the road. Before you reach it, you croſs a bridge over a ſmall river.—To *Borgo*, the road hilly, the country covered with wood. At the entrance of Borgo, you croſs the river over a bridge. This town is very badly paved, and very dirty. Here it was that, for the firſt time, we were aſked for our paſſport, the judge of its value an innkeeper. At Louiſa, upon our leaving the town, it was enquired for again.—To *Ilbi*, this ſtage is ſimilar to the two preceding.—To *Perno*, the road ſtill very mountainous; rocks and foreſt on either ſide. Between *Forbi* and *Perno* is a very high cauſeway, in a wood, between two precipices: in caſe of travelling this way by night, the greateſt care will be requiſite.—To *Forſby*; here is a furnace and two hammers.—To *Louiſa*; on this ſtage you diſcern blocks of granite on each ſide throughout the whole diſtance.

Louiſa has no gates; it is a frightful town, ſituated in a ſmall ſpace between the mountains and the ſea; its garriſon conſiſted of one battalion of infantry, of the regiment of Stakelberg, and one company of artillery. The beſt thing about the town is, it is not paved; you conſequently may traverſe it without being jolted to death: there is a little fort a mile out at ſea; it is not of great conſequence, yet ſhould we have viſited it but for the incivility of General Stakelberg, governor of Louiſa, to whom we notwithſtanding carried a letter of recommendation: fortunately the only inſtance of rudeneſs we noticed in Sweden from perſons in office was at our leaving the kingdom.—To *Teſjœu*; a ſimilar ſtage to the preceding one, rocks, woods, and blocks of granite.—To *Pyttis*; at half a mile on this ſtage is the Swediſh cuſtom-houſe; afterwards a *corps de garde*, conſiſting of an officer and thirty men, who are relieved every four months: here you ſhew your paſſport; beyond is a bridge over an arm of the Kymen, and a little farther a poſt on the left, which indicates you are fifty werſts from Fredericſhamm. This is the boundary of the two ſtates. A little before you come hither is a ſmall paſſage over a rock, very ſhort, it is true, but very bad. Before the end of the ſtage, at the extremity of a bridge, is a *chevaux de frize*; there is the Ruſſian cuſtom-houſe: you yet ſhew your Swediſh paſſport; by giving a 12 ſkilling note you avoid being rummaged, provided

provided your luggage be not very conſiderable; in caſe, however, of appearing loaded, the examination is ſometimes rigorous; the road reſembles that of the preceding ſtage.

The diſtances hence are meaſured by werſts; the charge is two kopees per horſe per werſt; the werſts are marked on poſts, deſcribing the diſtance paſſed and that to go; you pay before hand, and need give nothing to the poſtillion. Provided you chooſe to be thus liberal, give what you mean to the man himſelf, and not the under officer of the poſt-houſe in reckoning with him, for in ſuch caſe the poſtillion would get nothing. A piece of 5 kopees perfectly contents him. To *Suttola*, in the middle of the ſtage, is a wretched wooden bridge, and two others towards the end. To *Fredericſhamm*; at the fourth werſt is a bridge over the Kymen, where is a fine caſcade, which is worth ſtopping to ſee. The moſt favourable proſpect of it is from the road itſelf, about two or three hundred paces beyond the bridge. The two laſt ſtages are extremely fatiguing; the road crooked, almoſt continually over rocks, with many aſcents and deſcents; woods and blocks of granite on each ſide the road *. After leaving Suttola we paſſed through two regiments encamped. The Prince of Naſſau inhabited a houſe nearly upon the high road. Part of the fleet was at Svenkſund, for the protection of the works begun there.

Frederiſhamm, a ſmall unpaved town, regular enough, but thinly peopled; its fortifications towards the land are very inſignificant, nor has it any thing whatever deſerving notice: you will lodge at the Swediſh widows, but muſt bargain before hand, or expect to be handſomely fleeced. Your paſſport will be required as well on entering as leaving the town; and here you may begin to ſhew, in lieu of the Swediſh paſſport, that with which you are provided from the Ruſſian miniſter in Stockholm.

From Fredericſhamm to Wyburg is one hundred and ten werſts.—To *Kokena*, rocky and woody.—To *Peterlax*, *Hurpolava*, *Wilajok*, *Serviok*, roads of the ſame deſcription, except on the laſt ſtage, which is ſandy and bad.—To Wyburg, bad enough: in order to avoid a number of gulphs, you are obliged to make a long circuit to reach Wyburg: a little before you arrive thither, you paſs two arms of the ſea, over two long and exceedingly tireſome bridges; they are made of trunks of trees, both round and ſquare, ranged alongſide of each other without any nicety: very near the city you croſs a third bridge, afterwards an exceedingly long jetty, which terminates the third enclosure.

Wybourg, the capital of the government which comprehends all that part of Finland belonging to Ruſſia, was burnt in 1793. There were then a number of brick houſes whitened over: trade is ſomewhat briſk, a number of deals being ſhipped hence; its fortifications are in a good ſtate; by aſking permiſſion of the governor, you may be permitted to viſit them with an officer: there is here conſtantly a very reſpectable garriſon. We were ſubject to much formality before we reached our inn: our paſſport was enquired for as well on our entrance as our departure.

From Wyburg to Peterſburg is one hundred and forty werſts.—To *Kamarie* few aſcents, but only rocks, and the roads made by trees laid acroſs.—To *Roſvoja* much ſand: the road appears not to be finiſhed; almoſt all the werſts on this road have been taken away.—To *Pampola* a very ſtony road; at five werſts is a village, after paſſing through

* We noticed that the blocks of granite in Finland were much leſs hard and more friable than thoſe in the interior of Sweden; ariſing, according to ſeveral naturaliſts, from there being two different deſcriptions of granite. May it not likewiſe proceed from the ſhores of the Baltic having been left by the water at a later period than the interior, whence the blocks have neceſſarily become more hard and more perfectly formed? An opinion adopted by a number of Swediſh authors, who affirm that the Baltic diminiſhes in height forty-five inches nearly in every century.

which

which you have for ſome time a very pleaſing view of a lake.—To Lindova the ſame bad road.—To *Belloſtrova* the ſame or worſe: in this ſtage you paſs the little river *Seſtra* over a bridge, on the ſide of which is a poſt, which indicates the commencement of the government of Peterſburg. The poſt-maſter at Bieloïoſtrow obliged us to take an additional horſe, without giving us any reaſon wherefore, but that it was his will. The poſt-houſe is on the right, out of the high road, and is by much the neateſt of all upon the road.—To *Dranitzuikoſki* the road very bad and out of repair, full of holes, roots, and trunks of trees; ſo that you are obliged to go ſlow for werſts together, unleſs you would riſk your carriage being broke to pieces.—To Peterſburg the road not ſo bad, yet far from good; this whole ſtage is paid double.

After paſſing Wyburg the country is much better cultivated than that which is traverſed to reach it. Between Frederickſham and Wyburg you meet with a number of redoubts, conſtructed during the laſt war; from before you reach Borgo, you paſs over a part of the theatre of the war. The country is but little waſted, much leſs in Ruſſia than in Sweden, owing to the different manner in which the two nations make war. Soon as you enter Ruſſian Finland you perceive a viſible change; the country is leſs peopled, worſe cultivated; the villages become exceedingly rare, and nothing but miſery is ſeen: if Frederickſham and Wyburg be excepted, not a poſt-houſe is there to be found which has the ſlighteſt accommodation, no bed, no furniture, and abſolutely nothing whatever to eat; frequently even there is nothing but a ſtable, which ſcarcely ſhelters the horſes from the weather. In many houſes we ſaw nothing but a naked bedſtead, the ſame as that at a corps de garde, a table, and ſome wretched chairs. The inhabitants appeared in an abſolute ſtate of deſtitution, the peaſants clothed in rags; in ſuch a picture do we ſee the effects of a government ſo different to that of Sweden.

ITINERARY OF SWEDEN.

From Helſinburg to Carlſcroon.

Scania.

Stages.	Swediſh miles.
From Helſinburg to Aſtorp,	1¾
To Obu,	1¼
Blekmuſa,	1¼
Tyringuen,	2
Vœninguen,	1½
Vanberga,	1¾
Chriſtianſtadt, a city,	1¾
Felkinguen,	1
Gœudderid,	1½
Carried forward,	13¾

Blekingen.

Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Brought forward,	13¾
To Norye,	1½
Carlſhamm, a city,	2
Hogbu,	2
Runneby,	1½
Skilinguen,	1½
Carlſcroon, a city,	1½
	23¾

Route from Carlſcroon to Gottenburg.

	Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Smaland. Blekingen.	To Skilinguen,	1½
	Runneby,	1½
	Skiœurgen,	1¾
	Diuramola,	1¼
	Quarnamola,	1½
	Uroſa,	1¼
	Inguelſtadt,	0¾
	Vixiœu *, a city,	1½
		11
Smaland.	Œurs,	1½
	Hœſiœu,	1
	Torp or Nedeſlet,	1¾
	Bor,	2
	Carried forward,	6¼

	Stages.	Swediſh miles.
	Brought forward,	6¼
Smaland.	To Vernumo,	1
	Brearud,	2¼
	Olmeſtadt,	1
	Giſlaved,	1⅝
	Gronhault,	1½
	Toſtorp,	1⅜
	Svenliounga,	1½
	Hounarud,	1¾
	Skone,	1⅝
	Biœurlanda,	1¾
Weſtgothia.	Landwetter,	2⅜
	Gottenburg †, a city,	1½
		25¾

From Gottenburg to Stockholm.

	Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Weſtrogothia.	To Kunghelf, (at the poſt-houſe,)	1½
	Kiúfhill,	1¼
	Marſtrand, (by ſea, a city, at Fryber's,)	1¼
	Kiufhill, (by ſea,)	1¼
	Kunghelf,	1½
	He,	1⅛
	Beck,	⅞
	Holm,	1⅛
	Salm,	¾
	Strœum,	1⅛
	Wenerſburg, (a city, at the poſt-houſe,)	1½
		13¼
Skaraborg.	Borſted,	1½
	Greſtorp,	1⅝
	Tang,	1⅛
	Melbu,	1½
	Halangen,	2¼
	Embaka,	1⅜
	Biœurſetter,	1½
	Haſsletrœur,	2
	Hofva,	2⅛
	Carried forward,	15

	Stages.	Swediſh miles.
	Brought forward,	15
Nericia.	To Bodarné,	2¼
	Werſtorp,	2
	Blackſtadtd,	2
	Moſes,	1
	Œurebro, (a city,)	1
	Glandſham,	1½
	Fellingſbro,	1¾
Gov. of Stockholm. Weſtm.	Arboga,	1¼
	Kendſœur,	1½
Sudermania.	Smedbu,	1½
	Lund,	1⅜
	Ticelſtadt,	1
	Ekeſog,	1
	Malmby,	1⅜
	Lagatrock,	1⅝
	Kumla,	1½
	Sœurdertelje,	1½
	Fitia,	2
	Stockholm,	1½
		43⅝

* At the poſt-houſe; but as it is kept by three maſters, who each take their week, if it happen to be that of Mr. Grœme, care ſhould be taken not to become his dupe.

† At the poſt-houſe you will meet with indifferent accommodation; much better but dearer at the Miſs Mullers.

From

From Stockholm to Fahlun, and return by Upſal.

	Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Weſtmania. Upland.	To Barkarbu,	
	Tible,	
	Gran,	
	Tunalund,	
	Vonſicœu,	
	Carlbu,	
	Torna,	
	Sahla, (a city) at the poſt-houſe,	
		12
Dalecarl. Weſtman.	Brodbo,	1¼
	Vegarne,	1
	Afveſtadt, a city, at the poſt-houſe,	2¼
		4½

	Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Dalecarl.	To Grodœu,	1½
	Sœter, a city at the poſt-houſe,	2
		3½
Dalecarl.	Naglarby,	1½
	Fahlun, a city, on the great ſquare,	2¼
		3¾

Return from Fahlun to Stockholm by Geſle, Suderfors.

	Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Dalecarl. Geſtricia.	To Strand,	2
	Upbo,	1¼
	Smedbu,	1
	Rorſhyttan,	1¼
	Sarſtad, at the poſt-houſe,	2¼
	Aſen,	1½
	Hogbo,	1⅜
	Beck,	1¼
	Geſle, (city) at a merchant's in the church ſquare,	⅞
		12¾
Upland.	Elfſcarleby,	2½
	Méhédé,	1½
	Suderfors,	1½
		5½

	Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Upland.	To Yfre,	2¾
	Lobu,	2
	Hogſta,	1½
	Upſal city, (at Hodbergs)	1¼
		7¼
Upland.	Malma,	1½
	Oſbu,	1½
	Hauſbu,	1¼
	Rolebro,	1½
	Stockholm,	2
		7¾

From Stockholm to Upſal by Gripſholm, Eſkiſtuna, and Weſteros.

Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Sudermania. To Fitia,	1½
Sœudertelje, (city)	2
Kumla,	1½
Gripſholm,	1⅞
Oker, (no inn)	1
Malunbu,	1
Ekeſog,	1⅜
Tiulſtadt,	1
Eſkilſtuna, (a city) at the poſt-houſe,	1
Carried forward,	12¼

Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Brought forward,	12¼
Weſtmania. To Smedbu,	1½
Kolbeck,	2
Skantzen,	¾
Skultuna,	2¼
Weſteros,	1½
Niquarn,	2⅛
Upland. Enkoping,	1
Liſlena,	1
Sefva,	1½
Upſal,	1¾
	27⅝

From Upſal to Abo by Dennemora, Læfta, Forſmarck, and the iſle of Aland.

Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Upland. To Huſby,	1½
Anderſbu,	2¼
Dannemora,	¾
Oſterbu,	
Bru,	½
Hokanſbo,	1½
Lœfta,	¾
Retnibo,	¾
Forſmarck,	1¼
Norſiodicka, (it is 1½ miles,)	1¼
Marka,	1½
Sanda,	1
Harmaſbu,	1½
Iroſta,	¾
Griſlehamm,	¾
Carried forward,	16

Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Brought forward,	16
Iſle of Aland. To Ekerœu, (by ſea it is not fix)	7
Marbu,	⅞
Fredenbu, by ſea,	1¼
Enkarbu,	1¼
Haraldſba,	1¼
Bomarſund,	1⅜
Abo, (by ſea) near the great ſquare,	16½
	45½

From Abo to the frontiers of Sweden.

Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Swediſh Finland. To Pikie	1½
Veſta,	1½
Handela,	1¾
Hakeſtaro,	1
Harla,	2
Svandby,	1¾
Biorſbu,	2
Miolbolſtadt,	2
Kackis,	1¾
Bolſtadt	1¼
Quis,	2
Bombœule,	1⅝
Helſingfors, (a city) at the German inn,	2
Carried forward,	22⅛

Stages.	Swediſh miles.
Brought forward,	22⅛
Swediſh Finland. To Haeſbœule	1¾
Sibbo,	1½
Vokoſki,	1¾
Borgo, (town)	1¼
Iſbu,	1
Forſbu,	1¼
Perno,	1
Louis, (a town)	1¼
Jeſſiœu,	1
Pyttis,	1⅝
	34⅝

To

From Abo to the frontiers of Sweden—continued.

Stages.	Werſts.
To Suttola,	22
Fredericſhamm, at a Swediſh widow's,	23
Kokena,	16
Peterlax,	18
Hurpolava,	16
Vilajok,	13
Serviok,	27
Wyburg, (at a Pole's)	20
Kamaré,	22
Roſvoia,	20
Carried forward,	197

Stages.	Werſts.
Brought forward,	197
To Pampola	19
Lindova,	20
Belloſtrow,	18
Dranitzuikoſki,	16
Peterſburg, at the London hotel near the Admiralty, and alſo the Spaniſh hotel.	25
	295

Obſervations.

Helſinburg contains at moſt but one thouſand two hundred inhabitants; in any other country it would be conſidered merely a village: it has neither fortifications nor port: its jetty of ſtone, but bad; on leaving it you aſcend a ſteep mountain. The roads excellent as far as Chriſtianſtadt. Before you arrive at this city you croſs the river Helgea over a number of bridges. Chriſtianſtadt is built pretty regularly of wood, is badly paved, of inconſiderable ſize, but fortified: ſince the revolution of 1772 it has been famous. The King's regiment is here in garriſon. Is celebrated for its ſkin gloves. Between Gœudderid and Norye you leave Scania to enter Blekingen. Between *Norye* and *Carlſham* is a ſmall but very pretty caſcade. Carlſham is a ſmall town badly paved; its ſtreets are large and regular, its houſes of wood. In the very village itſelf of *Runneby* there is a caſcade, and one, more conſiderable, half a mile further.

Carlſcroon is a city which comprized fifteen thouſand inhabitants before the fire of 1790: this deſtroyed more than three-fourths of it. Great diſpatch is uſed in its re-edification: a conſiderable part is founded on the rock; the royal marine eſtabliſhment being divided from the city by a very thick wall ſuffered no injury. The traveller ſhould ſee the new dock, it is an admirable work; but we may ſafely affirm, from contemplation of the finances of Sweden, and the little value of the undertaking, that it will never be completed. The port is well defended: the fortifications on the land ſide are of no value; but the nature of the poſition, ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide by the ſea, makes it difficult of approach.

You return from Carlſcroon by the ſame road you came, as far as Runneby; half a mile beyond which village you take the right hand road. There is another way by *Killerid*, but it is longer and not ſo pleaſant. Betweeen Skiœurgue and Diuramola you leave Blekingen and enter Smaland, a wild and mountainous province; lakes, firs: the road excellent.

At *Quarnamola* you may bargain with the poſtillions to take you acroſs the country to Vexiœu. By this means you ſave two ſtages, and a good length of time. If you prefer continuing with the ſame horſes, the poſtillion from Urſa will take you to Vexiœu, without ſtopping at *Inguelſtadt*. *Vexiœu* is the capital of Smaland, and the only city between Carlſcroon and Gottenburg: notwithſtanding the reſidence of the Governor and Biſhop, it is but an inſignificant place. It is ſituated near a lake; one

ſtreet is lined with trees, but all are not, as reported by ſome travellers, no doubt from hearſay.

Beyond Vexiœu, a continuation of woods and mountains. At *Œurs* you may take the road to Jonkœuping; although ſomewhat longer it is better, and goes through ſome towns. After paſſing Hœuſiœu there are a number of ſlopes dangerous for a heavy carriage. The poſt-houſe at Bor is out of the high road: this is very often the caſe. As you leave Vernumo you paſs over a bridge, at which you pay 2 ſous per wheel; afterwards croſs the high road from Helſinburg to Stockholm. On this ſtage nothing but heath and ſands. The fair of Vername is famous in the country; the ſtalls are kept coninually ſtanding according to the uſage of the Swedes. Beyond *Gronhult* extenſive foreſts. As you leave *Svenliourga* you muſt take the left hand road; that on the right leads to Boros: little or no cultivation. The four laſt ſtages are the worſt on the whole road; on the laſt a ſteep hill: the road is cut through the rock; the wheels will frequently want locking. We travelled over the whole of this road, between the 25th and 30th of December, on our wheels, and a very heavy and greatly loaded carriage; but we adviſe no body to follow our example, as we conſider it a miracle that we were not daſhed to pieces from the ſteep and winding deſcents we had to go down on, the road and the ground being frozen. Before you reach *Landwetter* you enter the government of Gottenburg, or Weſtrogothia.

Gottenburg. Previous to arriving at this city you paſs a cuſtom-houſe; but it is eaſy to prevail on the ſearchers to viſit your luggage at the inn, where the uſual fee (from 20 to 24 ſchillings) will ſave all trouble. It is a very handſome city, bearing much reſemblance to a Dutch town: it contains from fifteen to ſixteen thouſand families; and is the ſecond city in the kingdom. It carries on a very conſiderable trade; but few of the houſes are of brick. The Governor and Biſhop reſide here.

This is not the ſhorteſt road, but that we took in order to ſee Marſtrand and the cataracts of Trolhœutta. Before you come to *Kunghelf* you paſs the caſtle of *Bohus*, very ſtrong from its poſition on a rock. Near it you paſs two arms of the river Gœutha, without unharneſſing, and at a very moderate rate. *Kunghelf* was formerly a place of ſome conſideration, of none at preſent. We left our carriage here and took a ſledge, on account of our having to return hither. From Kiufhill we walked over the rocks and ſtones to the ſea ſhore, where we found a lonely houſe, at which our paſſports were examined (this is an abſolute requiſite upon going to, as well as on returning from Marſtrand,) each time you give the clerk 8 ſchillings. *Marſtrand* is remarkable only on account of its herring-fiſhery; it is a free port, but little frequented from its difficult acceſs: there is there a caſtle which ſerves as a priſon as well as a means of defence. Upon our return by the ſame road to *Kunghelf* we continued our journey: the coſt of a boat to take you to Marſtrand, remaining there a day and bringing you back, is from 2 to 3 rix-dollars: you make your bargain beforehand at Kiufhill. At *Strom* you leave your own carriage and take one peculiar to the country, or a ſledge, according to the ſeaſon to viſit the cataracts of Trolhœutta, exceedingly curious, and perhaps the moſt pictureſque in nature. *Wenerſburg*, on lake Wener, is the largeſt in Sweden: here it is that a fair is held for the ſale of the iron brought from Vermuland, and where it is taxed by a commiſſary of the crown; after which it is forwarded to Gottenburg, and thence exported.

Beyond Borſted you enter the province of *Skaraborg*.

Between *Melby* and *Kalangen* you paſs through the ſmall city of *Lidkœuping* (over the great ſquare) by the ſide of lake Wener.—Between Bicœurſetter and Heſſelrœur the ſmall city of *Marieſtadt* on the ſame lake. Theſe two cities are not ſtages. Beyond

yond *Hofva* you enter *Nericia*: the cuſtom-officers not ſtrict. Œurebro and Arboga, notwithſtanding they be capital towns, are nothing great; before you arrive at the latter you enter Weſtmania. This route is full of forges and mines, all the way from *Marieſtadt*: near Arboga is a canal acroſs the high road. — *Kongſœur*. At this place, the extremity of lake Mœler, is the King's ſtud: nothing extraordinary. *Torſhalla*, a ſmall town near *Smedby*: you do not change horſes here. There are here ſome charming ſmall caſcades, viſible from the bridge.

At Kumla you enter the government of Stockholm. The whole of this road is beautiful, and extremely curious, provided you turn aſide occaſionally, as is deſcribed with minuteneſs in the work. Neither the ſuburbs nor the neighbourhood of Stockholm denote a capital city: you paſs through the ſouthern ſuburbs, extremely long and tireſome. The cuſtom-officers were to us rather ſtrict, refuſing to come to examine the trunks at our lodgings.

At Stockholm you muſt go to ſee the caſtle, the arſenal, the port, the exchange, the opera-houſe, the nobles-houſe, the church of Ridderholm, for which refer to the work. There are no good hotels at Stockholm; the beſt plan of a traveller is to take furniſhed lodgings: for 2 or at moſt 3 rix-dollars per month he will be tolerably accommodated, and in a good quarter of the town.

Half a mile before you arrive at *Tible* you croſs in a very convenient flat bottomed boat, and for a mere trifle, the river which ſeparates the government of Stockholm from that of Upſal; it is broad, and ſhortly afterwards empties itſelf into a lake which communicates with lake Mœler. On this ſtage there are many pleaſing proſpects. As far as *Gran* many aſcents and deſcents. — *Tunland*; here you meet with no more waggons with four wheels at the poſt-houſes. Before you come to Vonſiœu you paſs the river which ſeparates Upland from Weſtmania. Some parts of this road did not appear to us ſo well attended to as uſual; but we muſt obſerve that when we travelled it thawed: it is not however any ways dangerous, or really bad, nor ſhould we have made the remark in any other country. — *Sahla*, ſmall city: here is a famous ſilver-mine, the works of which are admirable.

The third ſtage is rather bad; towards the middle of it you enter Dalecarlia. — *Afveſtad*; here you ſhould make a ſtop to ſee the refinery of copper, and all its dependant operations. In its neighbourhood is the braſs manufactory of Biurfors. Upon leaving *Afveſtadt* you paſs the Dahl on a floating bridge; and again after leaving *Gradœu* in a flat bottomed boat without unharneſſing, and at a very moderate rate. This is the largeſt river in Sweden.

Sœter, a very ſmall town, has a mine of iron in its vicinity. On this ſtage you paſs by the ſide of the ſmall city of *Hedemora*. A powder-mill.

At half a mile from *Naglarby* you croſs the Dahl again in a flat bottomed boat with oars; the fare very moderate. A little afterwards on the right you diſcern the road leading to the houſe in which Guſtavus Vaſa was concealed. The laſt mile before you come to Fahlun is full of hills, many of which very ſteep.

Fahlun, the capital of Dalecarlia. Here is the famous copper mine with all its appurtenances.

There is a ſhorter road, but it is not paſſable unleſs in the ſummer, or with a ſledge.

On leaving Fahlun you return by the ſame road; the poſt houſe at *Upbo* is only half a mile from Sœtes, on the other ſide of the river. On the third ſtage you paſs the Dahl twice on floating bridges. On this road you ſee a number of foreſts and forges. Between Roſhytan and Sarſtad you enter Geſtricia.

Gefle is a ſmall town, the export trade of which is conſiderable; its ſituation on the gulph of Bothnia is very advantageous. The caſcade of Elfscarleby deſerves to be ſeen. It is three quarters of a mile from the poſt houſe; you muſt leave your carriage on the high road to walk to the river. *Suderfors* is a conſiderable anchor forge, belonging to Mr. Grill; the traveller will do well to give it attention, of which it is highly deſerving. After half a mile you reſume the high road which you left to viſit Suderfors. If the croſs road be excepted, the whole of this route is by excellent roads. *Upſal*, a city of no great conſequence, which however contains a number of objects deſerving the traveller's notice. You muſt turn out of the high road to viſit *Moraſtein*, the ſtone on which anciently the Kings of Sweden were crowned, it is a mile from Upſal. Although nothing in itſelf, as it will lengthen your road by no more than three quarters of a mile, you ſhould not miſs the opportunity of ſeeing this hiſtorical monument of the country.

From Stockholm to Upſal, by Gripſholm, Eſkilſtuna, and Weſteros; on leaving Stockholm you pay a dollar (of copper) per horſe extraordinary. At Sœurdetelje you join the great road from Helſinburg through Norkiœuping.

The caſtle of Gripſholm, and the ſpirit diſtillery, deſerve to be ſeen. *Oken*, a handſome cannon foundry. Near *Oken* is the ſmall town of Strengnœs, here there is nothing to be ſeen. *Eſkilſtuna* is an agreeably ſituated town; curious on account of its number of artificers in iron in every line. At the ſecond ſtage you croſs lake Mœler and enter Weſtmania. You paſs by the ancient royal caſtle of *Stromſholm*, which poſſeſſes nothing curious. At *Skautzen* you will ſee the canal of Stromſholm, a handſome work. *Skultuna*, a braſs manufactory. *Weſteros*, an ancient town whence a quantity of iron is ſhipped for lake Mœler. Enkiœuping, a ſmall and ugly town. The whole of this road is excellent, with the exception of the two ſtages before Weſteros, which are ſtony and jolting. There are a number of very inconvenient gates.

Dannemora. Here is the richeſt iron mine in Sweden; it is however but little curious with reſpect to its works. *Œſterby* has a very handſome forge, which in caſe of hurry will prevent the neceſſity of examining the works of others, as all the branches of forging are carried on at this. The *Œſta*, a very conſiderable forge: they do not run ſows here: the gardens of Baron de *Geer*, conſidering their poſition, north of 60°. are handſome. Forſmarck, a fine forge, and handſome manſion. The ſtage from *Harmaſby* is not pleaſant, but extremely hilly, a woody, rocky country. Provided you be not diſpoſed to ſtop at Griſlehamm, you muſt adviſe the ſailors beforehand. The fares are fixed for the boats according to the ſeaſon of the year. You croſs the whole length of the iſland of Aland, dependant on the government of Finland; although the iſland have no towns it is yet tolerably well peopled. If you wiſh to take the cuſtomary route you muſt conſult the poſt road book; if the weather be fine it will be adviſable to proceed directly to Abo.

Abo, the capital of Finland: this city has ten thouſand inhabitants; it contains nothing peculiarly intereſting: the univerſity is no great matter.

As far as *Bolſtadt* the country is much interſected by woods, rocks, ſands, and heaths: the roads are frequently ſtony and tireſome, before your each *Kackis* you catch here and there a glimpſe of the ſea. At *Bolſtadt* the road begins to mend, the country to be better peopled, and in higher cultivation. The ſtage from *Quis* not ſo pleaſant.

Helſingfors is a wretched town, but worth turning aſide to viſit on account of the fortreſs of Sweaborg, a ſhort league from ſhore.

Borgo, a very ſmall and very ugly town.

Louiſa, juſt ſuch another town as the laſt mentioned; the laſt in Sweden. It is not paved, nor has it any gates. There is a battalion in garriſon here, and ſome artillery.

Its

Its ſituation between a mountain and the ſea is very diſagreeable. Thus far you meet with accommodations at the different ſtages to ſleep, either good or bad. Between Seſſiæu and Pyttis you leave Sweden and enter the Ruſſian empire: here you have to ſhow your paſſport. The whole of Finland is ſtony, and the roads in either a great or ſmaller degree fatiguing.

In Ruſſia you reckon by werſts; the horſes are paid for at the rate of 2 kopees per werſt; the poſtillion makes no claim; the charge of the ſtage is paid for beforehand. It is abſolutely requiſite you ſhould take copper money with you, or expect to loſe upon ducats, which are the only coin you can take into Ruſſia, at leaſt the only one known by the poſt-maſters.

Fredericſhamm is a ſmall town, has nothing worth notice. *Wyburg* is rather a pretty town, the capital of the government; it is tolerably well fortified, and the garriſon is conſiderable; it is a place of great trade; your paſſports are examined both on entering the town and leaving it. As far as Wyburg the route is through much foreſt and rocky country; the country is extremely wretched, and widely different from Swediſh Finland; from the very borders we met with nothing but the moſt diſtreſsful indications of miſery.

The four laſt ſtages are deteſtable, the roads entirely ruined; you are obliged either to go a foot pace, or run imminent danger. You can ſleep no where but at Belloſtrow; at all the other ſtages you find abſolutely *nothing*: we recommend the inquiſitive to take a view of ſome of the dwellings in order themſelves to form a judgment of the actual condition of the country.

The laſt ſtage you pay double. There is no cuſtom-houſe at the entrance of Peterſburg.

TRAVELS IN RUSSIA:

By Mr. COXE *.

CHAP. I.—*Entrance into Ruſſia.—Limits and Account of the Province diſmembered from Poland.—Cheapneſs of the Poſt.—Journey to Smolenſko.—Hiſtory and Deſcription of Smolenſko.—Divine Service in the Cathedral.—Viſit to the Biſhop.—Dinner with a Judge.—Journey to Moſcow.—Peaſants.—Their Dreſs, Cottages, Food, &c.*

AUGUST 20. We entered Ruſſia at the ſmall village of Tolitzin, which in 1772 belonged to Poland; but it is now compriſed in the portion of country ceded by the the late partition treaty. The province allotted to Ruſſia compriſes Poliſh Livonia, that part of the palatinate of Polotſk which lies to the eaſt of the Duna, the palatinates of Vitepſk, Miciſlaw, and two ſmall portions to the north-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt of the palatinate of Minſk; this tract of Land (Poliſh Livonia excepted) is ſituated in White-Ruſſia, and includes at leaſt one third of Lithuania.

The Ruſſian limits of the new province are formed by the Duna, from its mouth to above Vitepſk; from thence by a ſtraight line running directly ſouth to the ſource of the Drug near Tolitzin, by the Drug to its junction with the Dnieper, and laſtly by the Dnieper to the point where it receives the Sotz. This territory is now divided into the two governments of Polotſk and Mohilef; the population amounts to one million ſix hundred thouſand ſouls; its productions are chiefly grain, hemp, flax, and paſture; its foreſts furniſh great abundance of maſts, planks, alſo oak for ſhip building, pitch and tar, which are chiefly ſent down the Duna to Riga.

At Tolitzin we were greatly aſtoniſhed at the cheapneſs of the poſt-horſes, and when our ſervant had diſcharged the firſt account, which amounted to only two copecs, or about a penny a verſt † for each horſe, we ſhould have concluded that he had cheated the poſt maſter, had we not been well convinced, from the general character of the Ruſſians, that they were not likely to be duped by ſtrangers. Indeed we ſoon afterwards diſcovered, that even half of the charge, which we thought ſo extremely moderate, might have been ſaved, had we obtained an order from the Ruſſian embaſſador at Warſaw.

From Tolitzin, through the new government of Mohilef, the road was excellent, and of conſiderable breadth, with a double row of trees planted on each ſide, and ditches to drain off the water. We paſſed through ſeveral wretched villages, ferried at Orſa over the Dnieper, there only a ſmall river, went through Dubroffna, and arrived in the evening at Lady. The country from Tolitzin to Lady is waving and ſomewhat hilly, abounds with foreſts, and produces corn, millet, hemp, and flax. In the largeſt villages we obſerved ſchools and other buildings, conſtructing at the expence of the Empreſs;

* From his Travels in the Northern Countries of Europe. London, 1802, 5 vols. 8vo.

† Three quarters of a mile.

alſo

alſo churches with domes, intended for the Poliſh diſſidents of the Greek ſect, and the Ruſſians who chuſe to ſettle in the country.

Lady is ſituated in the government of Smolenſko, and, before the late diſmemberment, was a Ruſſian frontier town: we took up our quarters at the poſt-houſe, where we procured a comfortable apartment. Theſe poſt-houſes, which frequently occur on the high roads of Ruſſia, are moſtly conſtructed upon the ſame plan, and extremely convenient for the accommodation of travellers: they are large ſquare wooden buildings, encloſed in a ſpacious court-yard; in the centre of the front is a range of apartments intended for the reception of travellers, with a gateway on each ſide leading into the court-yard; the remainder of the front is appropriated to the uſe of the poſt-maſter and his ſervants, the other three ſides of the quadrangle are divided into ſtables and ſheds for carriages, and large barns for hay and corn. We were agreeably ſurpriſed, even in this remote place, to meet with ſome Engliſh ſtrong beer, and no leſs pleaſed to ſee our ſupper ſerved in diſhes of Wedgewood's ware. The luxury of clean ſtraw for our beds, was no ſmall addition to theſe comforts.

Calling for our bill in the morning, we found our charges as reaſonable as the entertainment was good. The ſatisfaction we expreſſed at our reception, perhaps induced the ſecretary (as the poſt-maſter himſelf was abſent) to think us proper ſubjects of impoſition. The diſtance to the next ſtation was about ten miles, and the ſecretary demanded three times the ſum allowed by the public regulations, under pretence of our not being provided with an order for poſt-horſes. We hinted ſome ſurprize at this charge: this intimation, though conveyed in the mildeſt terms, was anſwered with expreſſions of contempt and defiance; he ordered the horſes again into the ſtable, and declared we ſhould not ſtir from the place until we diſcharged the full ſum. Though we might eaſily have been prevailed upon by the ſlighteſt apology to ſubmit to the impoſition, we determined to chaſtiſe his inſolence. We repaired to the director of the cuſtom-houſe, and were immediately admitted; to our great ſatisfaction he ſpoke German, and after hearing our caſe, told us that the Ruſſian had demanded treble the ſum he was intitled to; he aſſured us we ſhould receive inſtant redreſs, and that the offender ſhould be puniſhed. Having diſpatched a meſſenger, to whom he whiſpered a private order, he deſired us to wait his return, and offered us coffee. While we were drinking it, he gave us much information relative to the Ruſſian poſts, added ſeveral hints, which afterwards proved ſingularly uſeful, and adviſed us to procure an order for horſes from the governor of Smolenſko. In the midſt of this converſation a carriage drove to the door, which we perceived to be our own, with all things ready for our immediate departure: the poſt-maſter's ſecretary made at the ſame time his appearance in a ſubmiſſive attitude; we interceded with the Director for his back, and obtained a promiſe that he ſhould only be reprimanded. After making thoſe acknowledgments to the friendly director, which were due to his politeneſs, we took our leave and proceeded on our journey.

We were much chagrined at finding that the excellent new road terminated at Lady: it was ſome ſatisfaction, however, that the remaining parts from thence to Smolenſko proved far ſuperior to thoſe we had encountered in the Lithuanian foreſts. The villages were an exact counterpart to thoſe we had quitted, and exhibited a repetition of ſcenes already detailed. The Ruſſians differ widely in their appearance and dreſs from the Poliſh peaſants. The moſt ſtriking contraſt ariſes from the method of wearing their hair; the Ruſſians, inſtead of ſhaving their heads, let their hair hang over the eye-brows and ears, and cut it ſhort round the neck. The country was undulating and hilly, and more open than uſual until we arrived within a few miles of Smolenſko; when we

plunged into a thick foreſt, which continued almoſt to the gates of the town, without the intervention of a ſingle village, or ſcarcely of a ſingle cottage.

In 1403, Smolenſko, which belonged to the Ruſſians, was beſieged and taken by Vitoldus, and, together with the whole province, united to the duchy of Lithuania *. During the inveterate enmity which ſubſiſted between the Ruſſians and Poles, Smolenſko was a place of great importance; though only fortified according to the cuſtom of the time, partly with ramparts of earth and ditches, and partly with palliſadoes, and a wooden citadel †; theſe fortifications were, however, ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt the deſultory attacks of undiſciplined troops, and it was at different intervals ineffectually beſieged until the beginning of the ſixteenth century, Vaſſili Ivanovitch, Great Duke of Moſcovy, obtained poſſeſſion by corrupting the garriſon. It continued in the hands of the Ruſſians above a century, in the ſame ſimple ſtyle of defence. At length the importance of its ſituation near the frontiers of Poland, and the improvements in the art of war, induced Boris Godunof, prime miniſter and brother-in-law of the Tzar Feodor Ivanovitch, to ſurround it with a wall; he came in perſon to Smolenſko, and aſſiſted in tracing the ſite of the fortifications, which he lived to ſee completed in his own reign ‡, and which ſtill ſubſiſt. Theſe additional ramparts, however, did not prevent Sigiſmond III. King of Poland, from taking the town in 1611; and by the truce of Develina in 1618, the poſſeſſion was confirmed to Poland. In 1654 it was again reduced by Alexèy Michaelovitch; and in 1686 finally ceded to Ruſſia at the peace of Moſcow ‖.

Smolenſko, though by no means the moſt magnificent, is by far the moſt ſingular town I have ever ſeen. It is ſituated upon the river Dnieper, and occupies two hills and the intervening valley. It is ſurrounded by walls thirty feet high and fifteen in thickneſs; the lower part of ſtone, and the upper of brick: theſe walls, which follow the ſhape of the hills, and encloſe a circumference of ſeven verſts §, have, at every angle, round or ſquare towers of two or three ſtories, much broader at top than at bottom, and covered with circular roofs of wood. The intervals are ſtudded with ſmaller turrets; on the outſide of the wall is a broad deep ditch, regularly covered way with traverſes and glacis, and where the ground is higheſt, are redoubts in the modern ſtyle of fortification. In the middle of the town is an eminence, upon which ſtands the cathedral; from whence I had a moſt pictureſque view of the town, interſperſed within the circuit of the walls, with gardens, groves, copſes, fields of paſture, and corn. The buildings are moſtly wooden, of one ſtory (many no better than cottages), excepting here and there a gentleman's houſe, which is called a palace, and ſeveral churches conſtructed of brick and ſtuccoed. One long broad ſtreet which is paved, interſects the whole length of the town in a ſtraight line; the other ſtreets wind in circular directions, and are floored with planks. The walls, ſtretching over the uneven ſides of the hills till they reach the banks of the Dnieper, their antient ſtyle of architecture, and groteſque towers; the ſpires of churches ſhooting above the trees, which are ſo numerous as almoſt to conceal the buildings from view; the appearance of meadows and arable ground; all theſe objects blended together exhibit a ſcene of the moſt ſingular and contraſted kind. On the further ſide of the Dnieper many ſtraggling wooden houſes form the ſuburbs, and are joined to the town by a wooden bridge. As far as I could collect from vague information, Smolenſko contains four thouſand inhabitants: it has no ma-

* Dlugoſſius, Lib. X. p. 104. et ſeq.
† Rerum Moſc. Auct. p. 52. Mayerberg Iter. Moſc. p. 74.
‡ S. R. G. vol. v. p. 94. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. i. p. 46.
‖ Lengnich, vol. i. p. 47. § Four miles and three quarters.

nufactures,

nufactures, but carries on ſome commerce with the Ukraine, Dantzic, and Riga. The principal articles of trade are flax, hemp, honey, wax, hides, hogs' briſtles, maſts, planks, and Siberian furs.

The Dnieper riſes in the foreſt of Volkonſki, near the ſource of the Volga, about one hundred miles from Smolenſko, paſſes by Smolenſko and Mohilef, ſeparates the Ukraine from Poland, flows by Kiof, and falls into the Black-ſea between Otchakof and Kinburn. By the acquiſition of the province of Mohilef, the whole courſe is now included within the Ruſſian territories. It begins to be navigable at a little diſtance above Smolenſko; but in ſome ſeaſons of the year is ſo ſhallow near the town, that the goods muſt be tranſported on rafts and ſmall flat-bottomed boats.

Having occaſion for a new paſſport and an order for horſes, we called upon the governor, in company with a Ruſſian ſtudent, who ſpoke Latin, for our interpreter. The governor being at church, we repaired to the cathedral, and waited until the concluſion of divine ſervice. The cathedral is a ſtately building, erected on the ſpot where formerly ſtood the palace of the antient Dukes of Smolenſko. The inſide walls are covered with coarſe paintings repreſenting our Saviour, the Virgin, and a variety of Saints, which abound in the Greek calendar. The ſhrine, or ſanctuary, into which only the prieſts are admitted, is ſeparated from the body of the church by a ſcreen with folding doors, and ornamented with twiſted pillars of the Corinthian order, richly carved and gilded.

The worſhip ſeemed to conſiſt of innumerable ceremonies: the people croſſed themſelves without ceaſing, bowed towards the ſhrine and to each other, and even touched the ground with their heads. The Biſhop of Smolenſko performed the ſervice; he was a venerable figure, with white flowing hair and long beard; he was dreſſed in rich epiſcopal robes, and had a crown on his head. The folding doors were occaſionally opened, and cloſed with great pomp and ſolemnity whenever the Biſhop retired within, or came forth to bleſs the people. At the concluſion of the ſervice, the doors being thrown open, the Biſhop advanced with a chandelier in each hand, one containing three, and the other two lighted candles, which he repeatedly croſſed over each other in different directions; and then waving them towards the congregation, concluded with a final benediction. Theſe chandeliers, as I am informed, are ſymbolical; one alludes to the Trinity, and the other to the two natures of Chriſt.

At the end of the ſervice we preſented ourſelves to the Governor, who, to our ſurprize, received us with an air of coldneſs, which made ſuch an impreſſion on our interpreter that he could not utter a ſingle word. At length a gentleman in the Governor's train accoſted us in French, and inquired our buſineſs. Informing him that we were Engliſh gentlemen who deſired a paſſport, and an order for horſes, he told us with a ſmile, that the plainneſs of our dreſſes had raiſed a ſuſpicion of our being tradeſmen; but he was not ignorant that Engliſh gentlemen ſeldom wore lace or ſwords on a journey; an intimation which recalled to our recollection the advice of our Poliſh friend at Minſk. He then whiſpered the Governor, who inſtantly aſſumed an appearance of complacency, and teſtified an intention of complying with our requeſt.

This matter being adjuſted, the Biſhop joined the company; he had laid aſide the coſtly garments in which he performed the ſervice, and was dreſſed in a long black robe, a round black cap, and veil. He addreſſed us in Latin, and invited us to his houſe. He led the way; and we followed with the reſt of the company to a commodious wooden building adjoining to the cathedral. On entering the apartment, the Governor and Ruſſian gentleman kiſſed his hand with great marks of reſpect. After deſiring all the company to ſit, he diſtinguiſhed us by particular attention; obſerving,

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with much politeneſs, that our company gave him greater pleaſure, as he had never, ſince his reſidence at Smolenſko, received a viſit from any Engliſhmen, for whoſe nation he had the higheſt reſpect. During this converſation a ſervant ſpread a cloth upon a ſmall table, and placed upon it a plate of bread, ſome ſalt, and ſome flowers; another followed with a ſalver of ſmall glaſſes full of a tranſparent liquor. The Biſhop bleſſed the bread and the ſalver with great ſolemnity, and then took a glaſs; we thought it at firſt a religious ceremony, but were undeceived when the ſervants offered the bread and ſalver to us as well as to the reſt of the company. Every one being ſerved, the Biſhop drank all our healths, a compliment which the company returned with a bow, and inſtantly emptied their glaſſes: we followed this example, and found the liquor to be a dram of cherry-water. This preliminary being ſettled, we reſumed our converſation with the Biſhop, and aſked ſeveral queſtions relative to the ancient ſtate of Smolenſko. He anſwered every inquiry with great readineſs; gave us a conciſe account of the ſtate of the town under its ancient dukes, and informed us that their palace was ſituated on the ſpot now occupied by the cathedral, which was built by Feodor Michaelovitch, brother of Peter the Great, and had been lately repaired and beautified. After half an hour's agreeable converſation, we took our leave, greatly pleaſed with the politeneſs and affability of the prelate.

Our interpreter then conducted us to the ſeminary appropriated for the education of the clergy, in which the Latin, Greek, German, and Poliſh languages are taught: the prieſt who ſhewed us the library talked Latin; he introduced us into his chamber, and, according to the hoſpitable cuſtom of this country, offered us ſome refreſhment, which conſiſted of cakes and mead.

In the afternoon, the Ruſſian gentleman who ſo obligingly relieved us from our embarraſſment before the Governor, kindly paid us a viſit, and invited us to dine with him on the following day. We accepted his invitation, and waited upon him at two, the uſual hour of dining: he was a judge, and lived in a wooden houſe provided by the court; the rooms were ſmall, but neatly furniſhed. The company conſiſted of the judge, his wife and ſiſter, all of whom talked French: the ladies were dreſſed in the French faſhion, with much rouge; they did not curtſy, but their mode of ſalute was to bow their heads very low. Before dinner *liqueurs* were handed about; each lady took a ſmall glaſs, and recommended the ſame to us as favourable to digeſtion. The table was neatly ſet out, the dinner excellent, and ſerved up in Engliſh cream-coloured ware. Beſides plain roaſt and boiled meats, ſeveral Ruſſian diſhes were introduced; one of theſe was a ſallad compoſed of muſhrooms and onions, and another of grain of green corn, baked and moiſtened with ſweet oil. Before we roſe from the table, our hoſt calling for a large glaſs, filled a bumper of champagne, drank it off to our health, and then handed the glaſs round. "This is an old cuſtom," he ſaid, "and was meant as an expreſſion of regard: the age is now grown delicate, and the free effuſions of hoſpitality muſt be ſuppreſſed by ceremony; but I am an old-faſhioned man, and cannot eaſily relinquiſh the habits of my youth."

After dinner we adjourned to another room, and played two or three rubbers of whiſt. Coffee and tea were brought in, and a plate of ſweet-meats was handed round to the company. At ſix we took leave of our friendly hoſt, and returned to our inn, if it may be called by that honourable appellation. This inn, the only one in the town, was a wooden building, in a ruinous ſtate, formerly painted on the outſide. The apartment which we occupied had once been hung with paper, fragments of which here and there covered a ſmall portion of the wainſot, a patch work of old and new planks. The furniture conſiſted of two benches and as many chairs, one without a bottom, and

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the other without a back; a deal box ſerved the purpoſe of a table. We were inclined to conjecture that there was a heavy tax upon air and light; for all the windows were cloſed with planks, except one, which could not be opened, and could ſcarcely be ſeen through, on account of the dirt with which it was incruſted. In the inventory of theſe valuables I ſhould not omit a couch upon which I ſlept: it had been ſo often mended, that, like Sir John Cutler's ſtockings, immortalized by *Martinus Scriblerus*, we could not diſtinguiſh any part of the original materials. It may perhaps appear ſurprizing, that a town like Smolenſko ſhould contain no tolerable inn; but the ſurprize will ceaſe when we reflect that few ſtrangers paſs this way; that the Ruſſians carry their proviſions, and either continue their journey during the night, or are accommodated in private houſes.

Auguſt 25. We quitted Smolenſko, croſſed the Dnieper over a wooden bridge into the ſuburbs, and purſued our journey through a valley of fine paſture watered by the Dnieper, ſpotted with underwood, and terminating on each ſide in gentle eminences clothed with trees. As we advanced, the country became more abrupt, but no where roſe into any conſiderable hill. Near Slovoda, a large ſtraggling village, where we ſtopped for a few hours during the darkneſs of the night, we again croſſed the Dnieper on a raft formed of trunks of trees tied together with cords, and ſcarcely large enough to receive the carriage, which ſunk it ſome inches under water: this machine was then puſhed from the banks until it met another of the ſame kind, to which the horſes ſtepped with difficulty; and the diſtance of the two rafts from each other was ſo conſiderable, that the carriage could ſcarcely be prevented from ſlipping between them into the river.

The ſecond poſt from this primitive ferry was Dogorobuſh, built upon a riſing hill, and exhibiting, like Smolenſko, though on a ſmaller ſcale, an intermixture of churches, houſes, cottages, corn-fields, and meadows: ſome of the houſes, lately conſtructed at the Empreſs's expence, were of brick covered with ſtucco, and had the appearance of palaces when contraſted with the meanneſs of the ſurrounding hovels. This place was formerly a ſtrong fortreſs, and frequently beſieged during the wars between Ruſſia and Poland. From the ramparts of the ancient citadel we commanded an extenſive view of the adjacent country, conſiſting of a large plain watered by the winding Dnieper, and bounded by diſtant hills. From Dogorobuſh we proceeded twenty four miles to a ſmall village called Zarateſh, where we thought ourſelves fortunate in being houſed for the night in a tolerable hut, which afforded a rare inſtance of accommodation in theſe parts, a room ſeparated from that uſed by the family. Our hoſteſs was a true Aſiatic figure: ſhe was dreſſed in a blue garment without ſleeves, which deſcended to the ancles, and was tied round the waiſt with a red ſaſh; ſhe wore a white piece of linen wrapped round her head like a turban, ear-rings, and necklace of variegated beads; her ſandals were faſtened with blue ſtrings, which were alſo tied round the ancles, in order to keep up the coarſe linen wrappers that ſerved for ſtockings.

Auguſt 27. Our route the next morning, from Zarateſh to Viaſma, lay through a continued foreſt, occaſionally relieved by the intervention of paſtures and corn fields. When we reflected that we were in the 55th degree of northern latitude, we were ſurprized at the forwardneſs of the harveſt: the wheat and barley were already carried in, and the peaſants employed in cutting the oats and millet. Since our departure from Smolenſko the weather proved remarkably cold, and the wind had the keenneſs of a November blaſt: the peaſants were all clothed in their ſheep-ſkins, or winter dreſſes.

At a ſmall diſtance from Viaſma we paſſed the rivulet of the ſame name, navigable only for rafts, which deſcend its ſtream into the Dnieper; we then mounted a ſmall

eminence to the town, which makes a magnificent appearance with the domes and ſpires of ſeveral churches riſing above the trees. Viaſma ſpreads over a large extent of ground; the buildings are moſtly of wood, a few houſes of brick excepted, lately erected by the munificence of the Empreſs. Part of the principal ſtreet is formed, like the Ruſſian roads, of trees laid croſs-ways, and part is boarded with planks like the floor of a room. It contains above twenty churches, a remarkable number for a place but thinly inhabited. The churches in the ſmall towns and villages are chiefly ornamented with a cupola and ſeveral domes; the outſide walls are either white-waſhed or painted red, and the cupolas or domes are generally green, or of a different colour from the other parts. At ſome diſtance the number of ſpires and domes riſing above the trees, which conceal the contiguous hovels, would lead a traveller unacquainted with the country to expect a large city, where he will only find a collection of wooden huts.

At Viaſma was concluded, in 1634, the treaty of perpetual peace between Ladiſlaus IV. King of Poland, and Michael Feodorovitch: by which treaty Michael confirmed the ceſſion of Smolenſko, Severia, and Tchernichef, which had been yielded to the Poles at the truce of Develina; while Ladiſlaus renounced the title of Tzar, and acknowledged Michael as the rightful ſovereign of Ruſſia *. On this occaſion both monarchs relinquiſhed what they did not poſſeſs, and wiſely ſacrificed imaginary pretenſions to the attainment of a ſubſtantial peace.

The Ruſſian peaſants appear in general a large coarſe hardy race, and of great bodily ſtrength; their dreſs is a round hat or cap with a high crown, a coarſe robe of drugget (or in winter of ſheep-ſkin, with the wool turned inwards,) reaching below the knee, and bound round the waiſt by a ſaſh, trowſers of linen almoſt as thick as ſackcloth, a woollen or flannel cloth wrapped round the leg inſtead of ſtockings, ſandals woven from ſtrips of a pliant bark, and faſtened by ſtrings of the ſame materials, which are afterwards twined round the leg, and ſerve as garters to the woollen or flannel wrappers. In warm weather the peaſants frequently wear only a ſhort coarſe ſhirt and trowſers.

The cottages are built in the ſame manner as thoſe of Lithuania, but larger, and ſomewhat better provided with furniture and domeſtic utenſils: they are of a ſquare ſhape, formed of whole trees, piled upon one another, and ſecured at the four corners with mortiſes and tenons. The interſtices between theſe piles are filled with moſs. Within the timbers are ſmoothed with the axe, ſo as to form the appearance of wainſcot; but without are left with the bark in their rude ſtate. The roofs are in the penthouſe form, and generally compoſed of the bark of trees or ſhingles, which are ſometimes covered with mould or turf. The peaſants uſually conſtruct the whole houſe ſolely with the aſſiſtance of the hatchet, and cut the planks of the floor with the ſame inſtrument, in many parts being unacquainted with the uſe of the ſaw: they finiſh the ſhell of the houſe and roof before they begin to cut the windows or doors. The windows are apertures of a few inches ſquare, cloſed with ſliding frames, and the doors are ſo low as not to admit a middle-ſized man without ſtooping. Theſe cottages ſometimes, though very rarely, conſiſt of two ſtories; in which caſe the lower apartment is a ſtore-room, and the upper the habitable part of the houſe: the ſtair-caſe is moſt commonly a ladder on the outſide. Moſt of theſe huts are, however, only one ſtory, and few of them contain two rooms, the generality only one. In ſome of this latter ſort I was frequently awakened by the chickens picking the grains of corn in

* Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 167.

the

Engraved by Storer & Greig.

A Swedish Lady in the Court Dress.

A Swedish Gentleman in the Court Dress.

A Fin Peasant selling Game.

the ſtraw upon which I lay, and more than once by a leſs inoffenſive animal. At Tabluka, a village where we paſſed the night of the 27th, a party of hogs, at four in the morning, rouſed me by grunting cloſe to my ear. Not much pleaſed either with the earlineſs of the viſit, or the ſalutation of my viſitors, I called out to my ſervant, "Joſeph, drive theſe gentry out of the room, and ſhut the door." "There is no door that will ſhut," replied Joſeph, with great compoſure, "we have tried every expedient to faſten it without ſucceſs; the hogs have more than once been excluded, but have as often returned." This converſation effectually rouſing me, I determed to reſign to my unwelcome gueſts that litter which I could no longer enjoy; and contemplated, by the light of a ſlip of deal, the ſurrounding ſcene. My two companions were ſtretched upon the ſame parcel of ſtraw from which I had juſt emerged; a little beyond our ſervants occupied a ſeparate heap; at a ſmall diſtance three Ruſſians, with long beards, and coarſe ſackcloth ſhirts and trowſers, lay extended upon their backs on the bare floor; on the oppoſite ſide of the room three women in their clothes ſlumbered on a long bench, while the top of the ſtove afforded a couch to a woman dreſſed like the others and four ſprawling children almoſt naked.

The furniture in theſe cottages conſiſts chiefly of a wooden table or dreſſer, and benches faſtened to the ſides of the room: the utenſils are wooden platters, bowls, and ſpoons, with perhaps one large earthen pan for cooking. The food of the peaſants is black rye bread, ſometimes white, eggs, ſalt-fiſh, bacon, muſhrooms; their favourite diſh is a hodge-podge of ſalt or freſh meat, groats, and rye-flour, highly ſeaſoned with onions and garlic, which are much uſed by the Ruſſians.

The peaſants were greedy of money; almoſt always demanded previous payment for every trifle, and were in general much inclined to thieving. In Poland it was not neceſſary to be always upon the watch; and we frequently left the equipage during the whole night without a guard: but in Ruſſia, without the precaution of regularly ſtationing a ſervant in the carriage, every article would ſoon have diſappeared; yet even with this expedient, the watchfulneſs of our *Argus* was continually baffled by the ſuperior vigilance of the natives, and the morning generally announced ſome petty loſs, to which the night had given birth.

The peaſants at every poſt were obliged to furniſh us with horſes at a fixed and reaſonable rate, which had the ill effect of rendering them extremely dilatory in their motions; and as our only interpreter was a Bohemian* ſervant, not perfectly acquainted with the Ruſſian language, his difficulty in explaining, joined to their backwardneſs in executing our orders, occaſioned delays of ſeveral hours for a change of horſes. The peaſants acted in the capacity of coachmen and poſtillions; they always harneſſed four horſes a-breaſt, commonly put eight, and ſometimes even ten horſes to our carriage: as the ſtages were for the moſt part twenty, and ſometimes thirty miles, and the roads extremely bad. They ſeldom uſed either boots or ſaddles, and had no ſort of ſtirrup, except a rope doubled and thrown acroſs the horſe's back. Each horſe was equipped with a ſnaffle-bridle, which however was ſeldom inſerted in the mouth, but generally hung looſe under the jaw. The method of driving was not in a ſteady pace, but by ſtarts and bounds, with little attention to the nature of the ground: the peaſants ſeldom trotted their horſes, but would ſuddenly force them into a gallop through the worſt roads, and ſometimes as ſuddenly checked their ſpeed upon the moſt level ſurface. A common piece of rope ſerved them for a whip, which they ſeldom had any occaſion to uſe, as they urged their horſes forwards by hooting and whiſtling like cat-

* The Bohemian and Ruſſian languages are both dialects of the Sclavonian tongue.

calls. The intervals of theſe noiſes were filled with ſinging, which is a favourite practice among the Ruſſians, and has been mentioned by moſt travellers who have viſited this country. From the wretched harneſs, which was continually breaking, the badneſs of the roads, the length of time we were always detained at the poſts before we could procure horſes, and other impediments, we were ſeldom able to travel more than forty or fifty miles a day; although we commenced our journey before ſun-riſe, and purſued it till it was dark.

Auguſt 27. Near Viaſma we entered the vaſt foreſt of Volkonſki, through which we continued for a hundred and fifty miles without interruption, almoſt to the gates of Moſcow. This foreſt, which ſtretches on all ſides to an immenſe extent, gives riſe to the principal rivers of European Ruſſia, the Duna, the Dnieper, and the Volga. The ſources of the Duna were at ſome diſtance from our route; but thoſe of the Dnieper and the Volga roſe at ſmall intervals from each other, not far from Viaſma. The country in this part was more than uſual broken into hill and dale; though it ſtill exhibited rather a ſucceſſion of waving ſurface, than any conſiderable elevations.

On the 28th we arrived at the village of Gretkeva towards the cloſe of the evening, and imprudently proceeded on our journey another ſtage of eighteen miles: the evening was exceedingly dark, cold, and rainy; the road uncommonly bad, and we were in continual apprehenſions of being overturned. The greateſt danger, however, which we encountered, was unknown to us until we reached the end of the ſtation: we were then informed by our ſervants that we had croſſed a broad piece of water upon a wooden bridge without railing, ſo infirm that it almoſt cracked under the carriage, and ſo narrow that one of the hind-wheels was for an inſtant ſuſpended over the precipice. Our uſual good fortune, however, brought us ſafe between twelve and one to a cottage at Moſhaiſk, where we found an excellent ragout of beef and onions prepared by the truſty ſervant, who always preceded us, and provided our lodging and ſupper. I have little to ſay of Moſhaiſk, as we entered it at ſo late an hour, and departed the next morning by day-break. We changed horſes at the village of Selo-Naro, and arrived early in the evening at Malo-à-Viaſma, emboſomed in the foreſt, and pleaſantly ſituated at the edge of a ſmall lake. This place was diſtant only twenty-four miles from Moſcow, where we were impatient to arrive; but we prudently deferred our journey until the next morning, as we did not chuſe to tempt fortune by expoſing ourſelves a ſecond time to dangers in a dark night and in an unknown country.

The road for ſome way before we came to Malo-à-Viaſma, and from thence to Moſcow, was a broad ſtraight avenue cut through the foreſt. The trees which compoſed theſe vaſt plantations, ſet by the hand of nature, were oaks, beech, mountain-aſh, poplar, pines, and firs, mingled together in the moſt wanton variety. The different ſhades of green, and the rich tints of the autumnal colours, were inexpreſſibly beautiful; while the ſublime, but uniform expanſe of foreſt was occaſionally relieved by receſſes of paſtures and corn-fields.

CHAP. II.—*Moſcow.—Hiſtory.—Removal of the Seat of Empire to Peterſburgh.—Population and Deſcription of Moſcow.—Diviſions.—Kremlin.—Khitaigorod.—Bielgorod.—Semlainigorod.—Sloboda, or Suburbs.—New Palace-gardens.—Old Style.—Hoſpitality of the Ruſſian Nobles.—Account of Muller, the celebrated Hiſtorian.—Anniverſary of St. Alexander Newſki.—Entertainments at Count Alexèy Orlof's—his Stud.—Boxing Matches.—Vauxhall.*

AUGUST 30. The approach to Moſcow was firſt announced at the diſtance of ſix miles, by ſome ſpires over-topping an eminence at the extremity of the broad avenue cut through the foreſt; about two or three miles further we aſcended a height, from whence a ſuperb proſpect of the vaſt city burſt upon our ſight. It ſtretched in the form of a creſcent, to a prodigious extent: while innumerable churches, towers, gilded ſpires and domes, white, red, and green buildings, glittering in the ſun, formed a ſplendid appearance, yet ſtrangely contraſted by an intermixture of wooden hovels. The neighbouring country was undulating; the foreſt reached to within a mile of the ramparts, and was ſucceeded by a range of open paſtures. We croſſed the river Moſkva on a long ſpecies of raft floating, faſtened to each bank, which the Ruſſians call a *living-bridge*, becauſe it bends under the carriage. After a ſtrict examination of our paſſport we drove through the ſuburbs along a wooden road, entered one of the interior circles of the town, called Bielgorod, and took up our quarters at an inn kept by a Frenchman, at which ſome of the nobility hold aſſemblies. Our apartments were convenient and ſpacious; we alſo found every accommodation in abundance, except bed and ſheets; for as no one, who is experienced in the cuſtoms of this country, travels without thoſe articles, inns are ſeldom provided with them. With much trouble however, we obtained from our landlord two bedſteads with bedding, and one mattreſs to place upon the floor: we could not procure more than three ſheets, one of which fell to my ſhare; but we had been ſo long accuſtomed to ſleep on ſtraw, that we fancied ourſelves in a ſtate of unheard of luxury, and bleſſed our good fortune.

Antiquaries differ conſiderably concerning the foundation of Moſcow; but the following account is moſt probable *:

Moſcow owes its foundation to George, ſon of Vladimir Monomaka, who, in 1154, aſcended the throne of Ruſſia. Being inſulted by Stephen Kutchko, Prince of Suſdal, he confiſcated his domains, of which the lands now occupied by the city formed a part, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he called Moſkva, from the river of that name. But the town fell into ſuch decay under his ſucceſſors, that when Daniel, ſon of Alexander Newſki, received, in the diviſion of the empire, the duchy of Moſcovy as his portion, and fixed his reſidence at this place, he may be ſaid to have new founded the town. The ſpot now occupied by the Kremlin, was at that time a moraſs overſpread with a thick wood, containing a ſmall iſland with only a ſingle hut. On this part Daniel conſtructed numerous buildings, and encloſed it with wooden fortifications. He firſt aſſumed the title of Duke of Moſcow, and was ſo attached to this ſituation, that on ſucceeding his brother Andrew Alexandrovitch in the great duchy of Vladimer, he continued his reſidence at Moſcow, which became the capital of the Ruſſian dominions. His ſon Ivan conſiderably enlarged the new metropolis, and in 1367 his grandſon, De-

* See Sumorokof's Kleine Chronik Von Moſcau in St. Pet. Journal for 1776; and Scherebatof's Ruſſ. Geſ. p. 736.

metrius Ivanovitch Donſki, ſurrounded the Kremlin with a brick wall. Theſe new fortifications, however, did not prevent Tamerlane, in 1382, from taking the town *. Being ſoon evacuated by that deſultory conqueror, it again came into the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians; but was frequently occupied by the Tartars, who in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries over-ran Ruſſia, and even maintained a garriſon in Moſcow, until they were finally expelled by Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. To him Moſcow is indebted for its principal ſplendour, and under him it became the moſt conſiderable city of the Ruſſian empire.

The Baron of Herberſtein, ambaſſador from the Emperor Maximilian to the great Duke Vaſſili, ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, is the firſt foreign writer who gave a deſcription of Moſcow, which he accompanied with a coarſe engraving of the town in wood †. In this curious but rude plan, may be diſtinguiſhed the walls of the Kremlin, or citadel, in their preſent ſtate, and ſeveral of the public buildings, which even now contribute to its ornament. From this period we are able to trace its progreſs and gradual increaſe, under the ſucceeding ſovereigns, in the accounts of ſeveral Engliſh ‡ and foreign § travellers.

Moſcow continued the metropolis until the beginning of the preſent century; when, to the great diſſatisfaction of the nobility, but with great advantage to the ſtate, the ſeat of empire was transferred to Peterſburgh.

Notwithſtanding the predilection which Peter conceived for Peterſburgh, in which all the ſucceeding ſovereigns, excepting Peter II., have fixed their reſidence, Moſcow is ſtill the moſt populous city of the Ruſſian empire. Here the chief nobles, who do not belong to the court of the Empreſs, reſide; they here ſupport a large number of retainers, gratify their taſte for a ruder and more expenſive magnificence in the ancient ſtyle of feudal grandeur, and are not, as at Peterſburgh, eclipſed by the ſuperior ſplendour of the imperial eſtabliſhment.

Moſcow is ſituated in the longitude of thirty-ſeven degrees thirty-one minutes from the firſt meridian of Greenwich, and in fifty-five degrees forty-five minutes forty-five ſeconds of northern latitude. It is the largeſt town in Europe; the circumference within the rampart, which encloſes the ſuburbs, being thirty-nine verſts, or twenty-ſix miles ‖; but it is built in ſo ſtraggling a manner, that the population in no degree correſponds to the extent. Some Ruſſian authors ſtate the inhabitants at five hundred thouſand, a number evidently exaggerated. According to Buſching, who reſided ſome years in Ruſſia, Moſcow, in 1770, contained ſeven hundred and eight brick houſes, and eleven thouſand eight hundred and forty wooden habitations ¶; eighty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-one males, and ſixty-ſeven thouſand fifty-nine females, in all only one hundred and fifty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety ſouls; a computation which errs in the other extreme **. According to an account publiſhed in the Journal of St. Peterſburgh ††, the diſtrict of Moſcow contained, in the beginning of 1780, two thouſand one hundred and ſeventy eight hearths; and the number of inhabitants were one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-eight males, and one

* S. R. G. vol. ii. p. 93. † See Rer. Moſ. Com. in Rer. Moſ. Auct.

‡ Chiefly Chancellor, Fletcher, Smith, the author of Lord Carliſle's Embaſſy, Perry, Bruce, &c.

§ Poſſevinus, Margaret, Petreius, Olearius, Mayerberg, Le Bruyn, &c.

‖ The circumference is nearly equal to that of Pekin, which, including the ſuburbs, meaſures forty verſts, or twenty-ſix miles and three-quarters. Journal of St. Pet. April 1775, p. 243.

¶ According to Heym, Moſcow contained in 1793, eight thouſand four hundred and thirty-nine houſes, of which one thouſand three hundred and eighty-two were of brick.

** Buſching's Neue Erdbeſchreibung, vol. i. p. 841. Edit. 1777. †† For 1781, p. 200.

hundred

hundred and thirty-four thouſand nine hundred and eighteen females, in all two hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand ſix hundred and ſixteen ſouls. In the courſe of the ſame year the deaths amounted to three thouſand ſeven hundred and two, and the births to eight thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one; and in the end, the population of the diſtrict was found to be one hundred and forty thouſand one hundred and forty-three males, and one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand three hundred and ninety-two females, in all two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand five hundred and thirty-five ſouls. This computation is more accurate than either of the others; and its truth has been recently confirmed by an Engliſh gentleman lately returned from Moſcow, who made this topic the ſubject of his inquiries. According to his account, which he received from the lieutenant of the police *, Moſcow contains within the ramparts two hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls, and in the adjacent villages, fifty thouſand.

If I was ſtruck with the ſingularity of Smolenſko, I was all aſtoniſhment at the immenſity and variety of Moſcow; a city ſo irregular, ſo uncommon, ſo extraordinary, and ſo contraſted, never before claimed my attention. The ſtreets are in general exceedingly long and broad; ſome are paved; others, particularly thoſe in the ſuburbs, formed with trunks of trees, or boarded with planks like the floor of a room; wretched hovels are blended with large palaces; cottages of one ſtory ſtand next to the moſt ſtately manſions. Many brick ſtructures are covered with wooden tops; ſome of the timber houſes are painted, others have iron doors and roofs. Numerous churches preſent themſelves in every quarter, built in the Oriental ſtyle of architecture; ſome with domes of copper, others of tin, gilt or painted green, and many roofed with wood. In a word, ſome parts of this vaſt city have the appearance of a ſequeſtered deſert, other quarters, of a populous town; ſome of a contemptible village, others of a great capital.

Moſcow may be conſidered as a town built upon the Aſiatic model, but gradually becoming more and more European; exhibiting a motley mixture of diſcordant architecture. It is diſtributed into five diviſions: 1. Kremlin; 2. Khitaigorod; 3. Bielgorod; 4. Semlainogorod; 5. Sloboda, or ſuburbs.

1. The Kremlin was probably thus denominated by the Tartars when in poſſeſſion of Moſcow, from the word Krem or Krim, which ſignifies a fortreſs. It ſtands in the central and higheſt part of the city, near the conflux of the Moſkva and Neglina, which waſh two of its ſides, is of a triangular form, and about two miles in circumference. It is ſurrounded by high walls of ſtone and brick, which were conſtructed by Solario, a celebrated architect of Milan, in 1491, under the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I., as appears from a curious inſcription over one of the gates:

"Joannes Vaſilii Dei Gracia Magnus Dux Volodimeriæ Moſcoviæ Novogardiæ Tiferiæ Pleſcoviæ Veticie Ongarie Permiie Buolgarie et Aliar. Totius Q. Raxiæ Dominus Anno Tertio Imperii Sui Has Turres Condere Fet. Statuit Petrus Antonides Solarius Mediolanenſis anno Nat. Domini 1491. K. Julii."

The reader will doubtleſs be as much ſurprized as I was to find, that the Tzars employed foreign architects at ſo early a period, before their country was ſcarcely known to the reſt of Europe. The Kremlin is not diſfigured by wooden houſes, and contains

* This computation may be relied upon. For as a new aqueduct near Moſcow was juſt finiſhed, it was neceſſary to form as exact an eſtimate as poſſible of the number of inhabitants, in order to regulate the neceſſary ſupply of water for each family. Richter obſerves, "The population of Moſcow differs according to the ſeaſon of the year. In winter, when the nobility and their retainers flock to the metropolis, the inhabitants exceed three hundred thouſand; but in ſummer, when they retire to the country, do not amount to two hundred thouſand.—Skizze von Moſkau.

the ancient palace of the Tzars, ſeveral churches, two convents, the patriarchal palace, the arſenal, now in ruins, and one private houſe, which belonged to Boris Godunof before he was raiſed to the throne *.

2. The ſecond diviſion is called Khitaigorod, a term conjectured by ſome etymologiſts to imply the Chineſe town. Voltaire, in his Hiſtory of Peter the Great, ſupports this opinion, when he calls Khitaigorod "*La partie appellée la ville Chinoiſe, où les raretés de la Chine ſ'ettallaient.*" But this diviſion of Moſcow bore that appellation long before any connection was opened between the Ruſſians and Chineſe; and the beſt hiſtorians ſuppoſe the word Cathay or Khitai to have been introduced by the Tartars when they had poſſeſſion of Moſcow †: in proof of this conjecture it is alledged, that there is a town in the Ukraine called Khitaigorod, and another of the ſame name in Podolia; both which provinces, though unknown to the Chineſe, were either over-run or inhabited by Tartars.

The Khitaigorod ‡ is encloſed on one ſide by that wall of the Kremlin which runs from the Moſkva to the Neglina, and on the other by a brick wall of inferior height. It is much larger than the Kremlin, and contains the univerſity, the printing-houſe, and many other public buildings, together with all the tradeſmen's ſhops. The edifices are moſtly ſtuccoed or white-waſhed; and it has the only ſtreet in Moſcow in which the houſes ſtand contiguous to each other without any intervals.

3. The Bielgorod, or White Town, which nearly encircles the two preceding diviſions, is ſuppoſed to derive its name from a white wall with which it was formerly encloſed, and of which ſome remains ſtill exiſt.

4. Semlainogorod, which environs the three other quarters, takes its denomination from a circular rampart of earth with which it is encompaſſed. Theſe two diviſions exhibit a groteſque group of churches, convents, palaces, brick and wooden houſes, and mean hovels, in no degree ſuperior to peaſants' cottages.

5. The Sloboda, or ſuburbs, form a vaſt exterior circle round the parts already deſcribed, and are inveſted with a low rampart and ditch. Theſe ſuburbs contain, beſides numerous buildings of all denominations, corn-fields, much open paſture, and ſome ſmall lakes, which give riſe to the Neglina.

The Moſkva flows through the city in a winding channel; but, excepting in ſpring, is only navigable for rafts: it receives the Yauſa in the Semlainogorod, and the Neglina at the weſtern extremity of the Kremlin; both which rivulets are, in ſummer, almoſt dry.

The morning after our arrival, having ordered our Ruſſian ſervant to hire a carriage during our ſtay at Moſcow, he procured a coach with ſix horſes of different colours; the coachman and poſtillions were dreſſed like peaſants, with high cylindrical hats; the coachman, with a long beard and ſheep-ſkin robe, ſat on the box; the poſtillions, in a coarſe drugget garb, were mounted upon the off-horſes, according to the cuſtom of this country. Behind the carriage was an enormous ſack of hay: upon expreſſing ſurprize at this appendage, we were informed, that almoſt every carriage at Moſcow is provided with a viaticum of this ſort, which, while the maſter is paying his viſits, or is at dinner, is occaſionally given to the horſes. Some refreſhments of this kind, indeed,

* See the next chapter, where ſome of thoſe buildings are deſcribed. Since my viſit to Moſcow, many additional buildings have been conſtructed, particularly the ſenate houſe, a magnificent ſtructure, built by the Empreſs.

† S. R. G. vol. viii. p. 598—541.

‡ Khitaigorod is ſaid to be of Tartar derivation, and to mean the *Middle Town*, from its ſituation between the Kremlin and Bielgorod.

ſeemed neceſſary, as our horſes never ſaw the ſtable from the morning until the evening, or at midnight; and remained during that interval, like thoſe of our hackney-coaches, in the ſtreets. During our continuance in this city, we, not uncommonly, perceived about dinner-time, in the court-yards of thoſe houſes where we dined, many horſes without bridles, and unharneſſed from the reſpective carriages, browſing upon their portable provender ſtrewed on the ground; with them were intermixed different parties of coachmen and poſtillions; who at the ſame time gratified the calls of hunger upon a repaſt ready prepared, like that of their cattle, and which too required as little ceremony in ſerving up. The frequency of theſe objects ſoon rendered them familiar, and we ceaſed to look upon our truſs of hay as an excreſcence.

The firſt viſit we made in our new equipage was to our banker, who lived at the furtheſt extremity of one of the ſuburbs, at the diſtance of four miles from our inn. Our coachman drove through the town with great expedition, generally in a briſk trot, and frequently a full gallop, without any diſtinction of paved or boarded ſtreets. Having ſettled our buſineſs with the banker, who was our countryman, and obligingly furniſhed us with a large collection of Engliſh newſpapers, we croſſed the Yauſa over a raft bridge to a palace, conſtructed for the reception of the preſent Empreſs, when ſhe viſits Moſcow; this palace is not, according to our ordinary acceptation of the word, a ſingle ſtructure; but, in the true ſtyle of Aſiatic grandeur, a vaſt aſſemblage of numerous buildings, diſtributed into ſeveral ſtreets, and bearing the appearance of a moderate town *. The baſe of each building is ſtone, but of ſo ſoft a nature, that it ſeemed ſcarcely adequate to ſupport the ſuperſtructure; the bricks uſed for the remainder of the fabric crumbled at the touch, nor did the workmanſhip exceed the materials, for the walls were in many places out of the perpendicular line.

The greater part of the timber employed in the conſtruction of theſe vaſt edifices was faſhioned with the axe. Though I often ſaw the carpenters at work, I never once perceived a ſaw in their hands; they cut the trees through with the axe, they hewed planks with the axe, they formed the beams, and fitted them together with the axe. With this ſimple engine they mortaiſed and tenanted the ſmalleſt as well as the largeſt pieces of wood, and ſmoothed the boards for the floor with the niceſt exactneſs. Indeed, the dexterity and juſtneſs with which they managed this inſtrument was wonderful; but the operation muſt evidently occaſion a prodigious waſte of labour and wood.

The gardens which belonged to the old palace built by Elizabeth near the ſpot where the preſent ſtructure was erecting, are ſtill retained; they are of conſiderable extent, and contained ſome of the beſt gravel walks I have ſeen ſince my departure from England. In ſome parts the grounds were laid out in a pleaſing and natural manner, but in general the old ſtyle of gardening prevailed, and preſented rows of clipped yew-trees, long ſtraight canals, and a profuſion of prepoſterous ſtatues. Hercules preſided at a fountain, with a retinue of gilded cupids, dolphins, and lamias; every little ſtructure was a pantheon, and every grove was haunted by Apollos and Dianas; but the principal deity in the place was a female figure holding a cornucopia reverſed, which, inſtead of diſtributing as uſual, all kinds of fruit, grain, and flowers, poured out crowns, coronets, and mitres. The reign of theſe deities was however doomed to be ſhort: under the auſpices of Catherine, all theſe inſtances of groteſque taſte will be removed, and give place to more natural ornaments. This palace and gardens occupy the ex-

* Paul converted this palace into barracks for two thouſand men.

tremity

tremity of the ſuburbs, within the compaſs of the exterior rampart which encircles the whole town.

We ſoon ceaſed to be ſurprized that our carriage was provided with ſix horſes, as nothing was more common than to meet the equipages of the nobility with complete ſets, driving merely about the ſtreets of Moſcow. As the city is of ſo large a compaſs, many hackney carriages are ſtationed in the ſtreets for conveying paſſengers to the different quarters. Theſe vehicles are without tops, have moſtly four wheels, and are provided either with a long bench, or one, two, or three ſeparate ſeats, like arm chairs, placed ſide-ways: their fares are ſo reaſonable, that ſervants occaſionally uſe them upon errands to diſtant parts of the city. The coachman generally drives at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour.

September 1. This morning we received a card of invitation from Count Oſterman, governor of Moſcow, to dinner for the 22d of Auguſt; but as it was the 1ſt of September, our ſervant who took the meſſage, came laughing into the room, and informed us that we were invited to an entertainment that was paſt: he had endeavoured, he added to convince the meſſenger of the miſtake; but the man inſiſted that the enſuing day was the 22d of Auguſt. It was indeed a natural miſtake in our ſervant, who did not know that the Ruſſians ſtill adhered to the old ſtyle, and as he had paſſed the 22d of Auguſt in Lithuania, it is no wonder that he was ſurprized at finding it again ſo ſoon at Moſcow.

Until the reign of Peter the Great, the Ruſſians began their year in September, and dated their æra from the creation of the world *, and not from the nativity of our Saviour. In 1700, Peter inſtituted a grand jubilee at Moſcow, and ordained that from that period the year ſhould commence in January, and be computed from the Chriſtian æra, according to the ſtyle then in uſe in England. As a mark of veneration to his memory, no alteration has been made in the Ruſſian calendar; and Ruſſia is the only European nation which ſtill retains the old ſtyle.

The ſame morning we carried a letter of recommendation from Count Stackelberg, the Ruſſian Ambaſſador at Warſaw, to Prince Volkonſki, governor of the province, who received us with great cordiality, and invited us to dinner, deſiring us to conſider his table as ours during our continuance at Moſcow. The Prince is in his ſixty-ſeventh year, and recollects Peter the Great, whom he deſcribed as ſix-feet in height, ſtrong and well made, with his head ſlouching and awry, of a dark complexion, and a countenance continually ſubject to diſtortions; adding that he was generally dreſſed in his green uniform, or a plain brown coat; was remarkable for the fineneſs of his linen, wore his ſhort black hair without powder, and whiſkers. The Prince amuſed us with relating ſeveral anecdotes of that great monarch, and amongſt others, one which he received from Prince Mentchikof.

After the battle of Pultava, while his father Prince Volkonſki, was following Charles XII. with a corps of light horſe, an aid-de-camp brought an order from Mentchikof to halt: he obeyed, but diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint the Prince that he was purſuing the King of Sweden with the faireſt proſpect of overtaking him. Mentchikof was greatly aſtoniſhed at this meſſage, as no orders for diſcontinuing the purſuit had iſſued from him, and his ſuppoſed aid-de camp was never diſcovered. As Peter inſtituted no inquiry concerning the perſon who had probably prevented the capture of

* They reckoned alſo, according to the opinion of the Greeks, 5508 years, inſtead of only 3369, from the creation to the nativity.

his

his moſt formidable rival, it is ſuſpected that the ſtratagem was contrived by himſelf, in order to avoid being embarraſſed with a priſoner whom he would be unwilling either to releaſe or detain long in captivity.

Nothing can exceed the hoſpitality of the Ruſſians. We never paid a morning viſit to any nobleman without being detained to dinner: we alſo conſtantly received general invitations, but conſidering them as mere compliments, were unwilling to intrude ourſelves without further notice. We ſoon found, however, that the principal perſons of diſtinction kept open tables, and were highly obliged by our reſorting to them without ceremony. Prince Volkonſki in particular, having caſually diſcovered that we had dined the preceding day at the inn, politely upbraided us, repeating his aſſurances that his table was ours, and that when we were not engaged, he ſhould always expect us for his gueſts. Indeed the ſtrongeſt expreſſions can ſcarcely do juſtice to the attention and kindneſs of this excellent nobleman; not content with admitting us to his table without form, he was anxious that our curioſity ſhould be gratified with the ſight of every remarkable object at Moſcow, he ordered his aide-de-camp to accompany us to different parts of the city, and as we were extremely deſirous to become acquainted with Muller, the celebrated hiſtorian of this country, he invited him to meet us at dinner.

Muller ſpeaks and writes the German, Ruſſian, French, and Latin tongues with uncommon fluency, and reads the Engliſh, Dutch, Swediſh, Daniſh, and Greek with great facility. His memory is ſtill ſurprizing, and his accurate acquaintance with the minuteſt incidents of the Ruſſian annals, almoſt ſurpaſſes belief.

At the concluſion of the dinner I had the pleaſure of accompanying this eminent hiſtorian to his houſe, and paſſed ſome hours in his library. He poſſeſſes moſt of the books in the different languages of modern Europe which treat of Ruſſia: the Engliſh writers upon this country are far more numerous than I imagined. His collection of ſtate papers and manuſcripts is invaluable, and arranged in the exacteſt order.

Every lover of literature muſt regret, that Muller, who is admirably qualified for the taſk, and has already prepared the materials, has not favoured the public with a regular hiſtory of Ruſſia, and that on account of his advanced age, he muſt conſign to others the uſe of thoſe papers which he has ſo diligently accumulated. He will, however, always be conſidered as the great father of Ruſſian hiſtory, as well from the excellent ſpecimens he himſelf has produced, as from the vaſt fund of information which he bequeaths to future authors.

Gerard Frederic Muller was born in 1705, at Herforden, in the circle of Weſtphalia. He received the early part of his education under his father, Thomas Muller, rector of Gymnaſium; in the ſeventeenth year of his age was removed to the univerſity of Rinteln, and in the following year to Leipſic. Having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by rapid advances in various branches of polite literature, in the twentieth year of his age, he was recommended to Peter the Great as a proper perſon to be appointed member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. He arrived at Peterſburg in November 1725, after the demiſe of Peter; but was nominated by Catharine the Firſt, adjunct to the Imperial Academy. He read lectures in the latin tongue on hiſtory and geography, and in 1730 was appointed profeſſor of hiſtory, and member of the Imperial Academy. In the ſame year he began his travels into Germany, Holland, and England, and during his reſidence in London was choſen member of the Royal Society. Being deputed by the Empreſs Anne to explore the extreme parts of Siberia, and the peninſula of Kamtchatka, he ſet out on the 8th of Auguſt 1733, on this memorable expedition, in company with Steller, De Liſle, the elder Gmelin, and Kraſheninikof. The indefatigable traveller

turned his principal attention to the hiſtory, geography, antiquities, manners, and cuſtoms of the various people and hordes of Siberia. He compiled or corrected maps of the diſtricts which he viſited, arranged the archives of the principal towns, and copied the moſt important documents.

The unremitting aſſiduity with which he continued his inquiries, brought on a nervous complaint, which prevented him from accompanying his fellow travellers; and compelled him to demand his recal. Having obtained the Empreſs's permiſſion to return, he ſaw his companions depart with regret; but afterwards recovering his health, was impelled by literary zeal to continue his travels into the extreme parts of Siberia, notwithſtanding the fatigue of the journey, through an inhoſpitable country, and over almoſt impaſſable roads. He viſited Irkutſk, Okotſk, and even penetrated to Yakutſk, where he arrived in 1736. In examining the archives, he found the original account of the Ruſſian voyages in the Frozen Ocean, and in the ſea of Kamtchatka, and diſcovered that in the laſt century, Deſhnef, a Ruſſian navigator, had taken his departure from the river of Kovyma, ſailed along the Frozen Ocean, and doubled the north-eaſtern promontory of Aſia*; thus aſcertaining a point which had long agitated the literary world, that the continents of Aſia and America were ſeparated by the ſea. This important diſcovery occaſioned various attempts to diſcover the north-weſtern coaſt of America, and gave riſe to the expedition of Captain Cook.

After an abſence of ten years Muller returned to St. Peterſburgh in the beginning of 1743; and was received by the Empreſs Elizabeth with great marks of diſtinction. In 1747 he was appointed hiſtoriographer, and rector of the Imperial univerſity, received other promotions at St. Peterſburgh, and at length was appointed by the preſent Empreſs, Councellor of State, and Keeper of the Archives at Moſcow †.

His principal work is a Collection of Ruſſian Hiſtories, in nine volumes, and contains many curious and intereſting articles: an account of the Ruſſian annals, drawn from the Byzantine writers, from the ancient Sclavonian chronicles, and from Snorro Sturlenſis, an hiſtorian of Norway; various details of the Calmuc Tartars, and Zaporavian Coſſacs; the Commerce and Poſſeſſions of the Genoeſe on the Coaſts of the Black Sea, and at Azof; an account of the Ruſſian and Chineſe Settlements on the river Amoor; Hiſtory and Commerce of Siberia; Hiſtory of Ruſſia, from the reign of Boris Godunof to the acceſſion of Michael Feodorovitch; Remarkable Things in Aſiatic Ruſſia, and in Turkey in Aſia; the Ruſſian Trade to China; Natural Hiſtory of the Diſtricts between the Don and Diepper; Account of Novogorod, Dorpart, Pernau, and Riga.

The third volume of this intereſting work contains an "Account of the Ruſſian Voyages and Diſcoveries along the Coaſts of the Frozen Sea, and in the Eaſtern Ocean, towards Japan and America," from 1636 to the termination of Bering's and Tchirikof's expedition in 1742: to this publication I was greatly indebted for my account of the Ruſſian diſcoveries.

To theſe works the accurate and indefatigable writer ſucceſſively added many other valuable performances on ſimilar ſubjects, both in the German and Ruſſian languages, which elucidate the hiſtory and topography of this vaſt empire.

* See Account of the Ruſſian Diſcoveries between Aſia and America.

† The Empreſs purchaſed his fine collection of books and manuſcripts for 2,000l. This great patroneſs of letters conſigned alſo to him the charge of arranging and printing, at her expence, a collection of Ruſſian Treaties, in the form of Dumont's *Corps Diplomatique*; but the death of the learned hiſtorian prevented the completion. He died on the 16th of October, 1783, in the ſeventy eighth year of his age; Catharine, a ſhort time before his death, honoured Mr. Muller with the order of St. Vladimir, and has teſtified her reſpect to his memory by ennobling his family.

September 10. This day being facred to Alexander Nevſki, a ſaint highly revered by the Ruſſians, and in whoſe honour an order of knighthood was inſtituted by Peter the Great, was kept with great ſolemnity. Service was performed in the principal churches of Moſcow with all the pageantry peculiar to the Greek religion, and the Governor of the province gave a ſplendid entertainment, to which the principal nobility and clergy were invited.

Alexander Nevſki, a name more reſpectable than moſt of the ſaints who fill the Ruſſian calendar, was ſon of the Great Duke Yaroſlaf, and flouriſhed in the beginning of the 13th century, at a period when his country was reduced to the utmoſt extremity by a combination of formidable enemies. He repulſed an army of Swedes and Teutonic knights, and wounded the King of Sweden with his own hand on the bank of the Neva, from whence he obtained the appellation of Nevſki. He defeated the Tartars in ſeveral engagements, and delivered his country from a diſgraceful tribute impoſed by the ſucceſſors of Zinghis Khan. His life ſeems to have been almoſt one continued ſcene of action; and he performed ſuch almoſt incredible acts of valour, as induced an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people to conſider him as a ſuperior being, and conſecrate his memory. He died about the year 1262, at Gorodetz, near Niſhnei Novogorod. The great ſuperiority of his character was evinced, as well by victories which diſtinguiſhed the Ruſſian arms during his life, as by the numerous defeats which immediately took place on his deceaſe.

The morning of this anniverſary was uſhered in by the ringing of bells uncommonly loud; inceſſant peals reſounded in every quarter of the city, but more particularly in the Kremlin, which contains the principal churches and the largeſt bells. At eleven we paid our reſpects to Prince Volkonſki, who, as governor of the province of Moſcow, had a levee: he wore the red ribbon of the order of St. Alexander, and received the compliments of the principal nobility and gentry. From the levee we repaired to the cathedral of St. Michael, and were preſent at high maſs, performed by the Archbiſhop of Roſtof. The church being filled with an immenſe concourſe of people, we could not, without the utmoſt difficulty, penetrate to the bottom of the ſteps leading to the ſhrine, from which the biſhop occaſionally came forth to addreſs the congregation. The confuſion ariſing from the croud, and the rapid ſucceſſion of various ceremonies, diſtracted our attention, and rendered us incapable of diſcriminating the different parts of the ſervice. We could only obſerve in general a great diſplay of pomp and ſplendour, and many ceremonies ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed on a former occaſion, with the addition of others appropriated to the greater feſtivals of the Ruſſian church.

At the concluſion of the ſervice, which laſted two hours, we returned to Prince Volkonſki's, where ninety perſons were aſſembled at an entertainment given in honour of the day: when the Archbiſhop of Roſtof entered the room, the Prince met him at the door, and kiſſed his hand after the Prelate had made the ſign of the croſs; he paid the ſame mark of reſpect to two other biſhops, and the greater part of the company ſucceſſively followed the Prince's example. Being preſented to the Archbiſhop, I held a long converſation with him in the latin tongue, which he ſpoke with great fluency. He appeared to be ſenſible, well informed, and verſed in various branches of literature: he had peruſed the works of ſeveral of our beſt divines, either originally written, or tranſlated into Latin, and mentioned their compoſitions with much approbation. I troubled him with ſeveral queſtions relative to the ſervice of the Ruſſian church, which he anſwered with great readineſs and condeſcenſion. The bible, he ſaid, is tranſlated into Sclavonian, the liturgy is written in that language, which is the mother

tongue of the Ruſſian, and therefore the ſtyle of the ſacred writings, though ſomewhat obſolete, is underſtood without much difficulty, even by the common people.

The clergy, he informed me, are divided into ſecular and regular prieſts; the latter, from whom are choſen the dignitaries of the church, are not permitted to marry; the ſeculars are the pariſh prieſts, and from a literal obſervation of St. Paul's precept, "the huſband of one wife," are required, as a qualification for orders, to marry; and, in the ſpirit of the ſame tenet, are after the death of their wives deemed unfit for the ſacred function. The diſqualification ariſing from widowhood may, indeed, be healed by the Biſhop's diſpenſation *; but a ſecond marriage irrecoverably divorces from the altar. The Archbiſhop was politely continuing to acquaint me with many other circumſtances peculiar to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, when the converſation was interrupted by a ſummons to dinner. A ſmall table in the corner of the withdrawing-room, according to the cuſtom in this country, was previouſly covered with plates of caviare, red herring, bread, butter, and cheeſe, and different ſorts of *liqueurs*, to which the company helped themſelves before they adjourned to dinner.

About ninety perſons ſat down to a ſplendid entertainment. During the ſecond courſe, a large glaſs with a cover being brought to Prince Volkonſki, he ſtood up, delivered the cover to the Archbiſhop, who ſat next him, filled the glaſs with champagne, and drank the Empreſs's health, which was accompanied with a diſcharge of cannon. The Archbiſhop followed his example, and the glaſs was in like manner circulated round the table. The healths of the Great Duke, of the Great Ducheſs, and of their ſon Prince Alexander, were then ſucceſſively toaſted with the ſame ceremonies; after which Count Panin aroſe, and drinking a return of thanks to the maſter of the feaſt, was joined by the whole company. When each toaſt was named by the Prince, all the perſons at table roſe out of reſpect, and remained ſtanding while he drank.

During our ſtay at Moſcow we frequently experienced the hoſpitality of Count Alexèy Orlof, who, in the laſt war with the Porte, commanded the Ruſſian fleet in the Archipelago, and burnt the Turkiſh armament in the bay of Tcheſme, for which action he was honoured with the title of Tcheſminſki. The cuſtom of conferring an additional name for the performance of ſignal ſervices to the country, was in imitation of the Romans, uſually practiſed by Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors the Greek Emperors, who reigned at Conſtantinople. From that quarter it probably paſſed to the Ruſſians, who in the earlier times of their hiſtory gave ſimilar appellations to ſome of their illuſtrious leaders. Thus the Great Duke Alexander was called Nevſki for his victory over the Swedes near the Neva, and Demetrius Ivanovitch was denominated Donſki, for his conqueſt of the Tartars upon the banks of the Don. This cuſtom, which was long diſcontinued, was revived by the preſent Empreſs. Marſhal Romanzof received the denomination of Zadunaiſki, for his victories ſouth of the Danube; Prince Dolgorucki that of Crimſki for his ſucceſſes in the Crimea; and Count Orlof this of Tcheſminſki, for the naval victory in the bay of Tcheſme.

The houſe of Count Orlof is ſituated at the extremity of one of the ſuburbs, upon an elevated ſpot, commanding a fine view of the vaſt city of Moſcow and the neighbouring country; many ſeparate buildings occupy a large tract of ground. The offices, ſtables, manege, and other detached ſtructures, are of brick; the foundation and lower ſtory of the dwelling-houſe are built with the ſame material; but the upper part is of

* In general the ſecular prieſt, when a widower, is received into a monaſtery.

wood *, neatly painted of a green colour. We carried a letter of recommendation from Prince Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, the King of Poland's nephew, to the Count, who received us with great frankneſs. and detained us at dinner: he deſired us to lay aſide all form, adding, that he was a plain man, had a high eſteem for the Engliſh nation, and ſhould be happy to render us every ſervice in his power during our ſtay at Moſcow. We had the pleaſure of dining ſeveral times with him, and always met with the moſt polite reception. The Count ſeemed to live in the true ſtyle of old Ruſſian hoſpitality, and kept an open table, abounding with a great variety of Greek wines, which he brought from the Archipelago. One diſh ſerved on his plentiful board, was extremely delicious, and only inferior to our beſt veniſon; it was a quarter of an Aſtracan ſheep, remarkable for the quantity and flavour of the fat †.

There was muſic during dinner, which generally made a part of the entertainment at the tables of the nobility. We obſerved alſo another uſual inſtance of parade; numerous retainers and dependents were intermixed with the ſervants, but ſeldom aſſiſted in any menial office: they occaſionally ſtood round their lord's chair, and ſeemed greatly pleaſed whenever they were diſtinguiſhed by a nod or a ſmile. In this train was an Armenian, recently arrived from Mount Caucaſus, who, agreeably to the cuſtom of his country, inhabited a tent pitched in the garden, and covered with felt. His dreſs conſiſted of a long looſe robe tied with a ſaſh, large breeches, and boots: his hair was cut, in the manner of the Tartars, in a circular form; his arms were a poignard, and a bow of buffalo's horn ſtrung with the ſinews of the ſame animal. He was extremely attached to his maſter; and, when firſt preſented, voluntarily took an oath of fealty, and ſwore, in the true language of Eaſtern hyperbole, to attack all the Count's enemies; offering, as a proof of ſincerity, to cut off his own ears; he alſo wiſhed that all the ſickneſs, which at any time threatened his maſter, might be tranſferred to himſelf. He examined our clothes, and ſeemed delighted with pointing out the ſuperiority of his own dreſs in the article of convenience: he threw himſelf into different attitudes with uncommon agility, and defied us to follow his example: he danced a Calmuc dance, which conſiſted in ſtraining every muſcle, and writhing the body into various contortions without ſtirring from the ſpot: he beckoned us into the garden, took great pleaſure in ſhewing us his tent and his arms, and ſhot ſeveral arrows to an extraordinary height. We were ſtruck with the unartificial character of this Armenian, who ſeemed like a wild man juſt beginning to be civilized.

Count Orlof, who is fond of the manege, is eſteemed to poſſeſs, though not the largeſt, yet the fineſt ſtud in Ruſſia, and he was ſo obliging as to gratify our curioſity by conveying us to his country-houſe, at the diſtance of fifteen miles from Moſcow. He conveyed us in his own carriage drawn by ſix horſes, harneſſed with ropes, and placed two in front, and four a-breaſt in the hinder row; an empty coach with ſix horſes, ranged two by two, followed for parade. He was attended by four huſſars, and the Armenian accoutred with his bow and quiver, who continually ſhouted and waved his hand with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of tranſport; he occaſionally galloped his horſe cloſe to the

* Wooden houſes are by many perſons in this country ſuppoſed to be warmer and more wholeſome than thoſe of brick and ſtone, which is the reaſon why ſeveral of the Ruſſian nobility chuſe that part of the houſe which they inhabit themſelves, to be conſtructed with wood.

† In the court-yard I obſerved ſeveral ſheep of this ſpecies ranging about the ſtables, ſo perfectly tame that they ſuffered us to ſtroke them. They are almoſt as large as fallow deer, but with much ſhorter legs: they have no horns, long flowing ears, and inſtead of tails, a large bunch of fat, ſometimes weighing thirty pounds. Mr. Pennant has given an engraving of theſe ſheep in his Hiſtory of Quadrupeds, which he has accompanied with an accurate deſcription.

carriage,

carriage, then ſuddenly ſtopped and wheeled round to the right or left with great rapidity.

In our route we paſſed ſeveral large convents, ſurrounded, like many of the monaſteries in this country, with walls of brick, bearing the appearance of ſmall fortreſſes; we croſſed the Moſkva twice, and entered a circular plain of luxuriant paſture, in the midſt of which riſes an inſulated hill, with the Count's houſe on the top. This ſeat commands a beautiful view of a circular plain, watered by the Moſkva, and ſkirted by gentle hills, whoſe ſides preſent a rich variety of wood, corn, and paſture.

The greater part of the ſtud was grazing in the plain; it conſiſted of fine ſtallions, and above ſixty brood-mares, moſt of which had foals. The collection was gleaned from the moſt diſtant quarters of the globe; from Arabia, Turkey, Tartary, Perſia, and England. The Count obtained the Arabians during his expedition in the Archipelago, ſome as preſents from Ali-Bey, others by purchaſe or conqueſt from the Turks: amongſt theſe he chiefly prized four horſes (two of which we had noticed in the manege at Moſcow), of the true *Cochlean* breed, ſo much eſteemed in Arabia, and ſeldom ſeen out of their native country.

The Count, after politely attending us to the ſtud and about the grounds, regaled us with a moſt elegant entertainment, at which his vivacity lent charms to his ſplendour and hoſpitality. On our return to Moſcow, we made a circuit to a ſmall village ſix miles from the capital, where a villa was erecting for the Empreſs, called Tzaricino, conſiſting, beſides the principal building, of eight or ten detached ſtructures in the Gothic taſte, which were prettily diſperſed among the plantations. The ſituation is romantic, a riſing ground backed with wood, and a large piece of water embracing the foot of the hill.

I cannot forbear to mention in this place an act of almoſt Eaſtern magnificence, which this viſit afterwards occaſioned. One morning in the enſuing winter, at Peterſburgh, one of the fineſt among the Arabian horſes, which Lord Herbert had greatly admired, was ſent to him, accompanied with the following note:

"My Lord,

"I obſerved that this horſe pleaſed you, and therefore deſire your acceptance of him. I received him as a preſent from Ali-Bey. He is a true Arabian of the Cochlean race, and in the late war was brought by the Ruſſian ſhips from Arabia to me while I was in the Archipelago. I wiſh he may be as ſerviceable to you as he has been to me; and I remain, with eſteem, your obedient ſervant,

"Count Alexey Orlof Tchesminski."

At the cloſe of an entertainment, which the Count gave us at Moſcow, he introduced us to the ſight of a Ruſſian boxing-match, which is a favourite diverſion among the common people. We repaired to the manege, where we found about three hundred peaſants aſſembled. They divided into two parties, each of which choſe a chief, who called out the combatants, and pitted them againſt each other: only a ſingle pair was allowed to engage at the ſame time. They did not ſtrip, and had on thick leathern gloves with thumb pieces, but with no ſeparations for the fingers. From the ſtiffneſs of the leather they could ſcarcely double their fiſts, and many of them ſtruck open-handed. Their attitudes were different from thoſe uſed by boxers in England: they advanced the left foot and ſide, ſtretched the left arm towards the adverſary to repel his blows, and kept the right arm ſwinging at ſome diſtance from the other. They generally ſtruck in a circular direction at the face and head, never attacked the breaſt or ſides, and ſeemed to have no notion of aiming a blow directly forwards. When any combatant felled his antagoniſt

he was declared victor, and the conteſt ceaſed. During our ſtay we witneſſed about twenty ſucceſſive combats. Some of the men were of vaſt ſtrength; but their mode of fighting prevented miſchief: nor did we perceive any of thoſe contuſions and fractures in which boxing-matches in England frequently terminate. Both parties were highly intereſted in favour of their reſpective champions, and ſeemed at times inclined to enter the liſts in their ſupport; but the firſt appearance of diſpute, or growing heat, was checked by the Count, who acted as mediator: a kind word, or even a nod from him, inſtantly compoſed all differences. When he appeared deſirous to put an end to the combats, they humbly requeſted his permiſſion to honour them with his preſence a little longer; upon his aſſent they bowed their heads to the ground, and ſeemed as pleaſed as if they had received the higheſt favour. The Count is greatly beloved by his peaſants, and their ſtern countenances melted into the moſt affectionate ſoftneſs at his approach.

We made an agreeable excurſion to Mikaulka, the villa of Count Peter Panin, a Ruſſian nobleman of the firſt diſtinction, who ſignalized himſelf in the late war againſt the Turks, by the capture of Bender, and more recently by the defeat of the rebel Pugatchef. The villa is ſituated at the diſtance of ſix miles from Moſcow, in the midſt of a large foreſt. The Count originally purpoſed to raiſe a grand edifice of brick, after a deſign of his late wife; but on her death abandoned this project, and contented himſelf with a comfortable wooden houſe at the extremity of his grounds, which he firſt erected only as a temporary habitation. His offices, ſtables, coach-houſes, dog kennels, lodgings for huntſmen and other menial ſervants, form two long rows of detached wooden buildings, all with uniform fronts neatly painted. The grounds are agreeably laid out in the ſtyle of Engliſh parks, with gentle ſlopes, ſpacious lawns of the fineſt verdure, ſcattered plantations, and a large piece of water fringed with wood.

We could not avoid feeling extreme ſatisfaction at obſerving that the Engliſh ſtyle of gardening had penetrated even into theſe diſtant regions. The Engliſh taſte, indeed, can diſplay itſelf in this country to great advantage, where the parks are extenſive, and the verdure, during the ſhort ſummer, uncommonly beautiful. Moſt of the Ruſſian nobles have gardeners of our nation, and reſign themſelves implicitly to their direction. The Count, who is fond of country diverſions, had a pack of hounds chiefly of the Engliſh breed, conſiſting of an indiſcriminate mixture of harriers, ſtag and fox-hounds, ſelected without regard to ſize or ſpecies. With this ſame pack he hunted wolves, deer, foxes, and hares. He poſſeſſed likewiſe a fine breed of Ruſſian greyhounds, in high eſtimation for their ſwiftneſs; they are ſhaggy and wire-haired, and ſome are taller than the largeſt breed of Newfoundland dogs.

The Count entertained us with a moſt ſumptuous dinner: we were particularly ſtruck with the quantity and quality of the fruit in the deſert: pines, peaches, apricots, grapes, pears, cherries, which can rarely in this country be obtained without the aſſiſtance of hot-houſes, were ſerved in the greateſt profuſion *. There was a delicious ſpecies of ſmall melon, which was ſent by land carriage from Aſtracan to Moſcow, though at the diſtance of a thouſand miles †. One inſtance of elegance which diſtinguiſhed the deſert, and had a pleaſing effect, muſt not be omitted: at the upper and lower end of the

* Since my departure from Ruſſia, horticulture has been conſiderably improved. According to Richer, in his Sketch of Moſcow, pines are reared in great abundance in the hot-houſes about Moſcow, and may be purchaſed for a rouble a piece. I am alſo informed, by an ingenious Dutch gentleman, lately arrived from Ruſſia, that in the country houſe of Prince Gallitzin, he ſaw grapes nearly ripe in the open air.

† Theſe melons ſometimes coſt five pounds a piece, and at other times they may be purchaſed in the markets of Moſcow for leſs than half a crown a piece.

table

table were placed two china vaſes containing cherry-trees in full leaf, and fruit hanging on the boughs, which was gathered by the company. We obſerved alſo in the deſert a curious ſpecies of apple, which is not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Moſcow: it is ſomewhat larger than a golden-pippen, of the colour and tranſparency of pale amber, and has an exquiſite flavour; the Ruſſians call it *Navlnich*. The tree thrives in the open air without particular attention to culture, but degenerates in other countries; the ſlips and ſeed, planted in a foreign ſoil, have hitherto produced only a common ſort of apple, but never the tranſparent ſpecies.

In returning from Mikaulka we paſſed cloſe to the villa of Count Razomouſki Hetman of the Ukraine, which had more the reſemblance of a little town than a country houſe. It conſiſted of forty or fifty buildings of different ſizes; ſome of brick, others of wood; ſome painted, and others plain. The Count maintains his guard, a numerous train of retainers, and a large band of muſicians. The Ruſſian nobles diſplay a great degree of grandeur and magnificence in their houſes, domeſtics, and way of living. Their palaces at and near Moſcow are ſtupendous piles of building, and I am informed that their manſions, at a diſtance from Moſcow and Peterſburg, are upon a ſtill grander ſcale; where they reſide as independent princes, like the feudal barons in early times, have their ſeparate courts of juſtice, and govern their vaſſals with almoſt unlimited ſway.

I did not expect to find in this northern climate a kind of Vauxhall. It is ſituated at the furtheſt extremity of the ſuburbs in a ſequeſtered ſpot, which has more the appearance of the country than of a town. We entered by a covered way into the gardens, which were ſplendidly illuminated. There was an elegant rotunda for a promenade, either in cold or rainy weather, and ſeveral apartments for tea or ſupper. The entrance money was four ſhillings. The proprietor is an Engliſhman, whoſe name is Mattocks. The encouragement he met with from the natives on this occaſion enabled him to engage in conſtructing at a great expence, a brick theatre, and, as an indemnification, he obtained from the Empreſs an excluſive patent for all plays and public maſquerades, during ten years from the time of its completion.

The fineſt view of Moſcow is from an eminence about four or five miles from the town, of which I have forgotten the Ruſſian name, but its ſignification in Engliſh is Sparrow hill: upon this eminence were the ruins of a large palace built by Alexèy Michaelovitch. Upon our return we ſtopped at Vaſilioſſki, the villa of Prince Dolgorucki, which ſtands upon the brow of the ſame hill. Beneath the Moſkva, which is here broader than uſual, expands into a ſemicircle, at ſome diſtance; and the vaſt city of Moſcow makes a ſuperb and magnificent appearance: the houſe is a large wooden building, to which we aſcended by three terraſſes. The preſent poſſeſſor is prince Dolgorucki Crimſki, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his victories over the Turks in the Crimea, and by the conqueſt of that peninſula. The models of ſeveral fortreſſes which he beſieged and took, are placed in the gardens, among which I particularly remarked thoſe of Yenikale, Kerſch, and Precop.

In traverſing the apartments, the various reverſes of fortune which befell the family of Dolgorucki, occurred forcibly to my recollection; eſpecially when I ſurveyed the portrait of the Princeſs Catharine Dolgorucki, whoſe adventures, ſo pathetically deſcribed by Mrs. Vigor*, afforded one of the moſt affecting ſtories in the annals of hiſtory. That unfortunate Princeſs, torn from the perſon ſhe loved, was betrothed againſt her inclination to the Emperor Peter II. On his deceaſe ſhe became a momentary ſove-

* Letters from Ruſſia by a Lady.

reign;

reign; but was almoſt as inſtantly hurried from the palace to a dungeon, where ſhe languiſhed during the whole reign of the Empreſs Anne. Being releaſed upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, ſhe married Count Bruce, and died without iſſue.

CHAP. III.—*Number of Churches in Moſcow.—Their outward Structure.—Interior Diviſions.—Worſhip of painted Images.—Deſcription of an enormous Bell.—Principal Buildings in the Kremlin.—Ancient Palace.—Convent of Tſchudof.—Nunnery of Vieſnovitſkoi.—Cathedral of St. Michael.—Tombs and Characters of the Tzars.—Genealogical Tables of the Ruſſian Sovereigns.*

THE places of divine worſhip at Moſcow are exceedingly numerous, and excluſive of chapels, there are four hundred and eighty-four * public churches, of which one hundred and ninety-nine are of brick, and the others of wood; the former are commonly ſtuccoed or whitewaſhed, the latter painted of a red colour.

The moſt antient churches are generally ſquare buildings, with a cupola and four ſmall domes †, ſome of copper or iron built, others of iron tinned, either plain or painted green. Theſe cupolas and domes are for the moſt part ornamented with croſſes entwined with thin chains or wires; each croſs has two tranſverſe bars ‡, the upper horizontal, the lower inclining, which, according to the opinion of many Ruſſians, is ſuppoſed to be the form of the real croſs, and that our Saviour was nailed to it with his arms in a horizontal poſition, and one of the legs higher than the other. I frequently obſerved a creſcent under the lower bar, the meaning of which no one could explain §.

The inſide of the church is moſtly compoſed of three parts; that called by the Greeks πρόναος, by the Ruſſians Trapeza; the body; and the ſanctuary or ſhrine.

In the body of the church are frequently four ſquare and maſſive piers, which ſupport the cupola: theſe piers, as well as the walls and cielings, are painted with numerous repreſentations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and different ſaints. Many of the figures are enormouſly large, and executed in the rudeſt manner, ſome are daubed upon the bare walls; others upon large maſſive plates of ſilver or braſs, or encloſed in frames of thoſe metals. The head of each figure is invariably decked with a glory, which is a maſſive ſemicircle, reſembling an horſe-ſhoe, of braſs, ſilver, or gold, and ſometimes compoſed almoſt entirely of pearls and precious ſtones. Some of the favourite ſaints are adorned with ſilken drapery faſtened to the walls, and ſtudded with jewels; ſome are painted upon a gold ground, and others are wholly gilded but the face and hands. Towards the extremity of the body of the church is a flight of ſteps

* According to Heym, in 1793, Moſcow contained twenty-two convents, nine cathedrals, and three hundred and twenty-ſix churches.

† The church of the Holy Trinity, ſometimes called the Church of Jeruſalem, which ſtands in the Khitaigorod, cloſe to the gate leading into the Kremlin, has a kind of high ſteeple and nine or ten domes; it was built in the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. An engraving of that, as well as ſome of the more antient churches, may be ſeen in Olearius and Le Brun's Travels.

‡ I am here deſcribing the moſt antient churches; the modern croſſes over thoſe of St. Peterſburgh are moſtly ſingle.

§ Dr. King ingeniouſly accounts for the creſcent. "Some churches have a creſcent under the croſs; for when the Tartars, to whom Muſcovy was ſubjected two hundred years, converted any of the churches into moſques for the uſe of their own religion, they fixed the creſcent, the badge of Mahometaniſm, upon them; and when the Grand Duke Ivan Baſilovitch had delivered his country from the Tartar yoke, and reſtored thoſe edifices to the Chriſtian worſhip, he left the creſcent remaining, and planted a croſs upon it as a mark of its victory over its enemy." Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church, p. 23.

leading to the ſhrine; and between theſe ſteps and the ſhrine is uſually a platform, upon which the officiating miniſter ſtands and performs part of the ſervice.

The ſhrine or ſanctuary is divided from the body of the church by the *Inconoſtas*, or ſkreen, generally the part the moſt richly ornamented, and on which the moſt holy pictures are painted or hung *. In its centre are the folding, called the holy, royal, or beautiful doors, which lead to the ſhrine, within which is the holy table, a Dr. King well deſcribes it, "with four ſmall columns to ſupport a canopy over it: from which a *periſterion*, or dove, is ſuſpended, as a ſymbol of the Holy Ghoſt; upon the holy table the croſs is always laid, and the Goſpel, and the pyxis, or box, in which a part of the conſecrated elements is preſerved, for viſiting the ſick or other purpoſes †."

It is contrary to the tenets of the Greek religion to admit a carved image within the churches, in conformity to the prohibition of Scripture, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf a *graven* image," &c. By not conſidering the prohibition as extending to repreſentations by painting, the Greek canoniſts, while they follow the letter, depart from the ſpirit of the commandment, which poſitively forbids us to worſhip the likeneſs of any thing under whatever form, or in whatever manner it may be delineated.

Over the door of each church is the portrait of the patron ſaint, to which the common people pay homage as they paſs, by taking off their hats, croſſing themſelves, and occaſionally touching the ground with their heads; a ceremony which I often ſaw them repeat nine or ten times in ſucceſſion.

Before I cloſe the general deſcription of the Ruſſian churches, I muſt not forget their bells, which form, I may almoſt ſay, no inconſiderable part of divine worſhip; as the length or ſhortneſs of their peals aſcertains the greater or leſſer ſanctity of the day. They are hung in belfreys detached from the church, and do not ſwing like our bells, but are fixed immoveably to the beams, are rung by a rope tied to the clapper, and pulled ſideways. Some of theſe bells are of a ſtupendous ſize: one in the belfrey of St. Ivan's church weighs three thouſand five hundred and fifty-one Ruſſian poods, or one hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and thirty-ſix Engliſh pounds. It has always been eſteemed a meritorious act of religion to preſent a church with bells, and the piety of the donor has been meaſured by their magnitude. According to this mode of eſtimation, Boris Godunof, who gave a bell of two hundred and eighty-eight thouſand pounds to the cathedral of Moſcow, was the moſt pious ſovereign of Ruſſia, until he was ſurpaſſed by the Empreſs Anne, at whoſe expence a bell was caſt, weighing four hundred and thirty-two thouſand pounds, which exceeds in bigneſs every bell in the known world. The ſize is ſo enormous, that I could ſcarcely have credited the account of its magnitude had I not myſelf aſcertained the dimenſions. The height is nineteen feet, circumference at the bottom ſixty-three feet eleven inches, greateſt thickneſs twenty-three inches ‡. The beam to which this vaſt machine was faſtened, being accidentally burnt, the bell fell down, and a fragment was broken off towards the bottom, which left an aperture large enough to admit two perſons abreaſt without ſtooping.

Our inn being cloſe to the walls of Kremlin, I had frequent opportunities of examining the principal buildings.

* "On the north ſide of the royal doors the picture of the Virgin is always placed, and that of Jeſus on the ſouth; next to which is that of the ſaint to whom the church is dedicated; the ſituation of the reſt is indifferent. Candles or lamps are uſually ſuſpended before the images of Jeſus and the Virgin, and ſeveral others, and ſometimes kept perpetually burning." Dr. King on the Greek church, p. 29.; to which book I would refer the reader.

† King on the Greek church, p. 26.

‡ Mr. Hanway, in his Travels, has given an accurate deſcription and engraving of this bell.

The

The palace, inhabited by the antient Tzars, ſtands at the extremity of the Kremlin. Part of this palace is old, and continues in the ſame ſtate in which it was built under Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. The remainder has been ſucceſſively added at different intervals without any plan, and in various ſtyles of architecture, which has produced a motley pile of building, remarkable for its incongruity. The top is thickly ſet with numerous little gilded ſpires and globes; and a large portion of the front is decorated with the arms of all the provinces which compoſe the Ruſſian empire. The apartments are in general exceedingly ſmall, excepting one ſingle room, called the council-chamber, in which the antient Tzars uſed to give audience to foreign ambaſſadors, and which has been repeatedly deſcribed by ſeveral Engliſh travellers, who viſited Moſcow before the Imperial reſidence was transferred to Peterſburgh. The room is large and vaulted, and has in the centre an enormous pillar of ſtone, which ſupports the cieling *.

This palace, in which the Tzars formerly held their courts in all the ſplendour of Eaſtern pomp, was once eſteemed by the natives an edifice of unparalleled magnificence; ſince the modern improvements in architecture, it is far ſurpaſſed by the ordinary manſions of the nobility, and by no means calculated even for the temporary reſidence of the ſovereign †.

In this palace Peter the Great was born in 1672; an event here mentioned, not only becauſe it is remarkable in the annals of this country, but becauſe the Ruſſians themſelves were, till lately, unacquainted with the birth-place of their favourite hero. That honour was uſually aſcribed to Columna, which, on that ſuppoſition, has been profanely ſtyled the Bethlehem of Ruſſia; but the judicious Muller has unqueſtionably proved, that the Imperial palace of Moſcow was the place of Peter's nativity ‡. I was greatly diſappointed that we could not view that part of the palace called the treaſury. The keeper being lately dead, the door was ſealed up, and could not be opened until a ſucceſſor was appointed. Beſide the crown, jewels, and royal robes, uſed at the coronation of the ſovereign, this repoſitory contains ſeveral curioſities which relate to and illuſtrate the hiſtory of this country.

There are two convents in the Kremlin; one a nunnery, and the other a monaſtery for men, called Tchudof. It is well known in the Ruſſian hiſtory as the place in which the Tzar Vaſſili Shuiſki was confined (1610) after his depoſition, and from whence he was conveyed into Poland, where he only exchanged one priſon for another ſtill more diſmal, and fell a victim to his own diſappointment and chagrin, as well as to the ill treatment of the Poles. We are naturally led to compaſſionate the fate of a depoſed monarch, who dragged on a miſerable exiſtence amidſt the horrors of perpetual impriſonment; but the black ingratitude of Vaſſili Shuiſki towards Demetrius, his ſovereign and benefactor, almoſt extinguiſhes our ſenſe of his calamities. For even if the perſon who aſſumed the name of Demetrius was an impoſtor, Shuiſki, when condemned for high treaſon to an ignominious death, was indebted to him for his pardon; an act of clemency ill requited by the depoſition and murder of his benefactor §.

The nunnery called Vieſnovitſkoi, was founded in 1393 by Eudoxia, wife of the Great Duke Dmitri Ivanovitch Donſki, who was canoniſed and interred under the altar. The abbeſs politely accompanied us over the convent, and pointed out every object worthy

* "The roof of the audience chamber was arched and ſupported by a great pillar in the middle." Lord Carliſle's Embaſſy, p. 149. In the feaſt which Alexèy Michaelovitch gave to the Earl of Carliſle, this great pillar was adorned with a wonderful variety of gold and ſilver veſſels, p. 292.

† The Emperor Paul ordered this venerable ſeat of the Ruſſian monarchs to be reſtored and fitted up as a manſion for himſelf and family.

‡ See Journ. St. Pet.

§ See Chap. 7.

of attention. She firſt conducted us to the principal chapel, which contains the tombs of ſeveral Tzarinas and Princeſſes of the Imperial family. The tombs reſemble ſtone coffins laid on the floor, and ranged in rows; ſome were incloſed with braſs, and others with iron balluſtrades, but the greater number had no diſtinction of this ſort. Each ſepulchre was covered with a pall of crimſon or black velvet, ornamented with an embroidered croſs, and edged with a border of gold and ſilver lace; over theſe, on great feſtivals, are laid other coverings of gold and ſilver tiſſue, richly ſtudded with pearls and precious ſtones. The abbeſs obligingly preſented me with a MS. Ruſſian account of the Princeſſes interred in the church. Having examined the repoſitories of the dead, and ſurveyed the rich veſtments of the prieſts, and the figures of various ſaints painted on the walls, the abbeſs invited us to her apartment. She led the way, and at the top of the ſtairs, as we entered the anti-chamber, ſtruck the floor two or three blows with her ivory-handled cane; when a chorus of twenty nuns received us with hymns, which they continued ſinging as long as we ſtaid; the melody was not unpleaſing. In an adjoining room tea was ſerved to the company, and a table was plentifully ſpread with pickled herrings, ſlices of ſalt fiſh, cheeſe, bread, butter, and cakes; champagne and *liqueurs* were preſented by the abbeſs herſelf. After partaking of theſe refreſhments, we attended the abbeſs through the apartments of the nuns, many of whom were employed in embroidering ſacerdotal habits for the Archbiſhop of Moſcow, and then took our leave.

The nuns wore a long robe of black ſtuff, black veils, black forehead-cloth, and black wrappers under the chin; the abbeſs was diſtinguiſhed by a robe of black ſilk. Meat is prohibited, and the nuns live chiefly upon fiſh, eggs, and vegetables. In other reſpects the order is not rigid, and they are allowed to pay occaſional viſits in the town.

I have already had occaſion to mention the great number of churches contained in this city. The Kremlin is not without its ſhare; in a ſmall compaſs I counted eight almoſt contiguous to each other. Two of theſe churches, St. Michael's, and the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary, are remarkable; the one being the place where the ſovereigns were formerly interred, and the other where they are crowned. Theſe edifices are both in the ſame ſtyle of architecture; and were probably conſtructed by Solario of Milan, who built the walls of the Kremlin. Though the architect was obliged to conform his plan to the ſtyle of eccleſiaſtical buildings which prevailed in Ruſſia; yet their exterior form is not inelegant, although it is an oblong ſquare, and too high in proportion to the breadth.

In the cathedral of St. Michael I viewed the tombs of the Ruſſian ſovereigns. The bodies are not, as with us, depoſited in vaults, or beneath the pavement, but are entombed in raiſed ſepulchres, moſtly of brick, in the ſhape of a coffin, and about two feet in height. When I viſited the cathedral, the moſt antient were covered with palls of red cloth, others of red velvet, and that of Peter II. with gold tiſſue *, bordered with ſilver fringe and ermine. Each tomb has at its lower extremity a ſmall ſilver plate, bearing the name of the deceaſed ſovereign, with the æra of his death.

From the time that Moſcow became the Imperial reſidence to the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, all the Tzars have been interred in this cathedral; except Boris Godunof, whoſe remains are depoſited in the convent of the Holy Trinity †; the Tzar, under the name of Demetrius ‡, who was deſtroyed in a tumult, and Vaſſili Shuiſki, who died in captivity at Warſaw.

* On great feſtivals all the ſepulchres are covered with rich palls of gold or ſilver brocade, ſtudded with pearls and jewels.

† See Chap. 6. ‡ See Chap. 7.

The

The tomb of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I., juſtly eſteemed the founder of Ruſſian greatneſs, claimed my principal attention. At his acceſſion to the throne, in 1462, Ruſſia formed a collection of petty principalities, engaged in perpetual wars with each other, ſome nominally ſubject to the Great-duke of Moſcow, and all, with that monarch himſelf, tributary to the Tartars *. Ivan, in the courſe of a long and proſperous reign, gave a new aſpect to the Ruſſian affairs: he annexed to his dominions the duchies of Tver and other neighbouring principalities, ſubdued Novogorod, and, what was ſtill more glorious and beneficial, he reſcued this country from the Tartar yoke, and refuſed the payment of the ignominious tribute exacted from his predeceſſors. He had no ſooner delivered Ruſſia from this dependence, than his alliance was courted by many European ſovereigns; and during his reign Moſcow ſaw, for the firſt time, ambaſſadors from the Emperor of Germany, the Pope, the Grand-ſignor, the Kings of Poland and Denmark, and the Republic of Venice.

The talents of this able Monarch were not confined to military atchievements: Ruſſia was indebted to him for the improvement of her commerce, and for opening a more ready communication with the European nations. Under his auſpices, the knowledge of gunpowder and the art of caſting cannon were firſt brought into Ruſſia by Ariſtotle of Bologna †. He employed the ſame artiſt ‡, as well as other foreigners, to recoin the Ruſſian money, hitherto diſfigured by Tartar inſcriptions; he engaged, at a vaſt expence, Italian artiſts to encloſe the Kremlins of Moſcow and Novogorod with walls of brick, and to erect ſeveral churches and other public ſtructures with the ſame materials §. For his various civil and military ſervices he deſervedly required the name of *Great*. Ivan is deſcribed as a perſon of gigantic ſtature, and ferocious aſpect. His manners and deportment, ſtrongly infected with the barbariſm of his age and country, were ſomewhat ſoftened and poliſhed by the example of his ſecond wife Sophia ‖, a Grecian Princeſs of conſummate beauty and winning addreſs, who to all the ſofter graces of her ſex added a manly ſpirit; and who, while ſhe infuſed into her huſband a taſte for the arts of peace, animated him to thoſe glorious enterprizes which tended to the aggrandizement of his country.

Ivan the Great died in 1505, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age: on each ſide of his remains are depoſited thoſe of his father Vaſili Vaſſilievitch, ſurnamed The Blind ¶;

* The ſervitude of the Great-duke will appear from a paſſage in Cromer, the Poliſh hiſtorian. "Whenever the Tartar ambaſſadors were ſent to Moſcow, in order to collect the accuſtomed tribute, the Great-duke uſed to meet them, and offer, as a mark of his reſpect, a cup of mare's milk; and if a drop chanced to fall upon the mane of the horſe, on which the Tartar ambaſſador was ſitting, he would himſelf lick it up. When they reached the hall of audience, the ambaſſadors read the Khan's letter, ſeated upon a carpet of the choiceſt furs, while the Great-duke with his nobles knelt, and liſtened in reſpectful ſilence." Cromer, l. xxix. p. 647. † Bachmeiſter's Eſſai ſur la Bib. de Peterſ. p. 28. ‡ Poſſevinus.

§ A vaſt effort in thoſe barbarous times, and which deſerves to be mentioned, becauſe at his acceſſion to the throne almoſt all the buildings of Moſcow were of wood.

‖ Sophia was daughter of Thomas Palæologus, brother of Conſtantine, the laſt Grecian Emperor, who loſt his life when Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. Soon after that event Sophia repaired to Rome with her father, where they lived under the protection of the Pope, who is ſaid to have negociated her marriage with the Great-duke, and even to have beſtowed her portion, in hopes of procuring, through her influence, great advantages to the Roman Catholic religion in Ruſſia. But theſe hopes were fruſtrated; for Sophia, on her marriage in 1482, embraced the Greek religion. She encouraged her huſband in ſhaking off the Tartar yoke, and probably aſſiſted him in procuring the ableſt architects from Italy. See Herberſtein, in Rer. Moſ. Comm. p. 7. alſo Pau Jovii de Leg. Moſ.—Ibid p. 129.

¶ He received the appellation of The Blind, becauſe his eyes had been put out by order of his uncle, who, having formerly depoſed him, practiſed this cruel expedient to diſqualify him from re-aſcending the throne. He was afterwards, however, reinſtated in the ſovereignty by the affection of his ſubjects.

and of his ſon Vaſili Ivanovitch, who ſucceeded him in the throne, and expired in 1533.

In a ſmall chapel adjoining to theſe tombs is the ſepulchre of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.*, ſon and ſucceſſor of Vaſſili Ivanovitch. This Sovereign is branded by many writers with the name of *tyrant*, and repreſented as the moſt odious monſter that ever diſgraced human nature. In delineating, however, his general character, they are ſometimes guilty of falſehood †, and often of exaggeration; and ſeem totally to forget many great qualities which he certainly poſſeſſed. Though we ſhould not give implicit credit to many idle reports of his ſavageneſs and inhumanity, yet it would be equally abſurd, and contrary to hiſtorical evidence, to deny or attempt to apologiſe for many cruelties ‡ actually committed by this monarch, who, like Peter the Great, did not reckon clemency among the number of his virtues.

But while we regard the ferocity of his temper with abhorrence, we cannot refuſe the tribute of admiration to his political character. He raiſed the ſuperſtructure of the Ruſſian grandeur, of which his grandfather laid the foundation. Inſtead of a deſultory militia, collected in haſte, and always impatient to diſband, he inſtituted a ſtanding army; he aboliſhed the uſe of the bow, hitherto the principal weapon among the Ruſſians; he trained them to fire-arms, and introduced a more regular diſcipline. By means of this formidable body, he extended his dominions on all ſides, conquered the kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan, and rendered the Ruſſian name reſpectable to the diſtant powers of Europe. He gave to his ſubjects the firſt code of written laws; he invited foreign artiſts § to Moſcow, introduced printing into Ruſſia, promoted commerce, and regulated the duties of export and import; he permitted Engliſh merchants to eſtabliſh factories within his dominions, and, with a liberality not always practiſed by more enlightened ſovereigns, granted to them the free exerciſe of their religion: he had even formed the deſign, which death alone prevented, of inſtituting various ſeminaries for the cultivation of the Latin and German languages.

Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. died in 1584, in an agony of grief at the death of his eldeſt ſon Ivan, whoſe remains are placed contiguous to thoſe of his father. Hiſtorians have recorded, that this Prince received his death from the perſon to whom he was indebted for his life, by an unfortunate blow on the temple. The enemies of the Tzar imputed this melancholy cataſtrophe to deſign; while his apologiſts ſtrenuouſly laboured to re-

* Called, by the Engliſh writers, John Baſilovitz.

† Thus ſome writers aſſert, that when he walked out, or made a progreſs through his own dominions, if he met any one whoſe mien diſpleaſed him, he would command his head to be ſtruck off, or do it himſelf. Others as abſurdly relate, that he would order bears to be let looſe upon a crowd of people aſſembled in the ſtreets of Moſcow, and diverted himſelf with the cries and agonies of the perſons devoured by thoſe ferocious animals. Olearius informs us, that Ivan wantonly commanded the eyes of the architect, who built the church of the Holy Trinity at Moſcow, to be put out, that he might never conſtruct any building of ſuperior beauty. Theſe incredible tales confute themſelves; but the following charge we are able to contradict from our own hiſtory. Ivan is ſaid to have ordered the hat of the Engliſh ambaſſador, Sir Jerome Bowes, to be nailed to his head, becauſe he refuſed to take it off in his preſence. This report was occaſioned by the exaggerated account of a miſunderſtanding between the Tzar and Sir Jerome Bowes, which is related in the ambaſſador's diſpatches. Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 460, &c.

‡ Inſtances of which the reader will find in the 6th chap. of this book, and the 2d of book iv.

§ Above three hundred artiſts of all profeſſions, namely, painters, ſculptors, architects, watch-makers, bell-founders, miners, armourers, ſtationers, maſons, &c. already arrived at Lubec in their way to Moſcow, but were prevented from proceeding by the intrigues of the inhabitants of Lubec, and the natives of Livonia. See Bachmeiſter's Eſſai ſur la Bib. &c. p. 32.

preſent it as merely accidental. On weighing theſe diſcordant accounts with impartiality, it appears, that the blow was either caſual, or, if deſigned to chaſtiſe, not intended to be fatal.

Feodor, the ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II., is interred in the ſame chapel: a Prince of ſuch weak intellects and notorious incapacity, as to be a mere phantom of ſovereignty, and entirely under the direction of his brother-in-law Boris Godunof. Feodor aſcended the throne in 1584, and expired in 1598: in him ended the male line of the ſovereigns of the houſe of Ruric *; a family which governed Ruſſia for a period of ſeven centuries.

Among the tombs in this church, the moſt remarkable is that which contains the body of a child, ſuppoſed by the Ruſſians to be the third ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. who is ſaid to have been aſſaſſinated at Vglitz, in the ninth year of his age, by order of Boris Godunof. This tomb, which is more diſtinguiſhed than thoſe of the Ruſſian ſovereigns, is of braſs, and highly ornamented. The child is claſſed among the ſaints of the Ruſſian calendar, and, according to the legends of the church, his body is ſaid to have performed miracles, and is believed by the credulous to remain uncorrupted. The top of the ſepulchre is frequently uncovered; and, during divine ſervice on the feſtival of St. Alexander Nevſki, I obſerved ſeveral Ruſſians kiſſing the inſide with great marks of devotion. The hiſtory of the aſſaſſination at Vglitz, and the adventures of the real or pretended Demetrius, require a ſeparate narrative †.

The ſovereigns of the houſe of Romanof are interred in the body of the church: their tombs are placed on each ſide between the maſſy piers which ſupport the roof.

The firſt of this illuſtrious line is Michael Feodorovitch; whoſe election in 1613 put a final period to a long ſcene of civil bloodſhed, and reſtored tranquillity to his diſtracted country. He owed his elevation to his high rank and princely deſcent; but more particularly to the virtues, abilities, and popularity of his father Philaretes. Ladiſlaus, Prince of Poland, having received a tender of the crown, from a body of Ruſſian nobles, aſſumed the title of Tzar, and eſtabliſhed a garriſon at Moſcow: ſoon afterwards a powerful party, averſe to the government of a foreigner, expelled the Poles from the capital, and unanimouſly advanced Michael to the throne, though ſcarcely ſeventeen years of age. It is ſingular, that he was raiſed to this high ſtation, not only without his knowledge, but even in repugnance to his own inclination. When the deputies from Moſcow arrived at Coſtroma, where he reſided with his mother, and acquainted him with his election, Michael, recollecting the dreadful cataſtrophes which had befallen all the Tzars ſince the demiſe of Feodor Ivanovitch, and reflecting on the diſtracted ſtate of Ruſſia, burſt into tears, and declined a crown, which ſeemed to entail deſtruction upon thoſe who had ventured to wear it ‡. Overcome, however, by the importunities of the deputies, and dazzled with the ſplendour of royalty, Michael at length yielded to the wiſhes of his country, and repairing without delay to Moſcow, was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities. Though he aſcended the throne with reluctance, he filled it with dignity, and found a protection from thoſe diſaſters which overwhelmed his immediate predeceſſors, in his own diſcretion, in the wiſe counſels of his father, and in the affection of his ſubjects. Michael died in 1645, after a proſperous reign of twenty-three years.

* Unleſs Demetrius was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. † See Chapter 7.
‡ See Buſching's Account of the Election of Michael. Hiſt. M. II. p. 403.

Alexèy

Alexèy Michaelovitch his ſon, whoſe aſhes are contiguous to his remains, is chiefly known by foreigners as the father of Peter the Great; but he deſerves likewiſe our attention for his own public virtues, and for many ſalutary inſtitutions. He reviſed, amended, and new-modelled the code of laws compiled by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.; he introduced a more regular diſcipline into the army, and invited foreign officers into his ſervice *; he procured from Amſterdam ſhip-builders, whom he employed in conſtructing veſſels for the navigation of the Caſpian Sea: in a word, he traced the great outlines of thoſe regulations, which were afterwards improved and enlarged by the vaſt genius of his ſon Peter the Great. Alexèy deceaſed in 1676, in the 32d year of his reign, and the forty-ninth of his age.

Oppoſite to the ſepulchre of Alexèy are thoſe of his ſons Feodor and Ivan. Feodor, who ſucceeded his father in the throne, is deſcribed by Voltaire and others as a prince who poſſeſſed a vigorous mind in a weak frame, and whoſe adminiſtration was dignified with many uſeful and glorious regulations. But incapacity, no leſs than ill-health, diſqualified him from conducting the affairs of government; he reſigned himſelf to the direction of his ſiſter Sophia, and all the beneficial acts of his adminiſtration muſt be aſcribed to her influence, and to the abilities of his prime miniſter, the great Galitzin. Feodor, after a ſhort reign of ſix years, ſunk under the diſorders which had long preyed upon his frame.

Ivan, ſecond brother of Feodor, was rightful heir of the throne; being debilitated by epileptic fits, both in body and mind †, was at firſt excluded from the ſucceſſion, as incapable of diſcharging the functions of government; but being afterwards recogniſed as joint-ſovereign with his half-brother Peter the Great, he was conſidered merely as a puppet, to ſatisfy the multitude, and ſecure to his adherents a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. He was allowed to continue this ſtate-pageant during the remainder of his life; and his death, which happened in 1698, was ſcarcely perceived by his ſubjects, and not known to the reſt of Europe, except by the omiſſion of his name in the public acts.

The ſucceeding ſovereigns are interred at Peterſburg, excepting Peter II., whoſe aſhes repoſe in this cathedral. This monarch, the ſon of the unfortunate Tzarovitch Alexèy, was born in 1715, ſucceeded in 1727 Catharine I. and died in 1730 of the ſmall-pox, on the day appointed for his marriage with Princeſs Dolgorucki. His death was occaſioned by the ignorance of the phyſicians, who treated his diſorder as a malignant fever. He acquired great popularity by fixing, during the latter part of his ſhort reign, his imperial reſidence at Moſcow. He was regretted as the grandſon of Peter the Great, and as the prince in whom the male line of the houſe of Romanof became extinct.

* Mayerberg ſays, among the foreign officers in the ſervice of Alexèy Michaelovitch, were two generals, two field marſhals, more than a hundred colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, and enſigns in proportion.

† Schleiſſing, who was at Moſcow during the adminiſtration of Sophia, thus deſcribes the perſon of Ivan. "Ivan Alexèy, the eldeſt Tzar, is ill-formed by nature, inſomuch that he can neither rightly ſee, read, nor ſpeak. He always wears a piece of green ſilk before his eyes, in order to prevent the upper part of his face from being ſeen on account of its deformity. But he is very pious and devout; and as, on account of his weak conſtitution, he cannot hunt, or take any violent exerciſe, he is the more conſtant in his attendance at church, and never miſſes a proceſſion. He is ſhort in his perſon, very thin, and is now thirty years of age.

Sovereigns of Moscow of the House of Ruric.

1. Daniel, ſon of Alexander Nevſki, firſt duke of Moſcow, died about 1303.

2. Ivan, fourth ſon of Daniel, died about 1340.

3. Simeon Inanovitch, died about 1553.

4. Ivan Ivanovitch, died 1539.

5. Dmitri III. Ivanovitch Donſki, died 1389.

6. Vassili Dmitrievitch, born 1370; died 1425.

7. Vassili Vassilievitch the Blind, born 1415; died 1462.

8. Ivan Vassilievitch I. born 1438; died 1505.

Ivan, died before his father.

Dmitri, died in priſon.

Ivan, died before his father.

9. Vassili Ivanovitch, born 1458; died 1533.

10. Ivan Vassilievitch II. b. 1530; d. 1584.

11. Fedeor, 1557; died 1598.

Dmitri, or Demetrius, ſuppoſed by the Ruſſians to have been aſſaſſinated at Uglitz in 1591; by others to have reigned under the name of Demetrius.

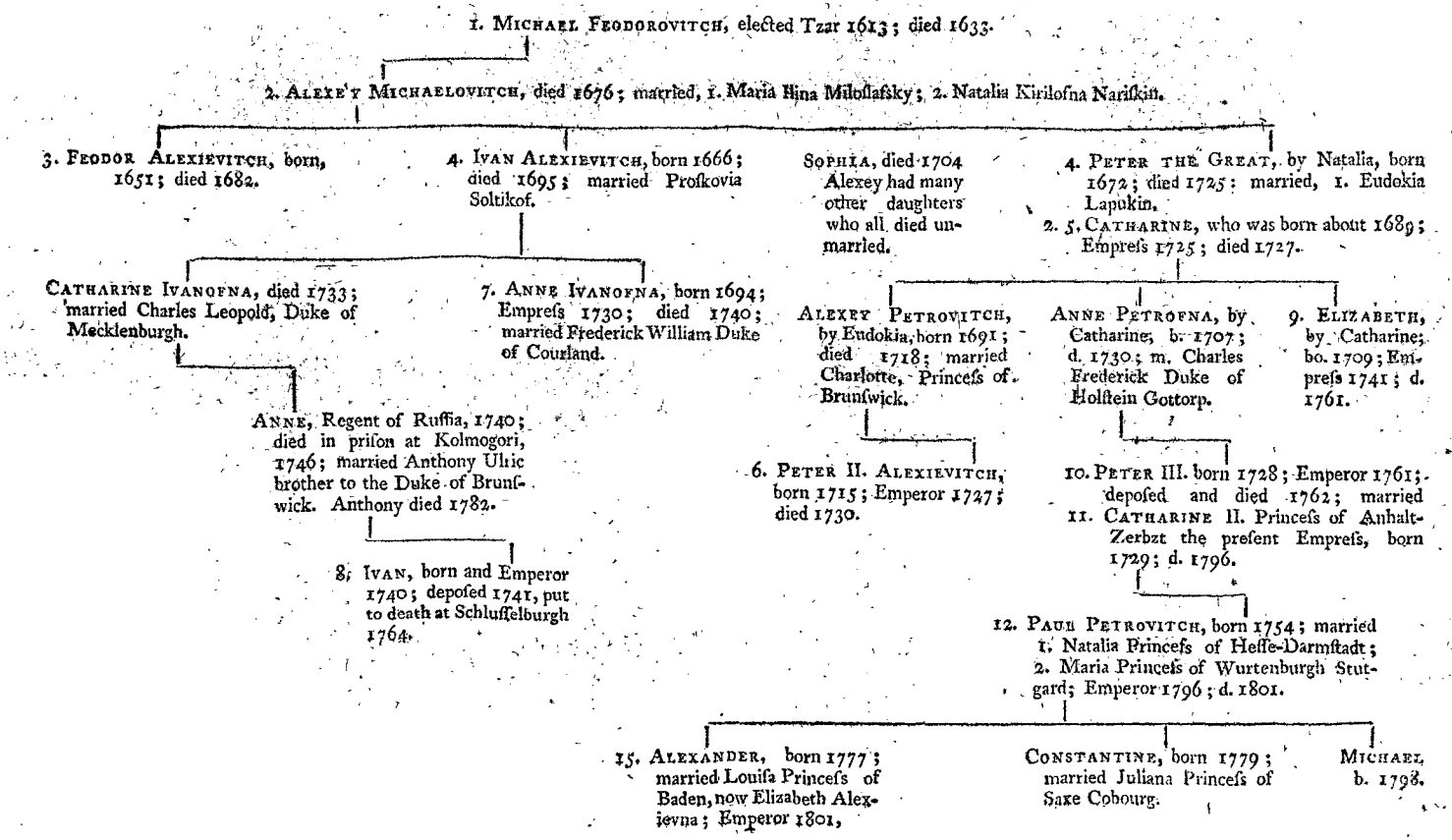
Tzars of different Families.

13. Boris Godunof, elected Tzar 1598; died in 1605.
His ſon Feodor, proclaimed Tzar in April by his father's party, and put to death in June, can ſcarcely be claſſed among the Ruſſian ſovereigns.

Dmitri, or Demetrius, the Falſe Demetrius of the Ruſſians; by others called the ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. aſcended the throne in June, 1605; aſſaſſinated May, 1606.

Vassili Ivanovitch Shuiski, elected Tzar upon the aſſaſſination of Demetrius in 1609; depoſed in 1610; died in captivity at Warſaw.

Sovereigns of Russia of the Houſe of Romanof.


1. Michael Feodorovitch, elected Tzar 1613; died 1633.
2. Alexe'y Michaelovitch, died 1676; married, 1. Maria Hina Miloſlafsky; 2. Natalia Kiriloſna Nariſkin.
3. Feodor Alexievitch, born, 1651; died 1682.
4. Ivan Alexievitch, born 1666; died 1695; married Proſkovia Soltikof.
Sophia, died 1704 Alexey had many other daughters who all died unmarried.
4. Peter the Great, by Natalia, born 1672; died 1725: married, 1. Eudokia Lapukin.
2. 5. Catharine, who was born about 1689; Empreſs 1725; died 1727.
Catharine Ivanofna, died 1733; married Charles Leopold, Duke of Mecklenburgh.
7. Anne Ivanofna, born 1694; Empreſs 1730; died 1740; married Frederick William Duke of Courland.
Alexey Petrovitch, by Eudokia, born 1691; died 1718; married Charlotte, Princeſs of Brunſwick.
Anne Petrofna, by Catharine, b. 1707; d. 1730; m. Charles Frederick Duke of Holſtein Gottorp.
9. Elizabeth, by Catharine; bo. 1709; Empreſs 1741; d. 1761.
Anne, Regent of Ruſſia, 1740; died in priſon at Kolmogori, 1746; married Anthony Ulric brother to the Duke of Brunſwick. Anthony died 1782.
6. Peter II. Alexievitch, born 1715; Emperor 1727; died 1730.
10. Peter III. born 1728; Emperor 1761; depoſed and died 1762; married
11. Catharine II. Princeſs of Anhalt-Zerbst the preſent Empreſs, born 1729; d. 1796.
8. Ivan, born and Emperor 1740; depoſed 1741, put to death at Schluſſelburgh 1764.
12. Paul Petrovitch, born 1754; married 1. Natalia Princeſs of Heſſe-Darmſtadt; 2. Maria Princeſs of Wurtenburgh Stutgard; Emperor 1796; d. 1801.
15. Alexander, born 1777; married Louiſa Princeſs of Baden, now Elizabeth Alexievna; Emperor 1801,
Constantine, born 1779; married Juliana Princeſs of Saxe Cobourg.
Michael, b. 1798.

CHAP. IV.—*Cathedral of the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary in the Kremlin.—Tombs of the Ruſſian Patriarchs.—Origin and Abolition of the patriarchal Dignity.—Account of the Patriarch Philaretes, Father of the Houſe of Romanof.—Biographical Anecdotes of the Patriarch Nicon.*

THE cathedral of the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary, appropriated to the coronation of the Ruſſian ſovereigns, alſo ſituated in the Kremlin, is the moſt magnificent temple in Moſcow. The ſkreen is in many parts covered with plates of ſolid ſilver and gold richly worked. From the centre of the roof hangs an enormous chandelier of maſſy ſilver, weighing two thouſand nine hundred and forty pounds: it was made in England, and preſented by Moroſof, prime-miniſter of Alexey Michaelovitch *. The ſacred veſſels and epiſcopal veſtments are extremely rich; but the workmanſhip is in general rude, and by no means equal to the materials.

Many of the painted figures which cover the inſide walls are of a coloſſal ſize, and were executed ſo early as the cloſe of the fifteenth century. This church alſo contains a head of the Virgin, ſuppoſed to have been painted by St. Luke, and greatly celebrated in this country for the power of working miracles. The face is almoſt black; the head is ornamented with a glory of precious ſtones, and the hands and body are gilded, which gives it a groteſque appearance. It is placed in the ſkreen, and encloſed within a ſilver caſe, which is never removed but on great feſtivals, or to gratify the curioſity of ſtrangers. This Madonna, according to the tradition of the church, was brought from Greece to Kiof, transferred from thence to Volodimir, and afterwards to Moſcow. It ſeems to have been a Grecian painting, and was probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy †.

In this cathedral are depoſited the remains of the Ruſſian patriarchs.

The firſt was Job, before whoſe time the primate of the Ruſſian church was ſuffrgan to the patriarch of Conſtantinople. Job, being metropolitan archbiſhop of Moſcow,

* According to Storſch it was a preſent from the Venetians to Boris Godunof, and weighs two thouſand eight hundred pounds.

† I ſaw ſeveral repreſentations of the Virgin in the north of Italy ſimilar to this painting: ſome were called the productions of St. Luke, others of Cimabue, or his ſcholars. The complexion in theſe was likewiſe of a duſky hue. Probably the Grecian painters repreſented the Virgin of a dark complexion, which was copied by Cimabue and the earlieſt Italian artiſts, who received the art from the Greeks. Le Bruyn, ſpeaking of this Madonna at Moſcow, ſays, "It is very gloomy and almoſt black; but whether this proceeds from the effects of time, or the ſmoke of tapers, or the fancy of the painter; certain it is, there is no great matter in it," &c. Travels, vol. i. p. 70. An ingenious author, in a late publication, mentions in the monaſtery of Monte Virgine, a coloſſal portrait of the Virgin Mary, which paſſes for the work of St. Luke the Evangeliſt, and adds, "There are in Italy and elſewhere ſome dozens of black ugly Madonnas, which all paſs for the work of his hands, and as ſuch are revered." To which paſſage he ſubjoins the following note, but without citing his authority: "The origin of this fable, or rather miſtake, appears to be, that about the time that paintings of holy ſubjects came into faſhion, there lived at Conſtantinople a painter called Luke, who, by many repreſentations of the Virgin, acquired a very tranſcendant reputation. He was a man of exemplary life, and on account of his piety, and the edifying uſe he made of his talents, was generally known by the name of the Holy Luke. In proceſs of time, when the epocha and circumſtances of his life were forgotten by the vulgar, and his performances had acquired by age a ſmoky, duſky caſt, ſufficient to perplex the ſhort ſighted connoiſſeurs of thoſe days, devotees aſcribed his pictures to the Evangeliſt, who was pronounced a painter becauſe they knew of no other ſaint of the name, and becauſe, if he had been a painter, no one could have had ſuch opportunities of examining and delineating the features of the holy model." Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, p. 123. For proof of the introduction of painting into Ruſſia and Italy by the Greeks, ſee the Deſcription of the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Novogorod.

was, in 1588, inſtalled in this cathedral Patriarch of Ruſſia, by Jeremias, Patriarch of Conſtantinople. The ceremony of tranſlating the ſee from the capital of Turkey to this city is thus deſcribed by an author who was himſelf preſent *:

"On the 25th of January, 1588, the Greek Patriarch, accompanied with the Ruſſe cleargi, went to the great church of Precheſte, or our Ladie, within the Emperour's caſtle, where he made an oration, and delivered his reſignation in an inſtrument of writing, and ſo laid down his patriarchal ſtaffe; which was preſently received by the metropolite of Moſko, and divers other ceremonies uſed about the inaugration of the new patriarch."

The moſt venerable of Job's ſucceſſors in the patriarchal ſee was Philaretes, who, though no ſovereign himſelf, is celebrated as the founder of that line of Ruſſian monarchs, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the houſe of Romanof †. His ſecular name was Feodor, and he drew his lineage from Andrew, a Pruſſian prince, who came into Ruſſia about the middle of the fourteenth century, and whoſe immediate deſcendants enjoyed the higheſt offices under the ſovereigns of this country. Feodor was ſon of Nikita Romanovitch, great grandſon of Andrew, and brother of Anaſtaſia, firſt wife of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. When Boris Godunof was elevated to the throne, the high birth, great abilities, and popularity of Feodor Romanof, rendered him ſo obnoxious to the new monarch, that he was compelled to aſſume the prieſthood, and confined in a monaſtery, on which occaſion he, according to the Ruſſian cuſtom, changed his name to Philaretes.

On the acceſſion of the ſovereign whom the Ruſſians call the Falſe Demetrius, Philaretes was releaſed from confinement, and appointed to the archbiſhopric of Roſtof. Soon after the depoſition of Vaſſili Shuiſki, a ſtrong party among the nobles having agreed to elect Ladiſlaus, ſon of Sigiſmond III. King of Poland, Tzar of Ruſſia; Philaretes was diſpatched at the head of an embaſſy, to ſettle the conditions of his ſon's election. He found the Poliſh monarch engaged in the ſiege of Smolenſko; and when the King demanded the immediate ceſſion of that town, Philaretes replied, "When your ſon has aſcended our throne, he will poſſeſs not only Smolenſko, but all Ruſſia, and it ill becomes you to diſmember his territories." Sigiſmond, exaſperated at this ſpirited reply, and ſtill farther inflamed by the remonſtrances of the Ambaſſadors againſt his conduct towards Ruſſia, arreſted and threw them into priſon. Philaretes languiſhed nine years in the caſtle of Marienburgh ‡, in Pruſſia, under a rigorous confinement.

His abſence, however, did not diminiſh the veneration which the Ruſſians entertained for his character: the whole nation unanimouſly conferred the crown on his ſon Michael, a youth only in the ſeventeenth year of his age; in hopes that a peace with Poland would reſtore Philaretes to his country, and render him the director of that power with which they inveſted his ſon. This expectation was gratified at the truce of Develina, concluded in 1619, between Ruſſia and Poland, which gave Philaretes to the wiſhes of the people. On his arrival at Moſcow he was conſecrated patriarch, and became

* Fletcher's Ruſſia, chap. 21. This author adds, that Jeremias, whom he calls Hieronimo, had been either baniſhed from Conſtantinople by the Turks, or depoſed by the Greek clergy; that he came to Moſcow without any invitation from the Ruſſians, to obtain money from Feodor Ivanovitch, and with this view propoſed the tranſlation of the patriarchal ſee from Conſtantinople to Moſcow. Others deny that he was either depoſed or baniſhed, and relate, that the Tzar having formally demanded the conſent of the four Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Conſtantinople, and Jeruſalem, to the eſtabliſhment of a new Patriarch in Ruſſia, they acceded to the requeſt, and ſolemnly deputed Jeremias to Moſcow, who inveſted the metropolitan Job with the new dignity. King on the Greek Church, p. 496.

† In conſequence of a cuſtom prevalent among the Ruſſians to adopt the appellation of the grandfather for a family name, the new royal line was called Romanof, in honour of Roman, Feodor's grandfather.

‡ Buſching. Hiſt. Mag. v. ii. p. 403.

the

the real, though not the oſtenſible ſovereign of his country, as his ſon held the reins of government under his direction. He was inveſted with the adminiſtration of affairs; his name was frequently aſſociated in the public acts with that of the Tzar; he gave audience to Ambaſſadors, and on many public occaſions was permitted to take precedence of his ſon *. His experience, moderation, and abilities, rendered him worthy of theſe high honours and unbounded authority; and the proſperity of Michael's reign proclaimed the wiſdom of his ſage monitor. Philaretes died in 1633, in an advanced age, regretted by his ſon and the whole kingdom.

The laſt of theſe patriarchs was Adrian, at whoſe demiſe, in 1699, Peter the Great refuſed to nominate a ſucceſſor; and in 1721 the patriarchal dignity was formally aboliſhed.

In a former chapter I obſerved, that there are no ſeats in the Ruſſian churches, the ceremonial of the Greek worſhip requiring all perſons to ſtand during the performance of divine ſervice. In this cathedral I obſerved two elevated places near the ſkreen, encloſed with rails without ſeats: one is appropriated to the ſovereign; the other was formerly deſtined for the patriarch, whoſe ſtate and grandeur were not inferior to thoſe of the Tzar himſelf. Upon ſome public occaſion the Archbiſhop of Novogorod, who aſpired to have the patriarchal dignity revived in his perſon, pointing to the place formerly occupied by the patriarch, remarked to Peter, "Sire, that ſtructure is now uſeleſs, will not Your Majeſty order it to be removed?" Peter was ſilent; but the Archbiſhop repeating the queſtion, replied, "That place ſhall not be removed, nor ſhall you fill it †."

The Ruſſians reckon eleven patriarchs from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the dignity in the perſon of Job, to its final abolition after the death of Adrian. Of theſe the greateſt and moſt conſpicuous was the celebrated Nicon; whom, as he is the only patriarch not interred in this cathedral, I could not mention on contemplating their tombs. It is hoped that no apology is neceſſary for the account of a prelate, whom ſome Ruſſians ſtill abhor as Antichriſt, and others adore as a ſaint; and whoſe extraordinary character has never been faithfully repreſented to the Engliſh reader.

Nicon was born in 1613, in a village of the government of Niſhnèi Novogorod, of obſcure parents. He received, at the baptiſmal font, the name of Nikita, which, when he became monk, he changed to Nicon. He was educated in the convent of St. Macarius, under the care of a monk. From the courſe of his ſtudies, which were almoſt ſolely directed to the Holy Scriptures, and the exhortations of his preceptor, he imbibed, at a very early period, the ſtrongeſt attachment to a monaſtic life, and was only prevented from following his inclination by the authority of his father. In conformity, however, to the wiſhes of his family, he entered into matrimony; and as that ſtate precluded him from being admitted into a convent, he was ordained a ſecular prieſt.

With his wife he paſſed ten years; firſt as a pariſh prieſt in ſome country village, and afterwards at Moſcow in the ſame capacity; but loſing three children, whom he tenderly loved, his diſguſt for the world and his propenſity to ſolitude returned with redoubled violence; and, having perſuaded his wife to take the veil, he entered into the monaſtic order. He choſe for his own retreat a ſmall iſland of the White-Sea, inhabited only by a few perſons, who formed a kind of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, as remarkable for the auſterity of the rules as for the ſolitude of the ſituation: twelve monks occupied ſeparate cells, equally diſtant from each other ‡ and from the church which ſtood in the

* Schmid. Ruſſ. Geſ. v. ii. p. 1? — Buſching. Hiſt. Mag. v. vii. p. 329. — Olearius.
† From Prince Volkonſki. ‡ Two verſts, or a mile and a half.

centre

centre of the iſland. Theſe lonely anchorites aſſembled regularly on Saturday evening in the church, where they aſſiſted in the performance of divine ſervice during the whole night, and the next day until noon, and then retired to their reſpective habitations. This practice was repeated on certain feſtivals; at other times each recluſe occupied his cell undiſturbed by mutual intercourſe. Their food was bread, and fiſh which they caught themſelves, or procured from the contiguous continent. Such was the ſituation to which Nicon retired, as congenial to the gloomy ſtate of his own mind; where, brooding in ſolitude upon the uncertainty of human life, he was unhappily led to conſider the moſt debaſing auſterities as acceptable to the Supreme Being, and contracted that cloiſtered pride, which gave an alloy to his virtues, and proved the greateſt defect in his character, when raiſed to an exalted ſtation.

After a ſhort reſidence in this iſland, Nicon accompanied the chief of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment to Moſcow, to raiſe a collection for building a new church. He was ſcarcely returned from this expedition, when, at the inſtigation of the chief, whom he had offended during the journey, he was compelled by the other monks to retire from the iſland. He embarked in an open boat, with only a ſingle perſon, in a high ſea: being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, he was toſſed about in continual danger of periſhing; but was at length driven upon an iſland near the mouth of the Onega.

From this iſland he repaired to a monaſtery of the contiguous continent; and was admitted into the ſociety; but inſtead of inhabiting an apartment in the convent, he conſtructed a ſeparate cell on an adjacent iſland; where he lived upon the fiſh which he caught with his own hands, and never viſited the monaſtery but during the time of divine ſervice. In conſequence of this recluſe and rigid way of life he was held in high eſteem by the brethren, and on the death of the ſuperior was unanimouſly raiſed to the vacant dignity. He continued in this capacity three years, when, being drawn by ſome family affairs to Moſcow, he was caſually preſented to the Tzar Alexey Michaelovitch, who, captivated with his various talents and extenſive learning, detained him at Moſcow, under his immediate protection. Within leſs than five years he was ſucceſſively created Archimandrite or Abbot of the Novoſpatſkoi convent, Archbiſhop of Novogorod, and Patriarch of Ruſſia. He deſerved theſe rapid promotions by a rare aſſemblage of extraordinary qualities, which even his enemies allowed him to poſſeſs; undaunted courage, irreproachable morals, exalted charity, comprehenſive learning, and commanding eloquence.

While Archbiſhop of Novogorod, to which dignity he was raiſed in 1649, he gave a memorable inſtance of firmneſs and diſcretion. During a tumult, the Imperial governor, Prince Feodor Kilkof, took refuge in the archiepiſcopal palace againſt the fury of the inſurgents, who, burſting open the gates, threatened inſtant pillage if the governor was not delivered to them without delay. Nicon, inſtead of acceding to their demand, boldly advanced into the midſt of them, and exhorted them to peace. The populace, inflamed to madneſs by the prelate's appearance, transferred their rage from the governor to him; they aſſaulted him with ſtones, dragged him by the hair, and offered every ſpecies of violence and indignity to his perſon. Being conveyed to the palace in a ſtate of inſenſibility, he was recovered by immediate aſſiſtance; but, regardleſs of the imminent danger from which he had juſt eſcaped, he perſiſted in his reſolution, either to appeaſe the tumult, or periſh in the attempt. With this deſign, as if devoting himſelf to certain death, he confeſſed and received the ſacrament, and repaired to the town-houſe, where the inſurgents were aſſembled. He confounded them by his preſence, ſoftened them into repentance by a firm, but pathetic addreſs, and perſuading them to diſperſe, tranquillity was inſtantly reſtored. This calm, however, was of no long duration: the

ſedition, allayed by the ſpirit and eloquence of Nicon, was again fomented by the ring-leaders of the tumult, and broke into open rebellion; many of the inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the Tzar, and propoſed to deliver the town into the hands of the King of Poland. The Prelate, however, undaunted by this change in their ſentiments, continued his efforts to bring them back to their duty; his remonſtrances and exhortations gradually prevailed; many flocked to his palace, deſiring his interceſſion with their enraged ſovereign; and though the remainder of the inſurgents blocked up the avenues of the town, yet he contrived, at the peril of his life, to ſend information to the Tzar. Being armed, by a commiſſion from Moſcow, with full powers, he, by a vigorous exertion of authority, but without the effuſion of blood, finally quelled the rebellion. To him was committed the trial of the rebels, and the diſpoſal of life and death; an office which he executed with as much judgment as lenity. The leader of the ſedition was alone puniſhed with death; ten of his moſt mutinous adherents were knooted and baniſhed, and a few were condemned to a ſhort impriſonment. Nicon nobly forgave the outrage committed againſt his own perſon; and in chaſtizing the public offence tempered the ſeverity of juſtice with the feelings of humanity.

He gained the reſpect of the inhabitants by the unwearied aſſiduity with which he performed the functions of his archiepiſcopal office, and conciliated their affection by acts of unbounded charity. He built and endowed alms-houſes for widows, old men, and orphans, was the great patron of the indigent, the zealous protector of the lower claſs of men againſt the oppreſſions of the great, and during a dreadful famine, appropriated the revenues of his ſee to the general relief of the poor.

Nicon was no leſs conſpicuous in the vigilant diſcharge of his patriarchal office, to which he was appointed in 1652, only in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He inſtituted ſeminaries for the inſtruction of prieſts in the Greek and Latin languages, and enriched the patriarchal library with rare eccleſiaſtical and claſſical manuſcripts, drawn from a convent at Mount Athos. By a diligent reviſal of the Holy Scriptures, and a collation of the various editions of the Old and New Teſtament, perceiving many errors in the printed copies of the Bible and Liturgy uſed for divine ſervice, he prevailed upon the Tzar to ſummon a general council of the Greek church at Moſcow, in which he preſided. By his arguments, authority, and influence, it was determined that the moſt antient Sclavonian verſion of the Bible, was exact, and that the errors with which the latter copies abounded ſhould be corrected. He inſpected and ſuperintended the printing of a new edition of the Sclavonian Bible, which was become extremely rare. He removed from the churches the pictures of deceaſed perſons, to which many of the Ruſſians offered a blind adoration; he aboliſhed a few ceremonies which had been carried to a ſuperſtitious exceſs: in a word, his labours tended more to the reformation of the church, than the united efforts of all his predeceſſors in the patriarchal chair.

Nor was he ſolely diſtinguiſhed in his profeſſional character; but proved himſelf no leſs qualified in a civil capacity. Although his ſtudies were hitherto confined to eccleſiaſtical ſubjects, and the recluſeneſs of his former life ſeemed to impede the attainment of political knowledge; yet he was no ſooner called to a public ſtation, than his abilities expanded in proportion as the objects which they embraced became more numerous and important: his ſagacity, ſharpened by continual application, ſoon rendered him maſter of the moſt intricate affairs, taught him to diſcriminate the moſt oppoſite intereſts, and to adopt that deciſive line of conduct which marks the great and enlightened ſtateſman. Being conſulted by the Tzar on all occaſions, he ſoon became the ſoul of

his

his councils *, and gained the aſcendancy in the cabinet by the vaſt ſuperiority of his genius, ever fertile in expedients, and zealous to recommend the moſt ſpirited meaſures.

Having thus attained the higheſt ſummit of human grandeur to which a ſubject can arrive, he fell a victim to popular diſcontents, and to the cabals of a court. His fall, no leſs ſudden than his riſe, may be traced from the following cauſes: The removal of the painted images from the churches diſguſted a large party among the Ruſſians, ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the adoration of their anceſtors; the correction of the errors in the Liturgy and Bible, the abolition of ſome ceremonies, and the admiſſion of a few others, (introduced perhaps with too much haſte, and without due deference to the prejudices of his countrymen,) occaſioned a ſchiſm in the church; many perſons averſe to all innovations, and adhering to the old tenets and ceremonies, formed a conſiderable ſect under the appellation of *Old Believers*, and, riſing in ſeveral parts, created much diſturbance to the ſtate, circumſtances naturally imputed to Nicon by his enemies. He excited the hatred of an ignorant and indolent clergy by the appointment of Greek and Latin ſeminaries; he raiſed the envy and jealouſy of the prime-miniſter and courtiers by his predominance in the cabinet, and by the haughtineſs of his deportment, offended the Tzarina and her father, who were implacable in their reſentment.

All theſe parties uniting in one great combination, Nicon haſtened his fall by a ſupercilious demeanour, which occaſionally bordered upon arrogance; by truſting ſolely for his ſupport to the rectitude of his conduct and the favour of his ſovereign, and by diſdaining to guard againſt what he conſidered as the petty intrigues of a court.

The only circumſtance which ſeemed wanting to complete his diſgrace was the loſs of Alexèy's protection; and this was at length effected by the gradual but ſecret inſinuations of the Tzarina and her party, who finally availed themſelves of an unſucceſsful war with Poland, of which the Patriarch is ſaid to have been the principal adviſer. Nicon, finding himſelf excluded from the preſence of a ſovereign accuſtomed to conſult him on every emergency, and diſdaining to hold the higheſt office in the kingdom, when he had loſt the confidence of his maſter, aſtoniſhed the public by a voluntary abdication of his patriarchal dignity. This meaſure, cenſured by many as haſty and imprudent, and highly expreſſive of that pride which ſtrongly marked his character, muſt yet be eſteemed manly and reſolute, which even thoſe who condemn cannot but admire. It may alſo admit of great palliation, if we conſider that the popular odium was riſing againſt him; that a powerful party had ſecretly effected his diſgrace, and that, as he foreſaw his fall, he preferred a voluntary abdication of his dignity to a forcible depoſition; chuſing to reſign with ſpirit what he could not retain without meanneſs †.

This abdication took place on the 10th of July, O. S. 1658, and he quitted his exalted ſtation with the ſame greatneſs of ſoul with which he had aſcended it. He was permitted to retain the title of patriarch, while the functions of his office were performed by the Archbiſhop of Novogorod. He choſe for the place of his reſidence the convent

* The influence which Nicon, from the ſuperiority of his genius, obtained in the Tzar's councils, perhaps induced Voltaire, in his erroneous account of this Patriarch, to declare, that he "voulut elever ſa chaire au-deſſus du trône; non ſeulement il uſurpait le droit de s'aſſeoir dans le ſenat à côté du czar, mais il pretendait, qu'on ne pouvait faire ni la guerre ni la paix ſans ſon conſentement." &c. Hiſt. de Pierre le Grand, p. 74. From Voltaire, the compiler of the article of Ruſſia, in the Univerſal Hiſtory, has adopted this idle aſſertion, v. 38. p. 140.

† This is the opinion of Mayerburg, who came to Moſcow ſix years after his abdication; after enumerating the cauſes of his fall, he adds, "Propter quæ omnia *omnibus exoſus* et ad exilium *communibus votis* expetitus patrocinium nullum invenerit in favore Alexii, cujus animum ſenſim abalienaverant jactis in longum odiis uxor et ſocer illi ob privatas cauſas infenſi," p. 87.

of Jeruſalem, built and endowed by himſelf. On his arrival he re-aſſumed his recluſe way of life, and practiſed the moſt rigid mortifications. The hermitage he inhabited is thus deſcribed by an author *, who viſited the ſpot in the beginning of this century: "A winding ſtair-caſe, ſo narrow that one man could hardly paſs, leads to the little chapel of about a fathom in the ſquare, in which the Patriarch uſed to perform his ſolitary worſhip. The room in which he lived was not much larger; in it hung a broad iron plate, with a croſs of braſs fixed to a heavy chain, weighing above twenty pounds, all which the ſaid Patriarch wore about his neck for twenty years together. His bed was a ſquare ſtone two ells in length, and ſcarcely one in breadth, over which was ſpread nothing but a cover of ruſhes. Below in the houſe was a ſmall chimney, in which the Patriarch uſed to dreſs his own victuals."

Nicon, however, did not waſte his whole time in the performance of uſeleſs auſterities; but employed himſelf in compiling a regular ſeries of Ruſſian annaliſts from Neſtor, the earlieſt hiſtorian of this country, to the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch. He purſued this plan with his accuſtomed zeal. After comparing and collating numerous manuſcripts, he digeſted the whole collection in chronological order into a work, which is called ſometimes, from its author, the Chronical of Nicon, and ſometimes from the place where it was begun and depoſited, the Chronicle of the Convent of Jeruſalem. This compilation, the labour of twenty years, is juſtly eſteemed, by the beſt Ruſſian hiſtorians, a work of the greateſt authority; and was conſidered, by the venerable author, of ſuch importance to the hiſtory of his country, that, in the true ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, he begins the performance by anathematizing all thoſe who ſhould attempt to alter the minuteſt expreſſion.

The innocent manner in which he paſſed his time could not protect him from the perſecutions of his enemies, who were apprehenſive that while he retained the name of Patriarch, he might be reinſtated in his former dignity. Repeated complaints were urged againſt him; every diſturbance, occaſioned by the old believers, was made a matter of ſerious accuſation; not only his former conduct was arraigned, but new crimes were invented to render him ſtill more obnoxious. He was accuſed of diſreſpectful expreſſions relating to the Tzar, in a letter to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, of holding a treaſonable correſpondence, and receiving bribes from the King of Poland.

The Tzar, continually beſet by the Patriarch's enemies, was prevailed on to proceed to the moſt violent extremeties. He convened, in 1666, a general council of the Greek and Ruſſian clergy at Moſcow, who, after a ſhort deliberation, formally depoſed Nicon from the patriarchal ſee, and baniſhed him to a diſtant convent. The principal cauſe aſſigned for this depoſition was, that Nicon, having by a voluntary abdication meanly deſerted his flock, was unworthy to fill the patriarchal chair. This futile allegation is a ſufficient proof that the other crimes were maliciouſly circulated to prejudice the Tzar, and to influence the judges. In conformity to his ſentence, Nicon was degraded to the condition of a common monk, and impriſoned in the convent of Therapont, in the government of Bielozero. His confinement was for ſome time extremely rigorous; becauſe, conſcious of his own integrity, he perſiſted in a denial of guilt, and refuſed to accept a pardon for crimes he had never committed. Upon the death of Alexèy, in 1676, Feodor, probably at the inſtigation of his prime miniſter, Prince Galitzin, the patron and friend of genius, permitted Nicon to remove to the convent of St. Cyril, where he enjoyed perfect liberty.

* Perry's State of Ruſſia, vol. i. p. 140.

Nicon ſurvived his depoſition fifteen years. In 1681 he obtained permiſſion to return to the convent of Jeruſalem, that he might end his days in that favourite ſpot, but expired upon the road near Yaroſlaf, in the 66th year of his age. His remains were tranſported to the convent of Jeruſalem, and buried with all the ceremonies which are uſual at the interment of Patriarchs *.

CHAP. V.—*Ruſſian Archives.—Engliſh State-papers.—Commencement of the Connection between the Courts of London and Moſcow.—Correſpondence between Queen Elizabeth and the Tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.—His Demand of the Lady Anne Haſtings in marriage.—Account of that Negotiation.—Other Diſpatches.—Riſe of the Title of Tzar.—Negotiation betwen Peter the Great and the European Courts relative to the Title of Emperor. Univerſity.—Syllabus of the Lectures.—Matthæi's Catalogue of the Greek Manuſcripts in the Library of the Holy Synod.—Hymn to Ceres attributed to Homer.*

MR. MULLER obligingly accompanied us to the place in the Khitaigorod, where the public archives are depoſited: it is a ſtrong brick building, containing ſeveral vaulted apartments with iron floors. Theſe archives, conſiſting of numerous ſtate-papers, were crowded into boxes, and thrown aſide like common lumber; until the preſent Empreſs ordered them to be reviſed and arranged. In conformity to this mandate, Mr. Muller has diſpoſed them in chronological order, and any ſingle document may be inſpected with little trouble. They are encloſed in ſeparate cabinets with glaſs doors: thoſe relative to Ruſſia are claſſed according to the ſeveral provinces to which they relate; and over each cabinet is inſcribed the name of the province. In the ſame manner the manuſcripts relative to foreign kingdoms are placed in ſeparate diviſions under the reſpective titles of Poland, Sweden, England, France, Germany, &c. The papers which concerned my native country principally engaged my attention. The earlieſt correſpondence between the ſovereigns of England and Ruſſia commenced in the middle of the ſixteenth century, ſoon after the diſcovery of Archangel, and chiefly relates to the permiſſion of trade granted excluſively to the Engliſh company of merchants ſettled in Ruſſia. The firſt record is an original letter of Philip and Mary to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. acknowledging the receipt of a diſpatch tranſmitted to England by his Ambaſſador Oſef Niphea, and returning thanks for the liberty of opening a free trade throughout the Ruſſian dominions. The charter of privileges granted by the Tzar to the Engliſh merchants, together with the numerous letters which he received from Elizabeth, are preſerved in this collection, and are moſtly publiſhed in Hackluyt's Voyages: one, however, not found in that work, is dated the 18th of May, 1570, in which Elizabeth, among other expreſſions of friendſhip, offers to Ivan Vaſſilievitch, if compelled by an inſurrection to quit his country, an aſylum in England. This letter was ſigned by Elizabeth in the preſence of her ſecret council; amongſt the ſignatures, I noticed the names of Bacon, Leyceſter, and Cecil.

Some hiſtorians having aſſerted that Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. carried his perſonal reſpect for Queen Elizabeth ſo far as to be one of her ſuitors; while Camden only relates, that

* For the Hiſtory of Nicon, I have followed Muller in his Nachricht von Novogorod in S. R. G. vol. v. p. 541 to 559. L'Eveſque has alſo drawn from the ſame ſource a ſpirited and candid account of this great Patriarch, to which I acknowledge myſelf indebted for a few reflections. Hiſt. de Ruſſie, vol. iii. p. 391 to 394; alſo 417 to 430.

he propoſed to marry Lady Anne Haſtings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon; my curioſity led me to make inquiries into this tranſaction. With reſpect to any treaty of marriage between the Tzar and Elizabeth, the archives are ſilent; but furniſhed ſome curious particulars in regard to the intended eſpouſal of Lady Anne Haſtings.

The firſt hint of this match was ſuggeſted by Dr. Robert Jacob, a phyſician whom Elizabeth, at the Tzar's requeſt, ſent to Moſcow. Jacob, acquainted with the ficklenefs of Ivan in his amours, and his deſire of contracting an alliance with a foreign princeſs, extolled the beauty, accompliſhments, and rank of Lady Anne Haſtings, whom he repreſented as niece of the Queen, and daughter of an independent Prince, and inſpired the Tzar with a ſtrong inclination to eſpouſe her, although he had juſt married his fifth wife Maria Feoderofna. The Tzar, fired by his deſcription, diſpatched Gregory Pirſemſkoi, a Ruſſian nobleman of the firſt diſtinction, to England, to make a formal demand of the lady for his wife. By his inſtructions, he was ordered, after a conference with the Queen, to procure an interview with the lady, obtain her portrait, and inform himſelf of the rank and ſituation of her family: he was then to requeſt that an Engliſh Ambaſſador might return with him to Moſcow, with full powers to adjuſt the conditions of the marriage. If an objection ſhould be raiſed that Ivan was already married, he was directed to anſwer, that the Tzar having eſpouſed a ſubject, was at liberty to divorce her; and if it was aſked what proviſion ſhould be made for the children by Lady Anne Haſtings, he was inſtructed to reply, that Feodor, the eldeſt Prince, was heir to the throne, but that her children ſhould be amply endowed.

In conſequence of theſe orders, Pirſemſkoi repaired to London, had an audience of Elizabeth, ſaw Lady Haſtings, who had juſt recovered from the ſmall-pox, procured her portrait, and returned to Moſcow in 1583, accompanied with an Engliſh Ambaſſador, Sir Jerome Bowes. The latter, a perſon of capricious diſpoſition, at his firſt interview greatly offended the Tzar, as well by his freedom of ſpeech, as becauſe he was not commiſſioned to give a final aſſent to the marriage, but only to receive a more explicit offer, and tranſmit it to the Queen. The Tzar, unaccuſtomed to brook delay, declared, "that no obſtacle ſhould prevent him from marrying ſome kinſwoman of Her Majeſty's; that he ſhould ſend again into England to have ſome one of them to wife; adding, that if Her Majeſty would not, upon his next embaſſy, ſend him ſuch an one as he deſired, himſelf would then go into England, and carry his treaſure with him, and marry one of them there." Sir Jerome Bowes, probably in conformity to his inſtructions, threw obſtacles in the way of the marriage; inſtead of ſpeaking favourably of Lady Haſtings, he mentioned her perſon with indifference, and denied that ſhe was any relation to the Queen; adding, with ſome marks of contempt, that his miſtreſs had many ſuch nieces. By theſe means the affair was ſuſpended; and the negotiation finally terminated by the death of the Tzar in the beginning of the following year.

It appears from theſe archives, that the correſpondence between the Ruſſian and Engliſh ſovereigns, which began with Ivan, did not ceaſe upon his demiſe. The amity, indeed, between the two courts was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that Charles I. ſent a corps of troops, under Colonel Sanderſon, to the aſſiſtance of Michael Feodorovitch, againſt Laudiſlaus King of Poland; and Alexèy Michaelovitch occaſionally furniſhed Charles, in the period of his greateſt diſtreſs, with money and corn. The laſt letter from our unfortunate Sovereign to Alexèy is dated Iſle of Wight, June 1, 1648, and was written during his confinement in Cariſbrook Caſtle. I obſerved one from Charles II. to the Tzar, announcing the execution of his father: it is dated September the 16th, 1649, and was brought to Moſcow by Lord Culpepper.

During the uſurpation of Cromwell, Alexèy maintained a conſtant correſpondence with the exiled Charles. He was accuſtomed to declare, that all monarchs ought to eſteem the cauſe of Charles I. as their own, and ſhould not, by countenancing an uſurper, encourage ſubjects to rebel againſt their King. In conformity to theſe ſentiments he refuſed, for ſome time *, to hold any intercourſe with the Protector; and theſe archives contain no letters between Cromwell and the Tzar.

The reſtoration of Charles II. renewed the harmony between the two courts; and as from this interval the diſpatches received from England were ſo numerous as to require ſeveral days to examine them with attention, I was compelled to retire without ſatisfying my curioſity. Theſe papers, containing a complete hiſtorical ſeries of the alliances, connection, correſpondence, and commerce, between Ruſſia and England, would form an intereſting publication, if printed in chronological order, and interſperſed with hiſtorical obſervations.

I had ſcarcely time to glance over the numerous ſtate-papers which relate to the other European powers; but the keeper of the archives did not omit pointing out to me one document of great importance in the hiſtory of Ruſſia: I allude to the famous letter, written in the German tongue †, from Maximilian I., Emperor of Germany, to Vaſſili Ivanovitch, confirming a treaty of alliance againſt Sigiſmond, King of Poland. This diſpatch, dated Auguſt the 4th, 1514, and ratified with the ſeal of the golden bull, is remarkable, becauſe Maximilian addreſſes Vaſſili by calling him *Kayſer* und Herrſcher aller Ruſſen; *Emperor* and Ruler of all the Ruſſias. This deed, diſcovered by Baron Shavirof in the archives in the beginning of this century, firſt ſuggeſted to Peter the idea of aſſuming the title of Emperor. The claim gave riſe to various negociations, and occaſioned a curious controverſy among the learned, concerning the riſe and progreſs of the titles by which the monarchs of this country have been diſtinguiſhed. The early ſovereigns of Ruſſia were called Great Dukes; and Vaſſili Ivanovitch ‡ was probably the firſt who ſtyled himſelf Tzar, an expreſſion which, in the Sclavonian language, ſignifies King; his ſucceſſors continued to bear within their own dominions that title as the moſt honourable appellation, until Peter the Great firſt took that of *Povélitel*, or Emperor. It is nevertheleſs as certain, that the foreign courts §, in their intercourſe with that of Moſcow, ſtyled the ſovereign indiſcriminately Great Duke, Tzar, and Emperor ‖. With reſpect to England, in Chancellor's Account of Ruſſia, Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. was called Lord and *Emperor* of all Ruſſia; and in the Engliſh diſpatches, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Anne, the ſovereign was generally addreſſed under the ſame appellation. We may at the ſame time remark, that when the European powers ſtyled the Tzar Emperor of Muſcovy, they by no means intended to give him a title ſimilar

* I ſay *for ſome time*; for although, if I rightly remember, theſe archives contain no diſpatches between the Tzar and Cromwell, yet it is certain, that afterwards Alexèy maintained a correſpondence with the Protector, and had once conſented to receive his ambaſſadors at Moſcow. See the chapter on the Riſe and Progreſs of the Engliſh trade to Ruſſia.

† The reader will find a copy of the original German in Weber's Verandertes Ruſsland, vol. i. p. 357; and a faithful tranſlation in Perry's State of Ruſſia, p. 258.

‡ The appellation of Tzar was not taken, as ſome authors ſuppoſe, from the Tartars, when Ivan conquered Caſan, for the Prince of Caſan was called Khan.

§ This is aſſerted upon the poſitive teſtimony of Herberſtein; and his authority is unqueſtionable, becauſe, as he was twice ambaſſador to Moſcow, the firſt time to Vaſſili Ivanovitch, and afterwards to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II., he muſt have been acquainted with the titles borne by theſe two ſovereigns. Other authors ſuppoſe, that his ſon Ivan was the firſt who aſſumed the title of Tzar.

‖ According to Mayerberg, the title of Alexèy Michaelovitch, prefixed to his code of laws, was "Tzar, et Magnus Dux totius Ruſſiæ Autocrator." Iter in Moſ. p. 113.

to that which was peculiar to the Emperor of Germany; but beſtowed upon him that appellation as upon an Aſiatic ſovereign, in the ſame manner as we now ſay the Emperors of China and Japan. When Peter, therefore, determined to aſſume the title of Emperor, he found no difficulty in proving, that it was conferred upon his predeceſſors by moſt of the European powers; yet, when he was deſirous of affixing to the term the European ſenſe, it was conſidered as an innovation, and was productive of more negociations than would have been requiſite for the termination of the moſt important ſtate affair. After many delays and objections, the principal courts of Europe conſented, about the year 1722, to addreſs the ſovereign of Ruſſia with the title of Emperor, without prejudice, nevertheleſs, to the other crowned heads of Europe *.

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* Many authors have erroneouſly advanced, that the Engliſh ambaſſador, Lord Whitworth, ſoon after the battle of Pultava, gave, by order of Queen Anne, the title of Emperor, in its *European ſenſe*, to Peter the Great. But the following extracts from a diſpatch of Lord Carteret to Sir Luke Schaub, the Engliſh miniſter at Paris, which fell under my obſervation ſince I finiſhed the account in the text, will fully contradict theſe aſſertions, and are here inſerted, becauſe they will help to throw further light upon this ſubject. The United Provinces and the King of Pruſſia had, in 1711, acknowledged Peter's right to the title of Emperor; but the courts of London and Paris withheld their conſent. During the negociation, ſeveral diſpatches paſſed between Lord Carteret, ſecretary of ſtate, Cardinal Dubois, and Sir Luke Schaub, Engliſh miniſters at Paris.

"Le Cardinal," writes Lord Carteret, in one of his diſpatches to Sir Luke, dated Jan. 1721-2, "croit qu'on pourroit accorder le titre de *l'Empereur* au Tzar, de maniere que les couronnes n'en fuſſent point prejudiciés."

"Le Roy [George I.] a trouvé la réponſe très ſage, que le Cardinal a faite aux miniſtres du Czar touchant la demande du titre *d'Empereur*: Nous agirons de concert, avec ſon eminence dans cette affaire. Et pour luy donner les éclairciſſements qu'elle ſouhaite, touchant ce qui s'eſt paſſé entre la Grande Bretagne et le Czar à l'egard du titre, je vous envoye un extrait, qui a été tiré des regiſtres de nos archives, pour luy être communiqué. Les miniſtres Moſcovites ne ſont nullement fondez en ce qu'ils alleguent que ce titre a été accordé au Czar comme une partie de la ſatisfaction dans l'affaire de Matueof. Il eſt conſtant que l'on ne fit alors aucun changement à cette occaſion là.

"En examinant le ſtile, dont les Roys de la Grande Bretagne ſe ſont ſervis, en ecrivant aux Czars de Moſcovie, on eſt remonté juſqu'au tems de la Reine Elizabeth. On trouve qu'on leur a toûjours écrit en Anglois, et que cette Princeſſe,

An. 1559. Se ſervoit du ſtile d'*Empereur* et de *Highneſs*.
1616. Le Roy Jacques I. de celuy d'*Empereur* et de *Majeſty*.
1633. Le Roy Charles I.
1666. Le Roy Charles II.
1687. Jacques II. et Guillaume III. de celuy d'*Empereur* et
1688. d'*Imperial Majeſty*.
1707. La Reine Anne s'eſt ſervie du ſtile d'*Emperour* et d'*Imperial Majeſty*, juſqu'au l'an 1707, et alors on commença à écrire *Commander*, &c. et *Czaric Majeſty*.
1708. En 1708, le 19 Juillet et le 19 Septembre, *Commander* et *Imperial Majeſty*; et le 9 Novembre de la même année *Emperour* et *Imperial Majeſty*. En 1709, 1710, 1711, *Emperour* et *Imperial Majeſty*.
En 1712, 1713, 1714, *Emperour* et *Czarean*, *Czariſh*, et *Imperial Majeſty*, tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre, et ſouvent *Czariſh* et *Imperial Majeſty*, dans une même lettre.
En 1714, le 27 Septembre, le ſtile de la lettre de notification de l'avenement du Roy à la Couronne, eſt, *Emperour* et *Your Majeſty*, et dans pluſieurs autres lettres depuis ce temps la *Czariſh*, ou *Imperial Majeſty*, et quelquefois *Your Majeſty* ſimplement.

Voicy le titre entier.

To the moſt High, moſt Potent, and moſt Illuſtrious, our moſt dear Brother, the great Lord Czar, and Great-Duke, Peter Alexejewitz, of all the Greater, Leſſer, and White Ruſſia, Self-Upholder of Muſcovia, Kiovia, Ulodomiria, Novogardia, Czar of Cazan, Czar of Aſtrachan, Czar of Siberia, Lord of Plexoe, and Great-Duke of Smolenſko, Tueria, Ugoria, Permia, Viatkya, Bolgaria, and others, Lord and Great-Duke of Novogardia, and of the Lower Countries of Czernegorſky, Reſanſky, Roſtoveſky, Yeroſlave, Beloorzerſky, Udorſky, Obdorſki, Condinſki, and *Emperour* of all the Northern Coaſts, Lord of the Lands of

The archives contain alſo thirteen volumes of letters, journals, notes, and other manuſcripts, of Peter the Great, written with his own hand; theſe papers ſufficiently ſhow the indefatigable pains with which that great Monarch noted down the minuteſt circumſtances, that might prove uſeful in his extenſive plans for the civilization and aggrandizement of his country. Muller has lately given to the public ſeveral letters and other pieces of this kind, which throw a conſiderable light upon the tranſactions of Peter's reign, and afford ſtriking inſtances of his perſevering genius.

From the archives we repaired to the univerſity, alſo ſituated in the Khitaigorod: it was founded at the inſtance of Count Shuvalof, by the Empreſs Elizabeth, for ſix hundred ſtudents, who are cloathed, boarded, and inſtructed at the expence of the crown. We were received, with great civility, by the director of the univerſity and profeſſors, who conducted us firſt to their printing-office. One of the preſſes being at work, ſeveral ſheets were ſtruck off and preſented to us as ſpecimens of the Ruſſian typography; on examining them, we found a complimentary addreſs to ourſelves in the Engliſh and Ruſſian languages.

We next proceeded to the univerſity library, which contains a ſmall collection of books, and a moderate apparatus of experimental philoſophy. On taking leave of the director, he obligingly preſented me with a Grammar of the Tartar language, which is taught in this ſociety, a Syllabus of a year's lectures, and a catalogue of the Greek manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod. An extract from the Syllabus * will diſplay to the reader the general ſtudies, and the principal books uſed in this univerſity for the inſtruction of the ſtudents.

1. A courſe of lectures on the Hiſtory of the Ruſſian Law, on Nettelbadianus, *Syſtema univerſæ Juriſprudentiæ*, and on the *Jus Cambiale*; eight hours a week. 2. On Cicero's Orations againſt Catiline, the ſixth book of Virgil's Æneid, plays of Plautus and Terence, inſtructions on the manner of writing Latin and Ruſſian verſes, from the examples of Horace and Lomonoſof; an expoſition of the panegyrical orations of Lomonoſof, together with tranſlations and exerciſes in Latin and Ruſſian proſe; eight hours a week. 3. On arithmetic, trigonometry, and optics, from Weidler's *Mathema-*

Iverſky, Cartilinſky, and Gruzenſky, Czar of the lands of Caberdinſky, Czereaſky, and Duke of the Mountains, and of many other dominions and countries, Eaſt, Weſt, and North, from Father, and from Grandfather, Heir, Lord, and Conqueror.

Lord Carteret, in a letter to the Cardinal Dubois, writes; Le Roi concoura ſans difficulté avec ſa Majeſté très Chretienne à faire ce que V. Eminence jugera convenable, par rapport au *nouveau titre* que le Czar demande, et un parfait concert à faire eſperer à ce Prince une telle complaiſance pour ſervir à le gagner, et à nous faire tirer fruits de ſon ambition. Jan. 30, 1721-2.

And in a diſpatch to Sir Luke Schaub, he thus expreſſes himſelf: La coûtoume icy a toûjours été d'écrire aux Czars de Moſcovie ſur du velin enluminé peint et doré, comme on fait aux Empereurs de Maroc et Fez, et à pluſieurs autres Princes non-Européens leſquels ſelon cette coûtume ſeroient également fondez d'inſiſter ſur le titre d'Empereur. On n'a jamais voulu changer l'uſage établi, quoique les Moſcovites l'ayent fort ſolicité durant l'ambaſſade de my Lord Whitworth à Moſcow. Ce miniſtre s'excuſa toûjours d'en faire la propoſition. Il leur dit, qu'il leur donneroit le titre, ſans difficulté, tel qu'il le trouvoit établi; mais qu'il ne leur conſeilloit pas de remuër cette matiere, ni de s'eclaircir trop ſoigneuſement ſur quel pied on leur donnoit ce titre. Les Moſcovites crûrent ſon avis bon pour lors. Quand my Lord Whitworth et Mr. l'Amiral Norris fûrent chargez d'une commiſſion auprez du Czar à Amſterdam, ils n'eûrent que des lettres de cachet, dont le ſtile étoit *Votre Majeſté*; les miniſtres Ruſſiens en firent d'abord quelque ſcrupule, mais n'y inſiſterent pas.

Theſe extracts are drawn from Sir Luke Schaub's State Papers, in the rare and ample collection of the Earl of Hardwicke, a nobleman as diſtinguiſhed for the extent, as the liberal communication of his knowledge.

* It is entitled, "Catalogus prælectionum publicarum in Univerſitate Cæſareâ Moſquenſi habendarum."

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ticæ Inſtitutiones; and experimental philoſophy from Kruger's Compendium. 4. On ancient and modern hiſtory. 5. Introduction to the knowledge of moral philoſophy, from Bielfield's Inſtitutes. 6. On clinic medicine, or the remedies uſed by ancient and modern phyſicians, from Vogel's Compendium. 7. On the pandects, from the Compendium of Heineccius, and a compariſon between the Roman and Ruſſian law; eight hours a week. Profeſſor Deſaitſky, who reads this lecture, teaches alſo the Engliſh language from a Grammar compiled by himſelf; four hours a week. 8. Logic and metaphyſics from Baumeiſter's logic, eight hours; and four geometry and trigonometry, from Weidler. 9. On phyſic under the following heads; pathology, dietetics, and therapeutics, from Ludwig's Compendium. 10. On botany, after the ſyſtem of Linnæus. 11. Anatomy from Ludwig. 12. On the etymology, ſyntax, and ſtyle of the French tongue; eight hours. 13. Etymology, ſyntax, and ſtyle of the German.

Beſide the univerſity, there are two gymnaſia, or ſeminaries, for the education of youth, endowed alſo by Eliſabeth, in which are taught divinity, claſſics, philoſophy, the Greek, Latin, Ruſſian, German, French, Italian, and Tartar languages; hiſtory, geography, mathematics, algebra, architecture, fortification, artillery, drawing and painting, muſic, fencing, dancing, reading, and writing. There are twenty-three profeſſors; amongſt theſe, the Syllabus informed me, that Mr. Alexief teaches divinity two hours in the week. Mr. Matthæi, profeſſor and rector of both ſeminaries, explains ſome of Cicero's Orations and ſelect Epiſtles, Libanius's Letters, Erneſti's oratorical Eſſays, *Xenophon's Anabaſis*, teaches the Roman antiquities from Burman's Compendium, and continues his uſual Latin exerciſes upon oratory. Mr. Sinkoviſki, every morning from ſeven to nine, treats of the principles of rhetoric, particularly concerning the *Periodologia*, both as to theory and practice, from *Burgius's Elementa Oratoria*; explains Cæſar's Commentaries and Juſtin; employs his ſcholars in Latin and Ruſſian tranſlations, and in the etymology and ſyntax of the Greek tongue; reads Plutarch περι Πτυχης; and, from nine to twelve on Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Saturdays, Ovid's Metamorphoſis, and connects mythology with ancient hiſtory and geography. Mr. Tſherbotaref, extraordinary profeſſor of logic and morality, and under-librarian to the univerſity, four hours in the week, comments upon *Heineccii elementæ philoſophiæ rationalis et moralis*, as well in the original Latin, as in the Ruſſian * tranſlation, for the benefit of thoſe who are unacquainted with the Latin tongue. Mr. Urbanſki gives inſtructions in rhetoric from the Compendium of Burgius, both in theory and practice. Mr. Holberſtof explains Count Teſſin's Letters to a young Prince †.

The account of the Greek manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod at Moſcow, preſented to me by the director, bore this title: "*Notitia codicum manuſcriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecarum Moſquenſium ſanctiſſimae ſynodi Eccleſiae orthodoxae Graeco-Ruſſicae, cum variis anecdotis, tabulis aeneis et indicibus locupletiſſimis. Edidit Chriſtianus Fredericus Matthaei, Gymnaſiorum Univerſitatis Moſquenſis Rector. Moſquae, typis Univerſitatis, Anno* 1776," folio. The author is Chriſtian Frederic Matthæi, a learned German, who was educated at Leipſic under the celebrated Erneſti, and had already diſplayed his erudition by ſeveral excellent editions of the claſſics. Being drawn to Moſcow by the liberality of the Empreſs, he was appointed a profeſſor of this univerſity. Soon after his arrival, he turned his attention to the ſtate of Greek literature, and ex-

* Iis præcipue, qui linguæ Latinæ ſunt ignari, nec ſua ſtudia academica in univerſitate ulterius proſequi poſſunt.

† The King of Sweden when Prince Royal.

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plored the curious collection of Greek manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod, the greater part of which had, at the ſuggeſtion of the Patriarch Nicon, been collected by the monk Arſenius from the monaſtery of Mount Athos.

As a catalogue of theſe manuſcripts, publiſhed by Athanaſius Schida, at the command of Peter the Great, was exceedingly inaccurate, Matthæi * was encouraged by Prince Potemkin, the great patron of antient literature, who defrayed the expence of the publication, to undertake this work upon a more extenſive plan. Accordingly, in 1776, the learned editor gave to the public the firſt part, in which he has laid down an accurate and circumſtantial detail of fifty-one manuſcripts, accompanied with judicious remarks and critical inquiries. He deſcribes the materials upon which each manuſcript is written; ſpecifies the age, contents, and author, the number of pages, and the firſt and laſt words: he points out alſo the different proprietors. The author propoſes to continue the publication at different intervals, until he has finiſhed the account. But as it would require many years thus minutely to deſcribe all the manuſcripts, which amount to five hundred and two; the learned author has, in the mean while, favoured the public with a complete catalogue in a leſs circumſtantial manner †. To this index is prefixed a ſatisfactory and comprehenſive introduction; in which, after informing us that he compiled it for the uſe of Prince Yuſapof, an enthuſiaſt in Greek literature, he gives a brief account of the principal manuſcripts. He enumerates ſeveral of the Septuagint, and one in particular of the Books of Kings, which is of the ninth century, and contains, in ſome places, many various readings, materially differing from the printed editions. He mentions alſo ſeveral of the New Teſtament; ſome accompanied with antient commentaries, which have never been publiſhed, and which the ingenious author has tranſcribed, collated, and prepared for the preſs. The moſt antient of theſe was written at different periods; the firſt part ſo early as the ſeventh or eighth century, and the remainder in the twelfth or thirteenth. This collection he adds, though chiefly confined to theological ſubjects, is by no means deficient in the claſſics; among which he notices Homer, Æſchylus, Sophocles, Demoſthenes, Æſchines, Heſiod, Pauſanius, Plutarch, and a moſt beautiful Strabo, which he has collated for the new edition of that author, preparing for the Clarendon preſs by Mr. Falkener of Oxford ‡.

In this library of the Holy Synod Matthæi diſcovered an antient hymn to Ceres in a manuſcript of Homer, written about the concluſion of the fourteenth century, but which he ſuppoſes a tranſcript from an ancient and valuable copy; this manuſcript, beſide a fragment of the Iliad, contained the ſixteen hymns uſually attributed to Homer, in the ſame order as they are generally printed. At the end of the ſixteenth he found twelve verſes of a hymn to Bacchus, and a hymn to Ceres, which, excepting the laſt part, was entire. Matthæi, well acquainted with the delays which would attend the publication at Moſcow, ſent a copy of the hymn to the celebrated Runkenius, of the univerſity of Leyden, who gave it to the public in 1780; and twenty lines being omitted by miſtake, he put forth a ſecond edition in the following year §.

* Harris has enumerated the editions publiſhed by Matthæi. Philoſ. Inquiries, p. 564.

† "Index codicum manuſcriptorum Græcorum Bibliothecarum Moſquenſium ſanctiſſimae Synodi eccleſiae orthodoxae. Græco-Ruſſicae; edidit Chriſtianus Fredericus Matthaei. Pretopoli, typis Academiae Scientiarum, 1780," 4to.

‡ It was a conſiderable diſappointment to me, that Mr. Matthæi was abſent from Moſcow during my continuance in that city, as I ſhould have derived great information from his acquaintance. I have likewiſe to regret, that, on account of his abſence, I could not obtain a ſight of theſe manuſcripts.

§ Homeri Hymnus in Cererem nunc primum editus a Davide Runkenio.

The

The learned editor has prefixed a critical diſquiſition, in which he aſſerts that the hymn is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and written, if not by Homer himſelf, yet certainly by a very diligent imitator of his ſtyle and phraſeology. Though the ſtyle and plan of this hymn appears to me (as well as to the celebrated editor) inferior to Homer, and in ſome places unworthy of him; yet this argument, depending on the taſte and feelings of the reader, will not operate on all with equal force; nor will even they who allow its inferiority to the other productions of the divine poet, be inclined to grant the concluſion, that it is not his work; becauſe Homer might in one particular compoſition fall below his uſual ſtandard of excellence. A ſtronger proof againſt its originality may be drawn from the words, phraſes, and inflexions occurring in this poem, which are either of a later date than the age of Homer, or not found in his unſuſpected works. Some of theſe are enumerated by the editor *.

CHAP. VI.—*Retail Trade in the Khitaigorod.—Market for the Sale of Houſes.—Excellence of the Police in Caſes of Riot or Fire.—Cheſs common in Ruſſia.—Account of the Foundling Hoſpital.—Excurſion to the Monaſtery of the Holy Trinity.—Delays of the Poſt.—Deſcription of the Monaſtery.—Tomb and Hiſtory of Maria Titular Queen of Livonia.—Tomb and Character of Boris Godunof.*

MOSCOW is the centre of the inland commerce of Ruſſia, and connects the trade between Europe and Siberia.

The navigation to this city is formed ſolely by the Moſkva, which falling into the Occa near Colomna, communicates by means of that river with the Volga †. But as the Moſkva is only navigable in the ſpring, on the melting of the ſnow, the principal merchandize is conveyed on ſledges in winter.

Almoſt the whole retail commerce of the city is carried on in the Khitaigorod, where, according to a cuſtom common in Ruſſia, as well as in moſt kingdoms of the Eaſt, the ſhops and warehouſes are collected in one ſpot. The place is like a kind of fair, conſiſting of many rows of low brick buildings; the interval between them reſembling alleys. Theſe ſhops or booths occupy a conſiderable ſpace, and do not, as with us, make part of the houſes inhabited by the tradeſmen, but are uſually detached from their dwellings, which are moſtly at ſome diſtance in another quarter of the town. The tradeſman comes to his ſhop in the morning, and returns to his family in the afternoon. Every trade has its ſeparate department; and they who ſell the ſame goods have booths adjoining to each other. Furs and ſkins form the moſt conſiderable article of commerce in Moſcow, and the ſhops vending thoſe commodities occupy ſeveral ſtreets ‡.

Among the curioſities of Moſcow, I muſt not omit the market for the ſale of houſes. It is held in a large open ſpace, in one of the ſuburbs, and exhibits *ready-made houſes*, ſtrewed on the ground. The purchaſer who wants a dwelling, repairs to this ſpot, mentions the number of rooms he requires, examines the different timbers, which are regularly numbered, and bargains for that which ſuits his purpoſe. The houſe is ſometimes paid

* The claſſical reader, who is deſirous of further information relative to the genuineneſs of this antient poem, is referred to the laſt edition of the hymn by Runkenius, and to the preface of Mr. Hole's Tranſlation.

† For the communication of the Volga with the Baltic, ſee the chapter on the Inland Navigation of Ruſſia.

‡ According to Storſch, the number of ſhops and warehouſes in Moſcow amount to ſix thouſand, of which the Khitaigorod contains four thouſand and ſeventy five.

for on the ſpot, and removed by the purchaſer; or the vender contracts to tranſport and erect it upon the place where it is deſigned to ſtand. It may ſeem incredible, that a dwelling may be thus bought, removed, raiſed, and inhabited, within the ſpace of a week; but it will appear eaſily practicable by conſidering that theſe *ready-made houſes* are in general merely collections of trunks of trees, tenanted and mortaiſed at each extremity, ſo that nothing more is required than the labour of tranſporting and adjuſting them.

But this ſummary mode of building is not always peculiar to the meaner hovels; as wooden ſtructures of large dimenſions and handſome appearance are occaſionally formed in Ruſſia, with an expedition almoſt inconceivable to the inhabitants of other countries. A remarkable inſtance of this diſpatch was diſplayed during the laſt viſit of the Empreſs to Moſcow. Her Majeſty propoſed to reſide in the manſion of Prince Galitzin, which is eſteemed the completeſt edifice in this city; but as it was not ſufficiently ſpacious for her reception, a temporary addition of wood, larger than the original houſe, and containing a magnificent ſuit of apartments, was finiſhed within the ſpace of ſix weeks. This meteor-like fabric was ſo handſome and commodious, that the materials were afterwards taken down and re-conſtructed upon an eminence near the city, as an imperial villa.

In Moſcow I obſerved an admirable police for preventing riots, or ſtopping the courſe of people in caſe of fires, which are very frequent in thoſe parts where the houſes are moſtly of wood, and the ſtreets laid with timber. At the entrance of each ſtreet is a *chevaux-de-frize* gate, one end turning upon a pivot, and the other rolling upon a wheel; near it is a centry-box, in which a man is occaſionally ſtationed. In times of riot or fire the centinel ſhuts the gate, and all paſſage is immediately ſtopped.

Cheſs is ſo common in Ruſſia, that during our continuance at Moſcow, I ſcarcely entered into any company where parties were not engaged in that diverſion; and, in paſſing the ſtreets, I frequently obſerved the tradesmen and common people playing before the doors of their ſhops or houſes. The Ruſſians are eſteemed great proficients in cheſs. With them the Queen has, in addition to the other moves, that of the Knight, which, according to Phillidor, ſpoils the game, but which renders it more complicated, and of courſe more intereſting. The Ruſſians play alſo at cheſs with four perſons at the ſame time, two againſt two; for which purpoſe the board is longer than uſual, contains more men, and is provided with a greater number of ſquares. I was informed, that this mode is difficult but more agreeable, than the common manner.

Among the public inſtitutions, the moſt remarkable is the Foundling Hoſpital, endowed by the Empreſs in 1764, and ſupported by voluntary contributions, legacies, and other charitable gifts*. To encourage donations, Her Majeſty grants to all benefactors ſome valuable privileges, and a certain degree of rank in proportion to the extent of their liberality. The hoſpital, ſituated in an airy part of the town on a gentle aſcent near the river Moſkva, is a large quadrangular building, part of which only was finiſhed: it contained three thouſand foundlings, and when the whole is completed, will receive eight thouſand.

The children are received at the porter's lodge, and admitted without recommendation. The rooms are lofty and large; the dormitories, which are ſeparate from the work rooms, are airy, and the beds not crowded: each foundling, even each infant, has a ſeparate bed; the bedſteads are of iron; the ſheets are changed once, and the linen

* Beſides theſe occaſional ſupplies, the inſtitution is ſupported by a lottery, tax upon public entertainments, and cards, which are ſtamped by the Foundlings' Hoſpital. Richer Skizze von Moſka.

three times a week. I was particularly ſtruck with the neatneſs of the rooms; even the nurſeries were uncommonly clean, and without unwholeſome ſmells. No cradles are allowed, and rocking is forbidden. The infants are not ſwaddled according to the cuſtom of the country, but looſely dreſſed.

The Director obligingly favoured us with his company, and ſhewed us the foundlings at their reſpective works. On his appearance the children crowded round him; ſome took hold of his arm; ſome held by his coat; others kiſſed his hand, and all expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction. Theſe natural and unfeigned marks of regard were convincing proofs of his mildneſs and good-nature; for children, when ill uſed, naturally crouch before thoſe who have the management of them. I could be no judge whether the children were well inſtructed, and the regulations well obſerved; but I was perfectly convinced, from their behaviour, that they were in general happy and contented, and perceived from their looks that they were remarkably healthy; a circumſtance owing to the uncommon care which is paid to cleanlineſs both in their perſons and rooms.

The foundlings are divided into ſeparate claſſes according to their reſpective ages. The children remain in the nurſery two years, at the end of which term they are admitted into the loweſt claſs; the boys and girls continue together until they are ſeven years of age, at which period they are ſeparated. Both ſexes are inſtructed in reading, writing, and caſting accounts. The boys are taught to knit, card hemp, flax, and wool, and to work in the different manufactories. The girls learn to knit, net, and perform all kinds of needle-work; they ſpin and weave lace, and are employed in cookery, baking, and houſe-work.

At the age of fourteen the foundlings enter into the firſt claſs, and have the liberty of chuſing any particular branch of trade; for which purpoſe different ſpecies of manufactures are eſtabliſhed in the hoſpital; the principal are embroidery, ſilk ſtockings, ribbands, lace, gloves, buttons, and cabinet-work.* A ſeparate room is appropriated to each trade. Some are inſtructed in the French and German languages and a few of the boys in the Latin tongue; others learn muſic, drawing, and dancing. About the age of twenty, the foundlings receive a ſum of money, and ſeveral other advantages, which enable them to follow their trade in any part of the empire: a conſiderable privilege in Ruſſia, where the peaſants are ſlaves, and cannot leave their village without the permiſſion of their maſter.

In another viſit which I paid to this hoſpital, I ſaw the foundlings at dinner: the girls and boys dine ſeparately. The dining rooms, which are upon the ground-floor, are large and vaulted, and ſeparated from their work rooms. The firſt claſs ſit at table, the reſt ſtand; the little children are attended by ſervants; but thoſe of the firſt and ſecond claſs alternately wait upon each other. The dinner conſiſted of beef and mutton boiled in broth, with rice; I taſted both, which were remarkably good: the bread was very ſweet, and baked in the houſe, chiefly by the foundlings. Each foundling has a napkin, pewter plate, knife, fork, and ſpoon: the napkin and table-cloth are clean three times in the week. They riſe at ſix, dine at eleven, and ſup at ſix. The little children have bread at ſeven, and at four. When employed in their neceſſary occupations, the utmoſt freedom is allowed, and they are encouraged to be as much in the air as poſſible. The whole was a lovely ſight; and the countenances of the children expreſſed the utmoſt content and happineſs.

In the hoſpital is a theatre, of which the decorations are the work of the foundlings: they conſtructed the ſtage, painted the ſcenes, and made the dreſſes. I was preſent at the repreſentation of the *Honnête Criminel*, and the comic opera *Le Devin du Village*, both tranſlated into the Ruſſian tongue. Not underſtanding the language, I could be no

judge whether they ſpoke with propriety; but was ſurpriſed at the eaſe with which they trod the ſtage, and pleaſed with the gracefulneſs of their action. There were ſome agreeable voices in the opera. The orcheſtra was filled with a band by no means contemptible, which conſiſted entirely of foundlings, excepting the firſt violin, who was their muſic-maſter. On this occaſion the play was not, as uſual, concluded with a ballet, becauſe the principal performer was indiſpoſed, which was no ſmall diſappointment, as they dance ballets with great taſte and elegance. The Empreſs, I am told, is induced to countenance theatrical repreſentations, which appear improper in a ſeminary of this kind, from a deſire of diffuſing among her ſubjects a taſte for that ſpecies of entertainment, which ſhe conſiders a means of civilization, and of enriching the Ruſſian theatres with a conſtant ſupply of performers.

Many and great are the advantages of this excellent charity. It diffuſes a knowledge of the arts among the people, increaſes the number of free ſubjects, and above all has conſiderably diminiſhed the horrid practice of infanticide, ſo prevalent before the inſtitution of this hoſpital.

We were unwilling to quit this part of the country without viſiting Troitſkoi Kloſter, or the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity, which is diſtinguiſhed in the annals of this country as the aſylum for the Ruſſian Sovereigns in caſes of inſurrection; and is more particularly known to foreigners for the refuge it afforded to Peter the Great when he put an end to the adminiſtration of his ſiſter Sophia *.

The diſtance from Moſcow to the monaſtery being forty miles, we ordered poſt-horſes to be ready at five in the morning, with an intention of viewing the convent, and returning by night. We hoped to complete this excurſion in the time propoſed; but obſtacles continually occur in foreign countries, unforeſeen by thoſe who are not ſufficiently acquainted with the manners of the natives; and an ignorance of the moſt trivial circumſtances, which better information might eaſily have obviated, produces conſiderable embarraſſment. Some petty diſtreſſes of this nature lengthened our expedition from one to three days.

We roſe at five in the morning, but were detained by want of poſt horſes, which we found great difficulty in procuring, although the order was ſigned both by the governor of the province and of the city, and we importuned the poſt-maſter with repeated meſſages. The caſe is, that the price for the hire of horſes being inconſiderable, the owners can employ them in other ſervices to greater advantage; and on this account a ſtranger, unleſs accompanied with a Ruſſian ſoldier to quicken the expedition of thoſe who furniſh the poſt, muſt meet with infinite delays. We were, indeed, ſtrongly adviſed by ſome of our acquaintance to uſe this precaution, but imprudently omitted it, to our great inconvenience, as we ſoon experienced.

After waiting nine hours, we at length thought ourſelves fortunate in ſeeing the poſt-horſes make their appearance about two in the afternoon; and ſet off with an expectation of proceeding without interruption to Bretoffhina, where a relay was waiting for us. But the drivers ſtopping at a village only four miles from Moſcow, peremptorily refuſed to carry us any farther. In vain we produced the order for horſes; they contended that it authorized us only to take them from village to village, and on the ſtrength of that conſtruction returned without further ceremony to Moſcow. Two hours more were employed, and much broken Ruſſian ſpoken by our Bohemian interpreter, before we were able to prevail on the inhabitants to ſupply us with horſes, and were again depoſited in a village about the diſtance of three miles; where all the old proceſs of alter-

* See chap. viii.

cation,

cation, threats, and promiſes, was renewed. In this manner we continued wrangling and proceeding from village to village, which were thickly ſcattered in this part of the country, until near midnight, when we found ourſelves at Kliſma, only ſeventeen miles from Moſcow, and took up our lodging in a peaſant's cottage. Our Bohemian ſervant having fortunately devoted great part of the night in rambling to different houſes, and adjuſting the difficult negotiation for freſh horſes, we were able to depart almoſt by day-break, and had the ſtill farther ſatisfaction to paſs over the *immenſe ſpace* of ſeven miles without either halt or delay; ſo that by eight in the morning we reached Bretoſſhina, half-way between Moſcow and the convent. Here we found a Ruſſian ſerjeant, whom Prince Volkonſki had obligingly ſent forwards to procure horſes, and accompany us during the remainder of our journey; the experience of the preceding day taught us the value of this military attendant.

At Bretoſſhina we viewed a palace built by Alexèy Michaelovitch, in which he frequently reſided: it is a long wooden building, painted yellow, only one ſtory in heighth, containing a ſuite of ſmall and low rooms. This palace (if it deſerves that name) has long been uninhabited. The Empreſs, pleaſed with the beauty of the ſituation, and reſpecting the favourite reſidence of Peter the Great's father, propoſed to build a large brick palace near the ſite of the old manſion, and part of the materials were already collected for that purpoſe. On our return to the village we ordered the horſes, and were pleaſed to find our order obeyed almoſt as ſoon as iſſued: we had, indeed, a ſucceſsful agent in our friend the ſerjeant; for the peaſants, who were beginning to wrangle, and make their uſual altercations, were inſtantly diſperſed by his cudgel, whoſe eloquence was more perſuaſive than the moſt pathetic remonſtrances. The boors were certainly accuſtomed to this ſpecies of rhetoric; for they bore it patiently, and with perfect good humour; and, the moment they were ſeated on the box, began whiſtling and ſinging their national ſongs as uſual. We now continued our route, and arrived at the convent, though diſtant from Bretoſſhina twenty miles, without once ſtopping to change horſes.

Troitſkoi Sergief Kloſter, or the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity, at a little diſtance bears the appearance of a ſmall town; and, like many convents in this country, is ſurrounded with high brick walls, ſtrengthened with battlements and towers. The parapet is roofed with wood, and the walls and towers are provided with embraſures for muſkets and cannon: the whole is ſurrounded by a deep ditch. This place withſtood ſeveral ſieges; and particularly baffled all the efforts of Ladiſlaus Prince of Poland, who attacked it at the head of a large army.

Beſide the convent or habitation for the monks, the walls encloſe an imperial palace, and nine large churches conſtructed by different ſovereigns. The convent is a range of buildings encircling a court, and far too ſpacious for the preſent inhabitants: it formerly contained three hundred monks, together with a proportionate number of ſtudents, and was the richeſt eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment in Ruſſia. Their eſtates, as well as all the other church lands, being annexed to the crown, the members receive penſions. With the revenues the number of monks is greatly diminiſhed, and they do not amount to one hundred. The habit is black, with a veil of the ſame colour; they eat no meat, and the diſcipline of the order is very ſtrict. Within the convent is a ſeminary for the education of perſons intended for the church, which contained about two hundred ſtudents.

The imperial palace, which was much frequented when the ſovereign reſided at Moſcow, is ſmall; one of the apartments is ornamented with repreſentations in ſtucco of the principal actions of Peter the Great. The nine churches are ſplendid, and extremely rich in gold and ſilver ornaments, and coſtly veſtments. The principal church

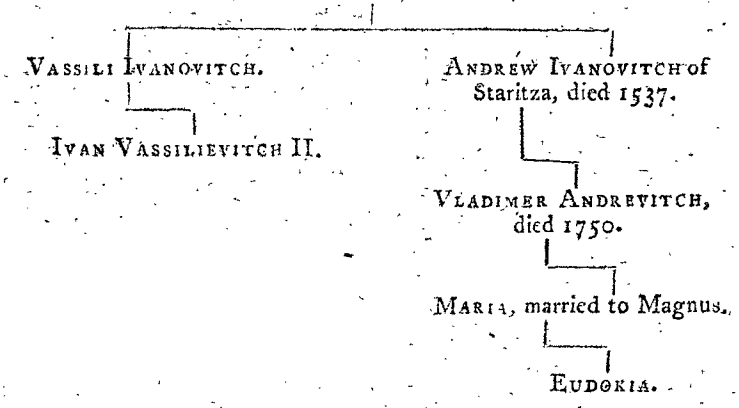
has a cupola of copper gilt, and four domes, of tin or iron painted green. We aſcended a new belfry, built by the Empreſs Elizabeth, which is not an inelegant piece of architecture; it commands a fine view of the adjacent country, which is gently waving, richly cultivated, producing much grain, and thickly ſtrewed with villages. The archimandrite or abbot of the monaſtery being abſent, we could not obtain permiſſion to ſee the library, which occaſioned ſome regret, becauſe, according to Buſching, it contains a curious collection of books *.

In the principal church a few tombs drew my attention.

The firſt was that of Maria Queen of Livonia, probably the only perſon who ever bore that title, an empty honour, which ſhe may truly be ſaid to have purchaſed at a dear rate. Maria, lineally deſcended from Ivan Vaſſilievitch I., was a relation of Ivan II †. She eſpouſed, in 1573, Magnus Duke of Holſtein ‡, and titular king of Livonia, who was raiſed to that dignity by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. in an extraordinary manner. Livonia, bordering upon Ruſſia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally claimed and poſſeſſed by thoſe three powers, was, in the middle of the ſixteenth century, partly free, partly ſubject to Poland, and partly to the Swedes, when the Tzar made an irruption, and conquered a ſmall portion. Well acquainted, however, with the averſion of the natives to the Ruſſian ſceptre, he declared that he entered their country with no intereſted views; had no other ambition than to reſcue them from the Swediſh yoke; and, renouncing all right of conqueſt, would only ſtyle himſelf their protector: he exhorted them to elect for their ſovereign Magnus, brother of Frederic II. King of Denmark, who, in the capacity of Biſhop of Pilten, had ſome pretenſions to Livonia. This propoſal being cheerfully agreed to by a great party among the natives, the Tzar diſpatched an embaſſy to Magnus, who accepted the proffered crown; and repairing without delay to Moſcow, was formally inſtalled in

* Buſching's Erd-beſchreibung, vol. i. p. 852.

† IVAN VASSILIEVITCH I.



‡ Magnus was ſon of Chriſtian III. King of Denmark, and is known in hiſtory by ſeveral different appellations. He is ſometimes ſtyled King of Livonia, from his mock-ſovereignty in that country; ſometimes Duke of Holſtein, from his inheriting a portion of that duchy on the deceaſe of his father; and Biſhop of Æſel, from his exchanging his part of Holſtein for the biſhoprics of Æſel and Courland, which he ſecularized. Holberg, the Daniſh hiſtorian, mentions a bond for 1500 marks, which was ſigned: "We Magnus, by the grace of God, Lord of Æſel and Wick, Biſhop of Courland, Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprick of Reval, Heir of Norway, Duke of Schleſwick, Holſtein, Stormar, and Ditmarſh, Count of Oldenburgh and Delmenhurſt." Titles, as the hiſtorians remark, which could not procure him even a ſmall ſum of money without his bond. Holberg, vol. ii. p. 488.

his

his new dignity, upon condition of eſpouſing Maria, and paying an annual tribute to the Tzar.

Magnus, however, being oppoſed by the Swedes, who maintained a large army in Livonia, and not unanimouſly acknowledged even by the natives, was ſtill only a titular ſovereign; and after a fruitleſs attempt to take poſſeſſion of his crown, continued to diſplay his mock dignity at Moſcow. At length, in 1577, being eſcorted to Livonia by the Tzar, at the head of fifty thouſand troops, he obtained the town and territory of Wenden, the remainder of the province being reſerved to Ruſſia.

Magnus was ſcarcely admitted into Wenden, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy, than, deſpiſing a precarious ſovereignty, he was prevailed upon by his new ſubjects to form a ſecret alliance with the King of Poland, and counteract the Tzar's progreſs in Livonia. Ivan, apprized of this negotiation, laid immediate ſiege to Wenden with a numerous army, and compelled the inhabitants to capitulate. Magnus himſelf carried the terms of capitulation, and, advancing to ſupplicate the incenſed monarch, threw himſelf at his feet, and interceded for the town. The Tzar, ſpurning at him with his foot*, and ſtriking him on the face, loaded him with reproaches for his ingratitude, and ordered him to priſon; and entering the town, his troops committed every ſpecies of horror and devaſtation. Many of the principal inhabitants, retiring into the citadel, determined to defend it to the laſt extremity; but perceiving all reſiſtance fruitleſs, and expecting no quarter, they calmly aſſembled, received the ſacrament, and deſtroyed themſelves by blowing up the citadel. Thus ended the kingdom of Livonia, four years after it was erected into a ſovereignty. Magnus obtained his enlargement by paying a conſiderable ſum of money; and repaired, with his conſort Mary, to Pilten in Courland, where he died in 1583, in extreme diſtreſs †. After the death of her huſband, Maria was enticed in Ruſſia, and thrown into a nunnery, with her only daughter Eudokia ‡. She was never releaſed from her confinement, and the time of her deceaſe is uncertain. The remains, both of the Queen and her daughter, were depoſited in the convent of the Holy Trinity.

In the ſame church repoſe the aſhes of Boris Feodorovitch Godunof, who, upon the demiſe of Feodor Ivanovitch in 1597, was raiſed from a private ſtation to the throne of Ruſſia. It is a circumſtance extremely favourable to a virtuous conduct, that a ſovereign cannot commit one flagrant offence without ſuffering the imputation of many others; and that ſuppoſititious cruelties are always added to acts of real tyranny. This was the fate of Boris Godunof, who, having deſervedly acquired the deteſtation of poſ-

* Henning, author of the Livonian Chronicle, relates this tranſaction more to the honour of Ivan. He is thus quoted by the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. xxxv. p. 242. "The Tzar laid ſiege to the place, till, at the earneſt requeſt of the citizens, Magnus, with only a few attendants, went into the Tzar's camp, and, falling on his knees, begged pardon for himſelf and the city. Baſilowitz no ſooner ſaw the King of Livonia thus proſtrate before him, than he diſmounted from his horſe, and deſired him to riſe, returning him his ſword, and, after reproaching him with the ingratitude of his late conduct, freely pardoned him and the city, and aſſured them of his protection. At this inſtant a cannon-ball from the caſtle narrowly miſſed killing the Tzar; which ſo incenſed him, that he mounted his horſe and rode away directly, ſwearing by St. Nicholas, that, for this freſh inſtance of perfidy, every perſon in Wenden ſhould ſuffer death. Magnus was then put under an arreſt in a farm-houſe, and obliged to ſign an obligation, by which he engaged to pay the Tzar 40,000 Hungarian florins by the next Chriſtmas, as a ſatisfaction for the money taken from Polubenſki; in caſe of failure of payment at that time, to forfeit double the ſum, and remain a priſoner at Moſcow till the whole ſhould be diſcharged." I have followed the principal hiſtorians of Sweden and Denmark, alſo Heidenſtein, and Oderborg, who ſeem to have given the moſt probable account of this event.

† Holberg, vol. i. p. 488.

‡ Fletcher's State of Ruſſia, chap. v.

terity

terity by the perpetration of one crime, has been unjuſtly branded with infamy, even for thoſe actions which merit the higheſt applauſe.

Boris Godunof was deſcended from a Tartar anceſtor, who came into Ruſſia in 1329, and, having embraced Chriſtianity, aſſumed the name of Zachary. From Simon Godun, one of his deſcendants, the family was known by the ſurname of Godunof, and was greatly diſtinguiſhed by the elevation of the perſonage now under conſideration.

Boris, ſon of Feodor Ivanovitch, a nobleman of the Ruſſian court, was born in 1522, and in the 20th year of his age appointed, by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. to attend his ſon Prince Ivan: being ſucceſſively promoted to higher offices, and obtaining additional influence by the marriage of his ſiſter Irene with Feodor Ivanovitch, he was, upon that monarch's ſucceſſion to the throne, created privy counſellor, maſter of the horſe, and inveſted with the ſole direction of affairs.

Feodor dying without iſſue, the election fell unanimouſly upon Boris Godunof, who owed his elevation to the high opinion which all parties entertained of his capacity and wiſdom; to the influence of his ſiſter Irene, and to the artful manner with which he affected to decline, while he was moſt ambitious to poſſeſs, the crown. He deſerved his elevation by his conſummate abilities and popular manners; and, for his political and civil deportment, he is juſtly ranked among the greateſt ſtateſmen of his age.

Happy would it have been for himſelf and country, had he united moderation and humanity to theſe ſplendid qualities. His perſecution of ſeveral noble families, who ſtood in the way of his ambitious deſigns, and ſtill more the aſſaſſination * of Demetrius, brands his character with indelible infamy. But while we admit and deteſt in this inſtance the full extent of his guilt, let not our horror at this crime induce us to miſrepreſent his moſt laudable actions. Let us not aſſert, with his enemies, that to turn the attention of the people from the cataſtrophe of the Prince, and to ingratiate himſelf in their favour by an act of public munificence, he purpoſely ſet fire to ſeveral parts of Moſcow, that he might rebuild them at his own expence! Nor let us, with equal abſurdity and injuſtice, accuſe him of privately inviting the Khan of the Tartars to invade Ruſſia, that he might occupy the public with a foreign war, and acquire freſh glory by repelling the enemy!

We may add to the liſt of his ſuppoſititious crimes, that he poiſoned Feodor; for the Tzar had long laboured under a declining ſtate of health †; and, the year before his death, requeſted a phyſician from England ‡. Even his paternal attention and unbounded generoſity towards his ſubjects during a famine, which ſoon after his elevation to the throne deſolated Moſcow, was turned into an accuſation againſt him; for it was inſinuated, that from an abſurd delicacy, he would not permit foreigners to ſupply the Ruſſians with corn, and that he joined ſeveral banditti in plundering the houſes of the rich §; calumnies ably and unanſwerably refuted by Muller. But the brighteſt ſplendour of abilities, and even the moſt upright uſe of power, will not atone for the ill means of acquiring it; and the time arrived, when Boris paid the price for the aſſaſſination of

* This is not the proper place to inquire whether Demetrius was really aſſaſſinated, or whether he eſcaped? for the crime of Boris was the ſame, whether his orders were carried into execution, or eluded. See the next chapter.

† Fletcher ſays of Feodor, that he was inclining to a dropſy.

‡ As appears from a letter in the Ruſſian archives.

§ This report, Mr. Muller conjectures, aroſe from his compelling the biſhops and nobles, who had a ſuperfluity of corn, to diſpoſe of it to the poor at an under price, S. R. G. V.

Demetrius,

Demetrius. The death and character of Boris Godunof are thus delineated by an impartial hiſtorian *.

The party of the pretended Demetrius increaſed daily, and the Ruſſians flocked to him from all quarters. This circumſtance, joined to the inactivity of the Ruſſian army, had ſuch an effect upon Boris, that, driven to deſpair, he ſwallowed poiſon †. He felt the firſt effects of the poiſon at dinner, and the ſymptoms were ſo violent, that he had ſcarcely time to enter into the monaſtic order before he expired. According to the Ruſſian cuſtom, he changed his name from Boris to Bogolep. His deceaſe happened on the 13th of April, or the 24th, according to the new ſtyle, 1605, after a reign of eight years and two months.

"It muſt be allowed that his death was a great loſs to Ruſſia; for if we except the unjuſtifiable means by which he raiſed himſelf to the throne, and the cruelty with which he perſecuted ſeveral illuſtrious families, particularly the houſe of Romanof, he muſt be eſteemed an excellent ſovereign. Ambition and revenge were his principal vices: on the contrary, penetration and ſagacity, affability and munificence, political knowledge, diligence in the adminiſtration of affairs, aſſiduity in introducing into Ruſſia the improvements of foreign nations, in a word, unwearied attention to promote the advantage of his country, and the welfare of his ſubjects, were conſpicuous parts of his character. We are apt to overlook the vices of a ſovereign in conſideration of his princely virtues, and in this reſpect Boris is entitled to our eſteem. When we add to theſe conſiderations the long chain of calamities which ſucceeded his death, his loſs could not but be ſenſibly felt."

His remains were at firſt depoſited in the Imperial ſepulchre at Moſcow; but were afterwards removed to the convent of the Holy Trinity ‡.

CHAP. VII. — *Hiſtory and Adventures of the Tzar who reigned under the Name of Demetrius. — Seats himſelf on the Throne. — His Character — and Aſſaſſination. — Probably the real Demetrius.*

AMONG the tombs in the cathedral of St. Michael I had occaſion to mention that of a child, called by the Ruſſians Dmitri, or Demetrius, whoſe intricated and controverted hiſtory was reſerved for a ſeparate narrative.

Ivan § Vaſſilievitch II. left two ſons; Feodor who ſucceeded to the throne, and Demetrius, an infant, who was educated at Uglitz under the care of his mother the Tzarina Maria Feodorofna, and in the eighth year of his age was ſaid to have been aſſaſſinated

* Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 247.

† Captain Margaret ſays, that he died of an apoplexy. Etat de la Ruſſie, p. 118.

‡ For the Hiſtory of Boris Godunof, ſee Muller, S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 27 to 249.

§ I had finiſhed this chapter before the publication of L'Eveſque's Hiſtoire de Ruſſie. That ingenious author has, in his account of the perſon who ſtyled himſelf Demetrius, advanced many plauſible arguments to ſhew, that he was probably not an impoſtor; and though they appear to me unanſwerable, and it is eaſy to perceive that he entirely leans to that opinion, yet he candidly concludes with aſſerting, "Pluſieurs objections que j'ai hazardées contre l'impoſture d'Otrépief me paraiſſent d'une grande force, je n'oſerai cependant décider la queſtion" See Hiſ. de Ruſſ. v. iii. p. 226 to 236. It may ſerve, perhaps, as an additional proof in favour of Demetrius, that two foreigners, who viſited Ruſſia, both unbiaſſed by national prejudices, and without the leaſt communication, ſhould hold nearly the ſame opinion upon ſo intricate a ſubject.

by order of Boris Godunof *. The real circumſtances of this aſſaſſination, being purpoſely withheld from the public, are variouſly related: and the following particulars are alone unqueſtionable. A body, ſuppoſed to be that of the young Prince, was found weltering in its blood; and certain perſons, conſidered as the aſſaſſins, were inſtantly put to death by the inhabitants of Uglitz. The account of the cataſtrophe being tranſmitted to Moſcow, Boris Godunof, after circulating a report that Demetrius had, in a fit of phrenzy, put a period to his own life, diſpatched his creatures Vaſſili Shuiſki and Cletchnin to inquire into the circumſtances of his death. Having examined the body of the deceaſed, they declared it to be that of Demetrius, and confirmed the report. Maria Feodorofna, accuſed of groſs inattention to her ſon's ſecurity, was compelled to aſſume the veil, and confined in a convent; many inhabitants of Uglitz, who ſpoke freely concerning the murder, were capitally puniſhed; ſome were impriſoned, and others baniſhed.

Boris Godunof managed this horrid tranſaction with ſuch art and ſecrecy, that ſcarcely any ſuſpicions were entertained againſt him, until thirteen years afterwards a perſon made his appearance under the name of Demetrius: he declared that his mother, ſuſpicious of the attempts againſt her ſon's life, had removed him from Uglitz, and ſubſtituted another child, who was aſſaſſinated in his place; and that, being educated in a convent, and concealed from the knowledge of his perſecutors, he had eſcaped from Ruſſia into Poland. Being there admitted into the ſervice of Wieſnovitſki, a Pole of great diſtinction, he diſcovered himſelf to that nobleman, who warmly eſpouſed his cauſe. Boris Godunof, having received intelligence of this unexpected claimant, diſſeminated a report, that the impoſtor, who aſſumed the name of Demetrius, was a monk ſtyled Gregory or Griſka Otrepief; and ſpared neither threats nor bribes to obtain poſſeſſion of his perſon. When theſe expedients failed of ſucceſs, he diſpatched his emiſſaries into Poland to aſſaſſinate him.

Wieſnovitſki, alarmed for the ſafety of his fugitive, recommended him to the protection of the ſenator George Mniſhek Palatine of Sendomir, a nobleman of great conſequence in Poland. Demetrius (if I may be allowed to call him by that name) being acknowledged by him the rightful heir of the Ruſſian throne, was ſoon afterwards betrothed in marriage to the Palatine's daughter Marina, and, in the beginning of 1603, was introduced to Sigiſmond III. King of Poland. Being admitted to a public audience before the diet, he excited the compaſſion of the aſſembly by the affecting manner in which he related his adventures; and though Sigiſmond and the diet regretted that the ſituation of their country prevented them from openly ſeconding his pretenſions, yet they teſtified the moſt cordial attachment to his intereſts, and laid no prohibition on thoſe nobles

* Muller relates from a Ruſſian manuſcript, that twelve perſons were privy to the murder, amongſt whom were the Prince's nurſe and her ſon, who perpetrated the deed; that it was committed at mid-day in the court-yard of the palace, and that a bell-ringer, who was upon the top of an adjoining cathedral, ſaw the whole tranſaction. Petreus aſſerts, that the Prince was murdered during the confuſion of a fire, purpoſely occaſioned by one of the aſſaſſins. Margaret and Gravenbuck ſay that the aſſaſſin was ſon of the Tzarina Maria's ſecretary; and it is generally affirmed, that it happened at midnight.—The Ruſſian authors naturally prefer the firſt account, becauſe it was more difficult at mid-day to ſubſtitute a child. There is no reaſon to be ſurpriſed at theſe contradictory opinions, when it is conſidered, as L'Eveſque juſtly obſerves, "que Boris ſupprima tous les détails de cet horrible affaire; qu'il trompa le Tzar et le public. Le "public fut donc alors mal inſtruit des circonſtances de cet événement, et le temps n'a pu y ajoûter que de "nouvelles obſcurités. D'ailleurs, comme le dit Margaret, on obſervait en Ruſſie un ſecret ſi profond ſur "toutes les affaires, qu'il etait fort difficile d'apprendre la vérité de ce qu'on n'avait pas vu de ſes yeux." Vol. iii. p. 228.

who

who might be diſpoſed to engage in his ſupport. By the aſſiſtance of his two patrons, Wieſnovitſki and the Palatine of Sendomir, Demetrius entered Ruſſia in the month of Auguſt, 1604, at the head of 4000 Poles; and being ſoon joined by many Ruſſians, particularly by the Coſſacs of the Don, advanced almoſt without oppoſition to Novogorod Severſkoi, and routed in December an army of 40,000 men; but was not long afterwards defeated with great ſlaughter, by Prince Vaſſili Shuiſki General of Boris Godunof. Eight thouſand of his followers were either killed or taken priſoners, and all his artillery and colours fell into the hands of the enemy; his horſe was wounded under him, and he himſelf eſcaped with difficulty.

This overthrow occaſioned the defection of the Poliſh troops; and Demetrius himſelf, diſmayed with his loſs, would have retreated precipitately into Poland, had he not been diſſuaded by the importunities of his Ruſſian adherents; many of whom believed him to be the true Demetrius, and all dreaded the vengeance of Boris Godunof. Overcome by their entreaties he continued his march, and notwithſtanding his late diſcomfiture, was ſoon at the head of a numerous army of Ruſſians, who flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters. Not only the populace, ever prone to credulity, but even men of the higheſt birth and quality, gave credit to his pretenſions; not only the diſtant provinces ſupported his cauſe; but the people roſe even at Moſcow, and publicly proclaimed that Demetrius had eſcaped from his aſſaſſins, and claimed allegiance as their rightful ſovereign. This inſurrection was immediately quelled; but although Boris Godunof inflicted the ſevereſt puniſhment upon his adherents, though the Patriarch publiſhed a ban of excommunication againſt him and his party, and though Vaſſili Shuiſki affirmed that he had himſelf examined the body of the deceaſed Prince at Uglitz; yet an univerſal belief ſpread through all ranks, that the pretender to the throne was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.

The ſudden death of Boris Godunof enſured the ſucceſs of Demetrius. Feodor Boriſovitch, declared ſucceſſor to his father by the Patriarch and nobles who were preſent at Moſcow, was deſerted by the principal Generals of the Ruſſian army, and by many perſons of diſtinction. His troops at this inauſpicious juncture were ſuddenly attacked and defeated; and thoſe who eſcaped were perſuaded to ſwear fealty to his rival, who, ſtrengthened by this acceſſion, advanced by haſty marches towards the capital without the leaſt oppoſition; the highways were lined with people; the towns opened their gates with every demonſtration of joy, while Demetrius ſupported the prepoſſeſſion of the Ruſſians in favour of his birth by the affability of his demeanour, and the gracefulneſs of his perſon. Having publiſhed a manifeſto to the inhabitants of Moſcow, with offers of clemency and favour on their return to their duty, they roſe in arms, ſtormed the place, ſtrangled Feodor Boriſovitch, and recogniſed the title of Demetrius. On the 30th of June the new Tzar entered Moſcow in triumph, and took poſſeſſion of the throne with univerſal approbation. His pretenſions to the crown, as real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch, were confirmed by the public teſtimony of Maria Feodorofna, whom Boris Godunof had impriſoned in a diſtant monaſtery, and whom Demetrius, at his acceſſion releaſed from her confinement. Upon her approach to Moſcow, on the 8th of July, he rode to meet her at the head of a numerous proceſſion, and at the firſt appearance of her carriage, alighted from his horſe, and ran to embrace her. The tenderneſs and affection which both parties diſplayed on this intereſting occaſion drew tears from the ſpectators; and the ſtrong expreſſions of tranſport with which the Tzarina openly acknowledged him for her ſon, ſeemed to confirm the reality of his imperial lineage. Soon after this interview he was crowned with the uſual pomp, and ſeemed firmly ſeated upon the throne, in the poſſeſſion of which he would probably have maintained himſelf by a

conformity to the manners of his ſubjects, and by a prudent deference to their civil and religious eſtabliſhment. But his avowed contempt of the Ruſſian cuſtoms, and his public neglect of their religious ceremonies, ſoon alienated the affections of his ſubjects, and precipitated him from the throne as rapidly as he had aſcended it.

Margaret, who had frequent acceſs to the perſon of Demetrius, has ſketched his portrait in a ſhort but lively manner.

"He had no beard, was of a middle ſtature, and of dark complexion, his limbs were ſtrong and nervous, and he had a wart under his right eye. He was active, ſpirited, and merciful, ſoon offended, and as ſoon appeaſed; liberal, ambitious, and deſirous of making himſelf known to poſterity; in a word, he was a Prince who loved honour, and recommended it by his own example *."

If we ſhould allow that Margaret has concealed many of his defects, and placed his virtues in the moſt advantageous light, yet the acrimony and injuſtice which appears in many parts of the following extracts from his character, as drawn even by Muller, the moſt candid of his opponents, will prevent impartial perſons from giving implicit credit to the repreſentations of his enemies.

"The falſe † Demetrius was of a middle ſize, dark complexion, and had one arm ſhorter than the other. He would have been eſteemed not deficient in wiſdom, had he not been ſo precipitate in his conduct, and had he conformed his behaviour to the diſpoſition and temper of his ſubjects. In Poland he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of languages, arts, and ſciences; he converſed in Latin ‡ and Poliſh with fluency; he was well acquainted with hiſtory, and particularly with that of Ruſſia and the neighbouring kingdoms; he was well verſed in muſic, and poſſeſſed other liberal accompliſhments. On account of his addreſs and good fortune in obtaining the crown, he was eſteemed a magician. Warlike exerciſe and hunting were his principal amuſements. He had ſome knowledge of engineering and artillery, was fond of caſting cannon, and ſhot with ſuch ſkill as to ſurprize the moſt dexterous markſmen. He was zealous to improve the diſcipline of his army, for which purpoſe he would often review his troops, inſtruct them in different manœuvres, ſtorm ramparts and fortifications; and as he was always foremoſt, and the moſt eager among the aſſailants, was often rudely handled in the fray.

"Deſirous to be eſteemed a patron of juſtice, he put to death ſeveral judges who were convicted of iniquitous practices. But was not this mode of proceeding rather a proof of his inclination to cruelty? and might it not ariſe from a deſire of ſtriking terror into his ſubjects §?

"His munificence, for which he has been extolled, was both extravagant and ill-placed; he heaped bounties upon Poliſh muſicians and other minions, and drained the treaſury by enormous expences ‖. Like all voluptuaries he was fickle and impetuous.

All

* Margaret, p. 141. † S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 302, &c.

‡ His underſtanding Latin has been urged againſt him as a proof that he was educated by the Jeſuits. Margaret, however, poſitively aſſerts, that he was not in the leaſt acquainted with that language. Il eſt très certain qui'il ne parloit nullement Latin, j'en puis temoigner, moins le ſcavoit il lire et ecrire. Ibid p. 163.

§ A ſuppoſition which ſhews a ſtrong diſpoſition in the oppoſite party to miſrepreſent the moſt favourable parts of his conduct.

‖ The accounts of his extravagance were groſsly exaggerated. He is ſaid to have given orders for a throne of maſſy ſilver, ſupported by ſix lions of the ſame coſtly materials; and for a footſtool of pure gold, for the ceremony of his coronation, ſtudded with ſix hundred diamonds, ſix hundred rubies, ſix hundred ſapphires, ſix hundred emeralds, ſix hundred Turkiſh ſtones; all of a large ſize, but ſome of the latter were as big as half a pigeon's egg. It muſt be remarked, that this footſtool was already in the treaſury

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All his actions proved an extraordinary proneneſs to prefer his own precipitate reſolutions to the moſt prudent advice, and to adopt the raſheſt meaſures. His ſudden elevation rendered him inſolent; he was ſo ambitious, that even the Ruſſian empire appeared too ſmall to ſatisfy his luſt of dominion, and he extended his views to the reduction of Turkey and Tartary. His ebriety and incontinence were his moſt notorious vices, which frequently expoſed him in the eyes of the public. Beſides the Princeſs Irene, the daughter of Boris Godunof, all who pleaſed him were ſacrificed to his deſires, without the leaſt regard to rank or age *.

"On his acceſſion to the throne he was eaſy of acceſs, but gradually became ſuſpicious of his ſubjects; he had a foreign guard, and often refuſed audience to the Ruſſian nobility, when he admitted the Poles without reſerve. He ſeemed to ſummon the privy-counſellors only for the purpoſe of turning them to ridicule. If a Ruſſian lodged a complaint againſt a Pole, he could never obtain juſtice, and inſult was added to injury. Probably this inſolence was the chief cauſe of his ſubſequent misfortunes; and his fall would at leaſt have been retarded, had he endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the principal nobles. But the circumſtance which principally contributed to his loſs of popularity, was the little reverence which he profeſſed for the ceremonies of the Greek church. On his arrival at Moſcow he entered the two cathedrals with drums beating and trumpets ſounding; he paid no reſpect to the clergy; he made no diſtinction between faſts and feſtivals, would neither bow nor croſs himſelf before the ſacred paintings; he profaned the church by admitting foreigners at the time of divine ſervice, and ſtill more by the number of dogs which followed him upon the ſame occaſion.

"He was not only ſo much attached to the Poliſh cuſtoms and dreſs as to prefer them upon all occaſions; but he even ridiculed the Ruſſian manners, and in every inſtance deviated from the examples of the Tzars his predeceſſors. Inſtead of ſhowing himſelf to the people ſeldom, and only upon extraordinary occaſions with a large retinue, he was accuſtomed to traverſe the ſtreets with a few ſervants; he commonly rode, and, as he was an excellent horſeman, was generally mounted upon the moſt fiery ſteeds; he hunted frequently, had muſic at his repaſts, never ſlept at mid-day, never bathed. Theſe trifling circumſtances were regarded in ſo ſerious a light, that the omiſſion of them rendered him the object of general hatred; and it was commonly reported, that the perſon who could ſhow ſuch a diſtaſte for the cuſtoms of his country, could never be deſcended from the race of ancient ſovereigns. It was an obvious inference, to conſider the deſpiſer of his ſubjects as their enemy. Under ſuch circumſtances his deſtruction ſeemed inevitable †; and yet near a year elapſed before any tumult broke out. At length his marriage with a foreign lady cloſed the ſcene; and it would have been a wonder if he had continued any longer upon the throne."

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when Demetrius aſcended the throne, and was a preſent from the Sophy of Perſia to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 335. Many ſimilar ornaments employed at his coronation had been uſed by the former ſovereigns, who were crowned with Aſiatic magnificence.

* Theſe parts of his conduct were alſo greatly miſrepreſented. L'Eveſque aſſerts, with great appearance of probability, that theſe reports of his incontinence were not founded in truth; and particularly denies that the Princeſs Irene was ſacrificed to his deſires Vol. iii. p. 202.

† Muller relates an account of a match with ſnow-balls between the Ruſſian ſoldiers and Poles; when the latter, at the command of Demetrius, filled the ſnow-balls with ſand and ſtones, by which the Ruſſians (blaue Augen und blutige Koepfe bekamen) received many black eyes and bloody heads. Such abſurd accuſations

Having in Poland betrothed himſelf to Marina, the daughter of the Palatine Mniſchek, he diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to demand her in marriage. The eſpouſals were performed at Cracow, and the bride having made her entry into Moſcow, accompanied with a large ſuite of Poles, was lodged in a nunnery until the ſolemnization of the nuptials: during this interval he diſturbed the devotion of the holy ſiſterhood with repeated feaſts, concerts, and balls, whereby he excited public horror, as a violator of religious diſcipline. By this infatuated behaviour he inflamed the diſaffection of his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that a regular conſpiracy was concerted againſt him. The leader was Prince Vaſſili Ivanovitch Shuiſki, the ſame perſon who had owed his life to the lenity of Demetrius, and on whom this act of clemency had no other effect than to render him more cautious in his ſubſequent machinations againſt his benefactor. Demetrius frequently received intimations from different quarters of a projected inſurrection; the popular odium betrayed itſelf by the moſt alarming ſymptoms; perſons were heard exclaiming in the ſtreets, "The Tzar is an heretick, worſe than a Turk, and not the ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch." But, either from a natural magnanimity that braved all danger, or from the inconſiderate levity of his character, he was inſenſible to all theſe prognoſtics; and by obſtinately perſevering in his unpopular conduct, ſeemed almoſt to invite deſtruction.

The inſurrection broke out early in the morning on the 17th of May. The conſpirators ſecured the principal avenues of the city; the great bell in the Kremlin, the common ſignal of alarm, was tolled; and a confuſed cry was ſpread among the people, that the Poles were preparing to maſſacre the inhabitants. Vaſſili Shuiſki, who ſecretly inflamed the public diſcontents, led the way to the palace, bearing a croſs in one hand, and a ſabre in the other, accompanied by a vaſt multitude armed with the firſt weapons which chance preſented. This party, having overpowered the guards, burſt open the gates of the palace, and ruſhed towards the royal apartment. Demetrius, awakened by the tumult, ſummoned the few guards who were immediately about his perſon, and ſallying, without a moment's deliberation, againſt his aſſailants, hewed down ſeveral of the foremoſt: being ſoon overborn by numbers, he attempted to retreat into the interior part of the palace; but, cloſely preſſed by his purſuers, precipitated himſelf from a window into a court, and diſlocated his thigh with the fall.

Being diſcovered in this deplorable condition, he was re-conveyed to the palace, and brought before Vaſſili Shuiſki, who loaded him with reproaches for his impoſture. Not

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cuſations do not merit ſerious refutation. Many idle tales are alſo gravely related againſt him; and indeed every circumſtance of his conduct was malevolently interpreted. Among the public diverſions which he gave in honour of his marriage, was a fire-work, in which a dragon was repreſented with three heads ſpitting out flames. Such a ſpectacle being uncommon in the country, affrighted the Ruſſians; and it was reported that the Tzar had contrived it on purpoſe to alarm his ſubjects. The Poles were not wanting upon this and all other occaſions to ridicule the ignorance and ſimplicity of the Ruſſians, which increaſed the hatred againſt them and the ſovereign who protected them. A wooden tower was alſo conſtructed near the city, which, upon a certain day, was to be attacked with a cannonade and ſtormed. After the aſſaſſination of Demetrius, Vaſſili Shuiſki publicly aſſerted in a manifeſto, that Demetrius intended to take the opportunity, which the ſtorming of this tower preſented, of maſſacring many inhabitants of Moſcow. The gates of the city were to be ſuddenly ſhut, the cannon to be fired among the people, and thoſe who eſcaped to be hewn in pieces by the Coſſacs and Strelitz, and the Ruſſian nobles to be murdered by the Poliſh troops. This account, ſo improbable in itſelf, is only ſupported by the ſuppoſed confeſſion of two Poliſh nobles, to whom Demetrius is ſaid to have revealed it a day or two before his aſſaſſination; but we may more juſtly believe it to have been a calumny, invented by Vaſſili Shuiſki, to render the memory of his rival more odious. See S. R. G. Vol. v. 342—346.

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diſmayed however, with the menaces of his enemy, he perſiſted * in maintaining himſelf to be the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and appealed to the teſtimony of his mother, who reſided in a neighbouring convent. The firmneſs and conſiſtency of his aſſeverations made a conſiderable impreſſion upon many of the Ruſſian ſoldiers, who peremptorily declared, that they would protect him from all injury, unleſs Maria Feodorofna formally renounced him as her ſon. On this unexpected declaration, Vaſſili Shuiſki, accompanied by ſome Ruſſian nobles of his party, repaired to the convent, and returned inſtantly with the following anſwer from the Princeſs; "The real Demetrius was ſlain at Uglitz; the perſon who at preſent aſſumes his name is an impoſtor; and I was conſtrained by menaces to acknowledge him for my ſon." On the delivery of this meſſage, the unhappy Monarch was inſtantly ſacrificed to the fury of his enemies. Neither was their vengeance appeaſed by his death, but extended even to his inanimate body; it was pierced with repeated wounds, ſtripped and expoſed for three days to the inſults of the populace; it was then depoſited in the public charnel houſe, and afterwards † reduced to aſhes, from a notion that the earth would be polluted by the interment of ſo unholy a corpſe.

The aſſaſſination of Demetrius was followed by a general tumult; the houſes of foreigners were pillaged; and not only the Poles, who fell into the hands of the people, but even many Ruſſians who wore the Poliſh dreſs, were maſſacred. Though this ſtate of anarchy laſted only ten hours, yet more than two thouſand perſons loſt their lives. The dreadful ſcene was finally cloſed by the election of Vaſſili Ivanovitch Shuiſki to the throne of Ruſſia. Manifeſtos ‡ were immediately publiſhed, in which the new Tzar juſtified his conduct, and detailed the hiſtory and fortunes of his predeceſſor, whom he pronounced an adventurer, whoſe real name was Griſka Otrepief. He aſcribes to him an intention of extirpating the principal Ruſſian nobility, and of introducing the Roman Catholic religion into Ruſſia; accuſes him of holding a correſpondence with the Pope for that purpoſe; inſinuates that he had even promiſed to cede the provinces of Smolenſko and Severia to the King of Poland; repreſents him as an heretic and a ſorcerer; diſplays, in the moſt odious colours, his averſion to the manners and cuſtoms of the Ruſſians, his attachment to foreigners, and expatiates with much art upon every part of his character which was moſt likely to excite the public abhorrence. A few days afterwards a manifeſto appeared in the name of the Tzarina Maria Feodorofna, in which ſhe apologizes for having owned the impoſtor for her ſon, and again acknowledges that the real Demetrius was aſſaſſinated at Uglitz; that the impoſtor, at their interview near Moſcow, firſt accoſted her alone §, and threatened her and her family with the moſt cruel torments, if ſhe refuſed to recognize him as her offſpring.

* Mr. Muller ſays, all the Ruſſian writers declare, that he confeſſed his impoſture; but it is certain that he did not; otherwiſe why did Vaſſili Shuiſki repair to the convent to obtain the Tzarina's declaration, when his own confeſſion would have been fully ſufficient.

† It ſeems, by other accounts, that the body was firſt buried without the city; and that the multitude flocked in crowds to the place. "The common people believed that muſic was heard in the night, and that ſpectres were ſeen hovering about the place where he was buried. For theſe reaſons the body was dug up, and ſhot from the mouth of a cannon." Schmidt R. G. vol. i. p. 362. The author of the Ruſſian Impoſtor alſo writes, "The people dug up his poor carcaſe out of an obſcure grave, and after a repetition of barbarities upon him, they burnt the body, and ſcattered the aſhes in the air," p. 125.

‡ Mr. Muller found theſe manifeſtos in the archives of Tſherdin. S. R. G. 347, 364, 366.

§ Habe mit irh geredit ohne daſs jemand von den Boiarne, oder andern Leuten, dabey ſeyn doerfen. S. R. G. vol. v. p. 367. Margaret, on the contrary, who was probably preſent at this interview, ſays expreſsly, "aprés conferences d'un quart d'heur, *en preſence de tous les nobles et de ceux de la ville*, &c. p. 125.

All theſe allegations, however, thus urged againſt the pretenſions of Demetrius, could not efface the prepoſſeſſions entertained by the generality of the Ruſſians in favour of his imperial deſcent. A freſh inſurrection was hourly expected, and ſome tranſient tumults took place, in which Vaſſili Shuiſki narrowly eſcaped deſtruction. In this critical ſtate of affairs he had recourſe to an expedient, for the purpoſe of appeaſing the public ſuſpicions. A rumour being ſpread, that the body of the young Prince, formerly murdered at Uglitz, had performed miracles, a deputation of ſeveral biſhops and nobles was diſpatched to take up the hallowed corpſe from the ſepulchre, and to tranſport it to Moſcow.

"Upon opening the tomb," relates Muller from the Ruſſian archives, "an agreeable odour filled the whole church; the body was uncorrupted, and the very clothes entire; one of his hands graſped ſome nuts that were ſprinkled with blood, and which the young Prince had been eating at the inſtant of his aſſaſſination. His relics were carried in great ſtate to Moſcow: on their approach to the city they were met by Vaſſili Shuiſki, the widow of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and a large concourſe of people, and depoſited with much ſolemnity in the cathedral of St. Michael. During the proceſſion, many troubled with various diſorders were miraculouſly reſtored to health: after the body was placed in the cathedral, thirteen ſick perſons declared themſelves relieved of their complaints by the interpoſition of the ſaint, and the ſame number were healed on the enſuing day *."

Let us contraſt this account with the relation of the oppoſite party.

"On the 4th of June a diſpute concerning Demetrius aroſe between the Strelitz and the people, who aſſerted that he was not an impoſtor. The Tzar and the boyars cry out, The people ſhall have occular demonſtration, that the true Demetrius was killed at Uglitz; his body is now removing to Moſcow, and has performed many ſtupendous miracles. The boyars procured a poor man's child, about thirteen years of age, cut its throat, and having committed it for a few days to the ground, conveyed it to Moſcow, ſhowed it to the people, and declared that this was the true Demetrius, whoſe body, although long interred, was ſtill uncorrupted, which the fooliſh multitude believed, and were appeaſed †."

The reader will judge which of theſe two accounts is moſt likely to be true.

With reſpect to myſelf, I ſhall only add, that having endeavoured to examine the hiſtory of the Tzar Demetrius without prejudice or partiality, I am ſtrongly inclined to believe that he was not an impoſtor, but the real perſonage whoſe name he aſſumed ‡.

CHAP.

* S. R. G. vol. v. p. 371. † Payerne in Schmidt Ruſſ. Geſſ. vol. i. 364.

‡ For the hiſtory of Demetrius, ſee Petreius Moſcov. Chron. Margaret's Eſtat. de la Ruſſie, p. 18 and 19. 111—175. Payerne in Schmidt. Ruſſ. Geſ vol. ii. and particularly Muller's S. R. G. vol. v. p. 181 to 380. That ingenious author has drawn together, in one point of view, the principal events of this troubleſome æra, and has reconciled, as much as poſſible, the contradictory accounts of the different writers: and though he has adopted the Ruſſian prejudices, yet he has given the arguments of the oppoſite party with as much candour as could be expected from an author who wrote in Ruſſia.

Since the publication of this chapter, the death of Muller allows me to declare (what delicacy at that time prevented me from aſſerting) his full conviction that the Tzar was the real Demetrius. "As his impoſture," he ſaid "is an article of faith, I could not venture to publiſh my real opinion in this country. But in peruſing my account with attention, you will perceive that the arguments which I have advanced in favour of the impoſture, are weak and inconcluſive." He added, ſmiling, "If you write on the ſubject, refute me with freedom; but do not mention my confeſſion during my life-time." He then related a converſation with the Empreſs on this ſubject, when ſhe was at Moſcow. "I am informed," ſhe ſaid, "that you doubt whether Griſka was an impoſtor; tell me freely what is your opinion?" Muller reſpectfully evaded the queſtion; but being ſtill further preſſed, replied, "Your Majeſty is well acquainted that the

CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Princeſs Sophia Alexiefna.—Miſrepreſentation of her Character.—Juſtification of her Conduct.—Her Fall and Impriſonment.—Unjuſtly accuſed of attempting to aſſaſſinate Peter.—She aſſumes the Veil.—Her Death.*

SCARCELY any portion in the annals of this country is more important than the minority of Peter the Great; and no character more groſsly miſrepreſented than that of his ſiſter Sophia Alexiefna, who governed Ruſſia during that period. This illuſtrious Princeſs united many perſonal and mental accompliſhments; but as ſhe headed a party in oppoſition to Peter, the idolatry univerſally paid to him has contributed to diminiſh the luſtre of her adminiſtration.

I was led into theſe reflections from a viſit which I paid to the Devitchéi nunnery in the ſuburbs of Moſcow, where Sophia was confined during the laſt ſeventeen years of her life; and as we have ſcarcely any knowledge of her character but through the medium of her adverſaries, I ſhall throw together a few particulars, which induce me to judge favourably of her conduct *.

Sophia

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body of the true Demetrius is depoſited in the cathedral of St. Michael; that he is adored as a ſaint, and his relics perform miracles. What will become of theſe relics ſhould Griſka be proved to be the real Demetrius?" "True," returned the Empreſs, ſmiling, "but let me know what would be your opinion if theſe relics did not exiſt?" Muller, however, ſtill prudently declined giving a direct anſwer, and the Empreſs urged him no farther.

This confeſſion of Mr Muller, who was the moſt able advocate of the opinion, that the Tzar was an impoſtor, might perhaps render it unneceſſary to reprint the remaining part of the chapter, which was principally employed in refuting his arguments; but for the ſatisfaction of the reader, who may wiſh to ſee the ſtatements on both ſides of the queſtion, it is inſerted in the Appendix.

* Three foreign writers have principally contributed to render the character of Sophia extremely odious.

1. The firſt is Gordon, in his "*Life of Peter the Great.*" But his teſtimony is extremely exceptionable, as well on account of his partiality to Peter, as becauſe he was prejudiced againſt Prince Vaſſili Galitzin, Sophia's prime miniſter, for having degraded his relation and patron General Patrick Gordon. See Korb Diarium, p. 216.

2. The ſecond author is La Neuville, in his "*Relation de la Moſcovie,*" who dignifies himſelf with the title of Envoy from the King of Poland to the court of Moſcow, and is generally ſuppoſed to have been reſident in that city at the time of Sophia's fall. His authority, therefore, is deemed unqueſtionable, and the enemies of this Princeſs have not failed to cite it in proof of their accuſations. Any perſon, however, in the leaſt converſant with the hiſtory of Ruſſia, will perceive in this work the groſſeſt contradictions, and the moſt abſurd tales. The author, after loading the character of Sophia with more deceit and cruelty than ever diſgraced a Tiberius, or a Cæſar Borgia, affects the moſt perfect knowledge of the ſecret cabals between her and Prince Galitzin: he aſſerts their intention of marrying, of re-uniting the Greek and Latin churches, of compelling Peter to aſſume the monaſtic habit, or, if that failed, of aſſaſſinating him, of declaring the children of Ivan illegitimate, and of ſecuring the throne to themſelves and their heirs. And as if this chimerical project was ſure of ſucceſs, he adds, Prince Galitzin had ſtill further views: he hoped, by re-uniting Ruſſia to the Roman catholic church, to obtain the Pope's permiſſion (if he ſhould ſurvive Sophia) to appoint his ſon ſucceſſor to the throne, in preference to thoſe whom he ſhould have by the Princeſs, while his wife was alive. But ſuch abſurd accounts carry their own refutation, and the writer who retails them muſt ſurely deſerve no credit, even ſhould he be "le temoin oculaire," as Voltaire ſtyles him, "de ce qui ſe paſſa." But the truth is, this envoy to Moſcow is a ſuppoſititious perſon: the author was Adrien Baillet, who ſtyled himſelf de la Neuville, from a village of that name, in which he was born, and was never in Ruſſia. The "*Relation de la Moſcovie,*" was publiſhed at the Hague in 1699; and was probably compiled by the author from the vague accounts of ſome of Peter's adherents, who in 1697 accompanied that Monarch into Holland.

In Menkeni Bibliotheca, La "*Relation de la Moſcovie*" is mentioned among the works of Adrien Baillet, for an account of whom, ſee Niceron, "*Hommes Illuſtres;*" article Ad. Baillet.

Sophia was born in October, 1658. Her father, Alexèy Michaelovitch, was twice married; by his firſt wife Maria Ilinitchna, of the family of Milolaſki, he had Feodor, Ivan, and ſeveral Princeſſes, among whom was Sophia; and Peter the Great by his ſecond wife Natalia Kirilofna, of the family of Nariſkin. During Maria's life, her family enjoyed conſiderable influence; but after her deceaſe, and upon Alexèy's marriage with Natalia, their power was eclipſed by the ſuperior aſcendancy of the Nariſkins. Hence two parties were formed at court, and perpetual quarrels took place between the children of Alexèy by his firſt wife, and their ſtep-mother Natalia. During this period, Ivan Michaelovitch Milolaſki, the head of that family, endeavoured ſecretly to undermine the Nariſkins: he attributed to their influence the increaſe of the taxes, and the delay in paying the troops, and reproached them as the authors of all the grievances which were urged againſt the government of Alexèy. By theſe and other artifices he laboured to render them unpopular; and having gained a large body of Strelitz *, waited for a favourable opportunity to execute his deſigns †. On the acceſſion of Feodor, his relations, the family of Milolaſki, re-aſſumed their importance, and the Nariſkins were excluded from all ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs.

Sophia gained the affection of her brother Feodor, by the ſuperiority of her underſtanding, inſinuating addreſs, and unwearied attention during his long illneſs. To her the Tzar, whoſe infirmities rendered him unfit to govern, reſigned the direction of affairs, and at her ſuggeſtion, placed his ſole confidence in Prince Vaſſili Galitzin, a nobleman who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf under the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, for his political abilities.

Feodor dying without iſſue, April 1682, Ivan his brother, and rightful heir of the throne, was excluded from the ſucceſſion on account of his incapacity, and his half-brother Peter declared Tzar. In regard to this event, the partizans of Peter endeavoured to eſtabliſh two poſitions: 1. That he was raiſed to this dignity in conſequence of Feodor's expreſs appointment; and 2. By the unanimous voice of the nation.

With reſpect to the firſt poſition, the nomination of Peter ‡; when we conſider that Feodor was governed by Sophia and his own family, it is not probable, that he ſhould act in direct oppoſition to their intereſts; and enſure, by the nomination of Peter, the adminiſtration of affairs to the Nariſkins. This ſtate of the caſe has been lately eſtabliſhed by a Ruſſian hiſtorian §, who informs us, from the authority of authentic records that Peter did not owe his elevation to any declaration of Feodor in his favour, but to

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3. Voltaire has contributed more than any other writer to ſpread reports injurious to Sophia; but the truth of his narrative of her riſe, adminiſtration, and fall, is liable to the ſtrongeſt objections: he draws many facts, urged againſt Sophia, from the work of the ſuppoſed Poliſh envoy, La Neuville, which has been ſhown to be of no authority, and extracts the remainder almoſt ſolely from certain memoirs, which were tranſmitted to him by order of the Empreſs Elizabeth, Peter's daughter.

But the violent prepoſſeſſions conceived againſt the memory of this unfortunate Princeſs begin to ſubſide. Muller has ventured to juſtify her character in ſome inſtances; the author of the "Antidote to the Abbé de Chappe's Journey into Siberia," ſpeaks of her in a favourable manner; and L'Eveſque has evidently ſhown, that her character has been groſsly miſrepreſented. I had already finiſhed this chapter, as well as the laſt, before his hiſtory made its appearance, and though the arguments of that judicious hiſtorian had no ſhare in forming, they certainly confirmed my opinion in favour of Sophia.

* The Ruſſian regiments of guards were called Strelitz, or Streltſi, until they were ſuppreſſed, and the name aboliſhed by Peter the Great.

† Sumorokof's Aufruehr der Strelitzen, p. 4.

‡ "Feodor avant d'expirer, voyant que ſon frère Ivan, trop diſgracié de la nature, était incapable de regner, nomma pour héritier des Ruſſes ſon ſecond frère Pierre," &c. Voltaire.

§ Prince Sherebatof. See Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. vol. v. p. 502.

the ſuffrages of thoſe perſons in whom the right of nominating the ſucceſſor was veſted.

In regard to the ſecond poſition, the unanimity of Peter's election; Muller, who has explored the Ruſſian archives with a view of aſcertaining this point, can ſupply us with no better proofs than the following information *:

"Soon after the death of Feodor, all the ſervants of the court, the officers, and eccleſiaſtics, who were then at Moſcow, aſſembled in the palace and court-yard to kiſs the hand of the deceaſed Monarch; after which ceremony they alſo kiſſed the hands of the two Princes Ivan and Peter, the former of whom was ſixteen, and the latter ten years of age. The ill health of Ivan, the hopeful appearance of Peter, and the well-known prudence and virtue of his mother †, induced all who were preſent to prefer the younger to the older brother, and unanimouſly to raiſe Peter to the throne. The aſtoniſhing quiet and unanimity with which this important affair was accompliſhed, ſeems to prove, that it was preconcerted by the Patriarch and principal nobility. The Patriarch Joachim deſcended from a noble family, was at the head of this tranſaction. The principal courtiers, eccleſiaſtics, nobles, officers, merchants, and a great concourſe of people being aſſembled before the imperial palace, he demanded of them whom they would nominate Tzar, Ivan or Peter; the queſtion *was extremely unuſual*, but, being juſtified by the circumſtances, was anſwered in favour of Peter. Probably the party of Ivan did not foreſee that a younger prince, who was a minor, would be preferred to his elder brother; *and were therefore not prepared to make any oppoſition to the appointment of Peter.*

"Two contradictory accounts of this nomination are given in two of the moſt authentic records in the archives of Moſcow. The firſt informs us that Ivan, as the eldeſt, publicly renounced his right to the crown, before it could be conferred upon Peter: the ſecond makes no mention of this renunciation, but aſcribes the appointment of Peter to the general wiſhes of the nation."

The firſt record in the office for foreign affairs thus relates the tranſaction:

"And the Patriarch Joachim, and the metropolitans and archbiſhops, and all the clergy, and the Siberian and Kaſſimovian princes, and the Boiars and Okolnitſhi, and the Doumnie-Diaki, and the Stolnics and Straeptſhi, and the nobility of Moſcow, and the Shilitſi, and the nobles from the country, and the ſoldiers and Goſti, and the merchants and people, entreated the Princes, Ivan and Peter, that one of them would pleaſe to aſcend the hereditary throne of Ruſſia," &c. And the Tzarovitch Ivan ſaid, "It being advantageous for the public that my brother the Tzarovitch and Great-duke Peter ſhould aſcend the throne of Ruſſia, *becauſe his mother the Tzarina Natalia is alive:* I, therefore, the Tzarovitch and Great-duke Ivan, reſign the throne to the Tzarovitch and Great-duke Peter. And the Tzar and Great-duke Peter aſcended the throne."

According to the other record, which is in the Journal of Occurrences at court:

"The Patriarch demands of the perſons aſſembled for the nomination of the new Sovereign, whom they would elect, Ivan or Peter. And the Stolnics and Straptſhi, and the Nobles, and the Diaki, and the Shilitſi, and the Dietiboiraſki, and the Goſti, and the merchants, and the other people of different ranks, anſwered unanimouſly, that the throne of all the kingdoms of the great Ruſſian empire belonged to Peter Alexievitch: then the Patriarch addreſſed the Boiars, Okolnitſhi, privy councellors, and principal

* Von Peter's des Groſſen erſtern Galangung zum Thron. in Jour Pet. for 1780.

† This Princeſs was then ſcarcely twenty-four years of age, and had given no proofs of prudence and wiſdom. L'Eveſque more juſtly ſtyles her "jeune princeſſe qui n'avoit pu ſe faire encore aucune reputation."

perſons belonging to the court; and the Boiars, &c. anſwered unanimouſly, The Tzarovitch and Great-duke Peter is, by the choice of all the ſtates and people of the Muſcovite empire, Tzar and Great-duke of all Great, Little, and White Ruſſia."

We may remark upon theſe extracts, that being compiled by the friends of Peter, even if they did not contradict each other, their authority would be exceedingly exceptionable; nor could their ſilence, with reſpect to any oppoſition, be conſidered as a ſufficient teſtimony that the ſuffrages in favour of Peter were unanimous; becauſe his adherents would never record any particulars tending in the ſmalleſt degree to invalidate his pretenſions, or ſupport thoſe of Ivan. Beſides, when we recollect the power of the family of Milolaſlki during the reign of Feodor, the influence which Prince Vaſſili Galitzin muſt have acquired from his office of prime miniſter, and particularly the inſinuating manners and popularity of Sophia, (all of whom were bound, not only by the ſtrongeſt ties of intereſt, but even for their common ſecurity, to ſupport the cauſe of Ivan,) it is not probable, that the nomination of Peter was as unanimous as it is repreſented. And indeed it is certain *, that a nobleman, named Sumbalof, objected to the validity of the election, becauſe the younger brother was preferred to the elder; that his remonſtrance was followed by thoſe of many others, and that even the Patriarch Joachim, who is eſteemed by Muller a ſtrong advocate of Peter, ſoon afterwards embraced the party of Ivan: theſe circumſtances ſeem to imply that Peter was not raiſed to the throne by the unanimous voice of the nation; but that the ſuffrages of the aſſembly had been *ſurprized* by the ſecret machinations of the Nariſkins.

Peter, however, by whatſoever means his nomination was obtained, received as ſole Sovereign, the fealty of his ſubjects; and the government was entruſted to his mother Natalia. But the party in oppoſition to Peter was ſtrong and powerful; his election was not as yet confirmed by the whole body of Strelitz, who, to uſe the ſpirited expreſſion of a Ruſſian author, poſſeſſed above fourteen thouſand armed votes †; and their peculiar ſituation at this important juncture rendered them fit inſtruments of a new revolution.

Juſt before Feodor's demiſe, nine of theſe regiments, quartered at Moſcow, having tumultuouſly aſſembled, demanded redreſs of ill-treatment received from their colonels, and an inſtant diſcharge of all their arrears. Prince George Dolgorucki, their chief, having ordered one of the ringleaders to be ſeized, ſtripped, and puniſhed with the knoot, an immediate inſurrection was the conſequence; the executioners were inſulted, and the priſoners reſcued ‡. On the day ſubſequent to the interment of Feodor, the ſoldiers proceeded in a large body to the Kremlin, and preſented a petition againſt nine of their colonels, who being delivered to them by the miniſtry, were publicly whipped and diſcharged §. Ivan Milolaſlki inflamed the diſcontents of this mutinous body, and though confined to his chamber by a pretended ſickneſs, contrived to hold ſeveral interviews with the ringleaders, who aſſembled at night in his palace. Sophia is alſo accuſed of being preſent at theſe meetings, of diſtributing money to the principal inſurgents, and of exaſperating them againſt the family of Nariſkin. On the morning of the 15th of May, a report being ſpread that Peter was not unanimouſly elected, the drums beat to arms by order of Ivan Milolaſlki, and the Strelitz being tumultuouſly aſſembled, two perſons of his party entered their quarters, crying, "The hour of vengeance is at hand, Ivan Alexievitch is aſſaſſinated, and the Nariſkins are maſters of Ruſſia; revenge the murder of the Tzarovitch." The ſoldiers, inflamed to fury by theſe exclamations,

* Sumorokof, p. 55—57.
‡ Gordon, p. 70.
† 14198 bewaffnete ſtimme Sumorokof, p. 19.
§ Gordon, p. 72.; and Voltaire.

marched

marched with drums beating and colours flying to the Kremlin, tolled the great bell, ſurrounded the palace, and demanded the aſſaſſins of Ivan. Although the Tzarina immediately produced both Ivan and Peter; yet the inſurgents were not appeaſed, but vehemently required the execution of the Nariſkins. Their fury was ſtill further augmented by a rumour induſtriouſly circulated, that Ivan Nariſkin, the brother of the Tzarina, had ſeized the diadem and royal robes. In the midſt of this tumult, one of the officers ventured to harangue the ſoldiers; he aſſured them, that Ivan Alexiavitch was in perfect ſafety; that all their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and exhorted them to diſperſe. This harangue ſeemed to make a ſenſible impreſſion, and the tumult was ſubſiding; when Prince Dolgorucki imprudently threatened them with the ſevereſt puniſhment for their mutiny and rebellion: inflamed by this ill-timed menace, they ſeized the Prince, hurled him into the air, received him upon their pikes, and hewed his body to pieces. This aſſaſſination was the prelude to a more general maſſacre, which continued during three days without intermiſſion. Not only the two brothers of the Tzarina, and a few others moſt obnoxious to the inſurgents, fell victims to their fury, but ſeveral perſons, by no means unpopular, were ſacrificed amidſt the general confuſion, and Moſcow underwent a general pillage.

To cloſe this horrid ſcene, the principal nobles aſſembled on the 18th of May, and, by a compromiſe between the two parties, Ivan and Peter were declared joint Sovereigns; but as Ivan was incapable of governing, and Peter in his minority, the adminiſtration of affairs was veſted in the hands of Sophia. Hence concluſions were drawn unfavourable to that Princeſs: ſhe was accuſed of having maintained a ſecret intelligence with the ringleaders of Strelitz, of exciting them by falſe reports to revolt, of ordering money and ſpirituous liquors to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers, and even of delivering them a liſt * of forty nobles whom ſhe had proſcribed. All her actions are malignantly interpreted: when Ivan Nariſkin was led to execution, ſhe publicly accompanied the Tzarina and Patriarch to intercede for his life, placed the image of the Virgin Mary in his hands to ſtop the fury of the Strelitz, and endeavoured, though in vain, to ſooth his aſſaſſins †. They who judge unfavourably of her conduct, ſay, that this compaſſion was only feigned; and that ſhe ſecretly inſtigated his aſſaſſination, though ſhe outwardly affected to intercede ‡. Upon this ſuppoſition, the whole conduct of Sophia implies ſuch a deep-laid ſcheme of hypocricy, artifice, and revenge, as ſeems rather adapted to a politician grown grey in iniquity, and long practiſed in the arts of ſedition, than to a Princeſs like Sophia, only in the twenty-fifth year of her age.

But the cauſes which led to this revolution, may be traced from ſeveral events in the reign of Alexey Michaelovitch, long before Sophia had the leaſt influence in political affairs, and particularly from the domeſtic feuds in the imperial family. It appears alſo that the firſt inſurrection of the Strelitz was caſual; occaſioned by the arrears of pay, and the unpopularity of the colonels, and cannot, with the leaſt degree of probability, be imputed to the intrigues of Sophia; therefore ſhe can only be accuſed, even by the moſt malignant interpretation of her conduct, of availing herſelf of that mutiny to procure the election of Ivan. But there is ſurely a wide difference between aſſerting the injuſtice of his excluſion from the throne; or, under the maſk of moderation and candour, inflaming to

* "Enfin, Sophie," ſays Voltaire, "fait remettre entre leurs mains une liſte de quarante ſeigneurs qu'elle appelle leurs enemis, et ceux de l'Etat et qu'ils doivent maſſacrer." I cannot give credit to this liſt of forty nobles, which Voltaire compares "aux proſcriptions de Sylla et des triumvirs de Rome." Whoever will attentively peruſe the account of the enſuing maſſacre in Gordon, or even in Voltaire, will find that the fury of the Strelitz, except againſt the Nariſkins, was more directed by chance than by deſign.

† Gordon, p. 81. ‡ Sumorokof.

madneſs

madneſs the fury of a diſaffected ſoldiery, and calmly leading them from aſſaſſination to aſſaſſination *.

But is it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Ivan Milolaſlki, who had, during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, formed a party againſt the Nariſkins, ſhould take advantage of the ſedition of the Strelitz, with whom he had long entertained a ſecret intelligence; and that Sophia was the oſtenſible inſtrument of his deſigns? In a word, that ſhe was raiſed to the regency by the cabals of a powerful party, who foreſaw their own ruin in the nomination of Peter; and who, in the midſt of an inſurrection, held forth to this licentious body the unalienable rights of Ivan. Examples were not wanting to prove that the incapacity of Ivan was no bar to his election: a memorable inſtance was exhibited in the perſon of Feodor Ivanovitch, who, notwithſtanding his imbecility, was raiſed to the throne, and a regency entruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs †. It muſt alſo be conſidered, that Peter, then only in his eleventh year, had not diſplayed any inſtances of that vaſt ſuperiority of underſtanding, which afterwards marked his character; and that his mother, who was to ſway the reins of empire, was a perſon of no experience, and extremely unpopular. Nor is it matter of ſurprize that the care of Ivan and the adminiſtration of government ſhould be committed to Sophia. The victorious family would naturally chooſe a regent devoted from intereſt and inclination to their party; a perſon of imperial lineage, popular manners, reſpectable character, and great abilities; all theſe requiſites centered in Sophia.

However authors may have cenſured the ambitious deſigns of Sophia; they unanimouſly concur in delineating her engaging manners, the beauties of her perſon ‡, the vigour and wiſdom of her adminiſtration, and her extenſive plans for the advantage of her country.

Sophia repoſed her principal confidence in Prince Vaſſili Galitzin, commonly known by the name of the Great Galitzin, a moſt able miniſter and conſummate politician. The ſcandalous chronicle of thoſe times, or rather of a later period, attributed her partiality to a ſofter paſſion, though he was above ſixty years of age; and her enemies have not even ſcrupled to declare §, that ſhe had formed the plan of aſſaſſinating the two Tzars, uſurping the throne, and eſpouſing Prince Galitzin, who was to obtain a divorce from his wife.

Sophia ‖ has been alſo accuſed not only of neglecting the education of Peter, but of introducing him into the company of the moſt profligate young men, and encouraging

* "Tandis que les Strelitz commençaient ainſi à ſe faire craindre, la Princeſſe Sophie, *qui les animait ſous main, pour les conduire de crime en crime*," &c. Voltaire.

† S. R. G. vol. i. p. 19.

‡ Weber, the Hanoverian envoy at St. Peterſburg in the beginning of this century, ſays of Sophia, "the Tzar was frequently heard to declare, that, excepting her inordinate ambition, ſhe was a Princeſs of *great perſonal* and mental accompliſhments." Ver. Ruſſ. vol. i. p. 143.——Voltaire cloſes a ſpirited portrait by ſaying, "une *figure agréable* relevoit tous ſes talens." Perry deſcribes her, at the time of the revolution, as a *handſome* young lady, then upwards of twenty-three. He came into Ruſſia in 1702, two years before her death; and though he never ſaw her himſelf, on account of her impriſonment, muſt have known many who had been perſonally acquainted with her. Perry's State of Ruſſia, p. 143.——Sumorokof ſays of her, that ſhe poſſeſſed a good underſtanding and *great beauty*, p. 10.——Many other authors might be quoted to the ſame purpoſe, but as there is nothing which party-malice will not invent to depreciate an obnoxious character, the ſuppoſititious Poliſh envoy, La Neuville, has miſrepreſented her perſon as much as her conduct: "Sophie dont l'eſprit & le merite ne tiennent rien de la *difformité de ſon corps, etant d'une groſſeur monſtreuſe, avec une tête large comme un boiſſeau, du poil au viſage, des loups aux jambes* & au moins 40 ans; mais autant *que ſa taille eſt large, courte, & groſſiere*, autant ſon eſprit eſt fin, delié & politique; & ſans avoir jamais lû Machiavel, elle poſſede naturellement toutes ſes maximes," &c. p. 151.

§ Gordon, p. 86. ‖ Voltaire.

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his propenſity to every ſpecies of exceſs which might enervate his frame, weaken his underſtanding, and render him averſe to buſineſs. This calumny, however, has been amply refuted by Muller *, who has ſhewn, from unqueſtionable authority, that Ivan and Peter had two different courts; the education of Peter was ſolely entruſted to his mother; and if improper perſons were placed about him, the blame muſt fall upon her, and not upon Sophia. With reſpect to his propenſity to drinking, that vice was extremely common in Ruſſia, and Prince Vaſſili † Galitzin was as remarkable for his ſobriety as the favourites of Peter, Le Fort and Boris Galitzin, were notorious for intemperance. "Le Fort," ſays a writer who was in Livonia when the Tzar and his ſuite paſſed through that country in his firſt journey to Holland, "is a man of good underſtanding; very perſonable, engaging, and entertaining; a true Swiſs for probity and bravery, but *chiefly for drinking*. Open tables are kept every where, with trumpets and muſic, attended with feaſting and exceſſive drinking, as if His Tzariſh Majeſty had been another Bacchus. I have not yet ſeen ſuch hard drinkers; it is not poſſible to expreſs it, and they boaſt of it as a mighty qualification ‡."

Thus it appears that Peter had examples of intemperance in his own houſehold; and it cannot be ſuppoſed that Le Fort was the creature of Sophia. The evident falſehood of ſuch virulent accuſations ſhould induce us not to credit other calumnies; particularly the charge that ſhe attempted to deſtroy Peter by poiſon, which, though it failed of its intended effect, diſordered his conſtitution, and occaſionally produced melancholy and deſpair bordering on madneſs. This report took its riſe from his proneneſs to epileptic fits; a diſorder common in his family, which gradually diminiſhed as he grew ſtronger, but never entirely forſook him. Before an attack, the natural vehemence and ſavageneſs of his temper broke out with redoubled violence, and rendered him the terror of all who approached him. The inveterate rancour with which the enemies of Sophia have calumniated her memory, is in no inſtance more evident than from their abſurdly imputing the brutal ferocity of Peter to the effects of poiſon which ſhe adminiſtered §.

But it is time to trace the principal cauſes of her fall. Sophia, to whom Ivan ſurrendered the direction of affairs, aſſumed ſome exterior marks of homage, which ſeem to have been hitherto appropriated only to the ſovereigns of Ruſſia. While the heads of her two brothers were impreſſed on one ſide of the coins, her image, arrayed with

* Journ. of St. Pet. Mar. 1778, p. 168, 169.

† "Galitzin was the only man of quality in Ruſſia who could entertain, without forcing his company to drink to exceſs. Brandy, the liquor which flowed at every other table, was ſeldom ſeen at his, who never drank any himſelf, but took much delight in rational and ingenious converſation."

Mottley's Life of Peter.

‡ Account of Livonia, p. 293.

§ "Il prenoit quelquefois des accès d'humeur chagrine, où il ſemblait frappé de l'idée noire qu'on voulait attenter à ſa perſonne, et ou ſes amis les plus familiers craignaient ſes emportemens. CES ACCES ETAIENT UN RESTE FATAL DU POISON, QU'IL REÇUT DE SON AMBITIEUSE SOEUR SOPHIE. On en connaiſſait l'approche à certains *mouvemens convulſifs de ſa bouche*. L'Imperatrice était avertie. Elle venait lui parler; le ſon de cette voix le calmait à l'inſtant. Elle le faiſait aſſeoir, et s'emparait en le cajolant de ſa tête, qu'elle grattait doucement. C'était comme un charme, qui *l'aſſoupiſſait* en peu de minutes. Pour ne pas troubler ſon *ſommeil*, elle ſoutenait ſa tête ſur ſon ſein, ſans ſe rémuër *pendant deux ou trois heures*. Alors il ſe reveillait, entierement raſſis et rémis, au lieu qu'avant qu'elle eût étudié cette maniére ſi ſimple de le ſoulager, ces accès etaient la terreur de ceux qui l'approchaient, aïant cauſé, dit on, quelques malheurs, et étant ſuivi de *maux de tête affreux, qui duraient des journées entières*." Baſſevitz in Buſ. H. M. ix. p. 294. Strange effects of poiſon given in his infancy. Thoſe who have been uſed to ſee perſons in epileptic fits, will eaſily diſcover all the effects of that diſorder from the words in Italics. Biſhop Burnet ſays, "he was ſubject to convulſive motions all over his body, and his head ſeemed to be affected with theſe."

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the crown, ſceptre, and imperial robe, was ſtamped upon the reverſe; in the public acts her name was added to the ſignature of the two Tzars *, and ſhe appeared in proceſſions decorated with all the enſigns of royalty †; circumſtances which gave umbrage to the rival family, and afforded a ſpecious pretence for inveighing againſt her ambitious deſigns.

Peter, as he advanced in years, and felt himſelf born for empire, beheld with diſſatisfaction the power lodged in the hands of a rival party: encouraged by his mother and her adherents, he claimed a ſhare in the adminiſtration, and took his ſeat, for the firſt time, in the privy council, on the 25th of January, 1688, in the eighteenth year of his age. Sophia, though unwilling to reſign any part of her authority, could not withhold her conſent; but as Peter's ſpirit was above controul, ſhe availed herſelf of ſome violent altercations which paſſed between them, to exclude him from his ſeat. From this period their diſſenſions aroſe to ſo great an height, as to threaten an open rupture; and the fall of the one ſeemed neceſſary for the ſecurity of the other ‡.

Things remained in this ſtate of jealouſy and variance until September, 1689; when the aſpiring genius of Peter acquired the aſcendancy, and ſecured his undivided authority by the fall and impriſonment of Sophia. By the advice of Boris Galitzin and the Nariſkins, Peter reſolved to arreſt his ſiſter, and ſeize the reins of government. It is aſſerted by his adherents §, that Sophia and Prince Vaſſili Galitzin, apprized of his intentions, determined to prevent their own ruin by his aſſaſſination; that they gained over the chief of the Strelitz and a corps of ſix hundred men, and actually commiſſioned them to perpetrate that infamous deed. Peter had retired to ſleep at his palace of Preobaſhenſki near Moſcow; when two ‖ of the conſpirators, it is ſaid, ſtruck with horror at their crime, quitted their companions, and haſtened to the young Tzar with the information, that a body of Strelitz were upon their march to aſſaſſinate him. Peter refuſed to credit their report, until it was confirmed by Boris Galitzin and one of his uncles, whom he diſpatched to reconnoitre; and the conſpirators were already ſo near that he had ſcarcely time to make his eſcape ¶. He inſtantly proceeded to the convent of the Holy Trinity, where troops flocked from all quarters, and in three days he had an army of ſixty thouſand men under his command.

Meanwhile Sophia, in a ſtate of conſternation, denied all intercourſe with the conſpirators, expreſſed the utmoſt horror at their attempt, diſpatched repeated meſſages to her brother to juſtify her conduct, and even ſet off in perſon to aſſert her innocence; but was ordered to return to Moſcow, and deliver the ringleaders of the mutiny. Soon afterwards Peter himſelf repaired to the capital: the principal conſpirators being tortured in his preſence, confeſſed a deſign againſt his life, and ſuffered the ſevereſt puniſh-

* She did not ſign her name in the public decrees until 1687. Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. vol. i. p. 9.

† Theſe circumſtances cannot imply a deſign of uſurping the ſovereign authority; for ſhe was only accuſed, even by her enemies, of ſecretly conſpiring againſt Peter, and not of an open attempt to ſeize the crown.

‡ Journ. of St. Pet. for 1778, p. 175, 176. § Gordon.

‖ It is remarkable, that this ſame ſtory of two conſpirators who were engaged to aſſaſſinate Peter, but, repenting, diſcovered the plot, is again related as happening in 1697. Schmidt. Ruſſ. Geſ. vol. ii. p. 90.

¶ Voltaire, though convinced of Sophia's intention to aſſaſſinate Peter, and notwithſtanding the intelligence he received from the court of Peterſburg, can only give us the following ſcanty information: "La Neuville *réſident alors à Moſcow, et temoin oculaire de ce qui ſe paſſa, pretend que* Sophie et Galitzin engagerent le nouveau chef des Strèlitz à leur ſacrifier leur jeune Czar: il parait au moins que ſix-cent de ces Strelitz devaient s'emparer de ſa perſonne. Les memoires ſecrettes que la cour de Ruſſie m'a confiés, aſſurent que le parti etoit pris de tuer Pierre Premier; le coup allait être porté, et la Ruſſie etait privé à jamais de la nouvelle exiſtence, qu'elle," &c.

ment. Vaſſili Galitzin * was baniſhed into Siberia, and Sophia impriſoned for life in the Devitchèi nunnery; Peter alone aſſumed the reins of government, and found ſufficient ſcope for his vaſt and enterprizing genius; while the name of Ivan was ſtill inſerted, as a matter of formality, in the public acts until his death, which happened in 1696.

Such are the principal circumſtances of this extraordinary revolution; but this is the account given by the victorious party, and the cauſe of Sophia has never undergone a candid examination. It may be impoſſible to exculpate her entirely from ambitious views: ſhe might be unwilling to relinquiſh a power which ſhe had long enjoyed, and exerciſed with great ability; ſhe might eſteem the right of Ivan to the throne as ſuperior to that of Peter, and conſider Peter's acquiſition to the ſole ſovereignty as the certain prelude to her own deſtruction; but we have no poſitive evidence † that ſhe conſpired againſt her brother's life; and perhaps the whole ſtory of the intended aſſaſſination was feigned by Boris Galitzin ‡ and her enemies. She wanted not opportunities of eſcaping from Ruſſia, and never would have imprudently demanded admittance into Peter's preſence, to aſſert her innocence, had the proofs of her guilt been as ſtrong as her adverſaries pretended. In a word, the conflict between Peter and Sophia was the conflict of two rivals impatient of controul, and ſtriving for pre-eminence; the cauſe of the ſucceſsful party was deemed juſt and equitable, and the vanquiſhed faction loaded with every ſpecies of enormity.

The reſtleſs ſpirit of Sophia, brooding in the ſolitude of a convent, is ſaid to have excited freſh troubles and inſurrections; and, during her life, no conſpiracy was formed againſt Peter, in which ſhe was not ſuſpected of being concerned. She was more particularly accuſed of being privy to the rebellion in 1697; when eight thouſand Strelitz, ſeizing the opportunity of Peter's abſence upon his travels, roſe in arms on the frontiers of Lithuania, and marched towards Moſcow. The rebels were defeated by the addreſs and courage of General Patrick Gordon; many were put to the ſword, and the remainder ſurrendered at diſcretion. The Tzar received at Vienna the account of the mutiny and defeat of the Strelitz, and inſtantly haſtened to Moſcow to examine the delinquents in perſon.

Peter was anxious to diſcover the cauſes of the rebellion; to learn by whoſe intrigues it was excited, and, above all, to convict Sophia, whom he charged with fomenting the public diſcontents, and holding a correſpondence with the rebels. But as no perſons could give immediate and pertinent anſwers to his queſtions, he entertained ſuſpicions of all his courtiers, and determined to inſtitute a court of inquiry at his palace of Preobraſhenſki, where the inſtruments of torture were brought. The Tzar himſelf examined the accuſed, urged them to confeſſion, and ordered thoſe who maintained ſilence to be racked in his preſence. The cruelty of the tortures employed on this occaſion was inexpreſſibly dreadful; human nature ſhudders at the recital; but it is neceſſary to mention them in juſtification of Sophia. Some of the rebels were repeatedly whipped;

* This able miniſter ſurvived his fall twenty-four years; he was releaſed from priſon in 1711, and died at his own eſtate in 1713.

† We have no certain proofs that any of the conſpirators accuſed Sophia of being privy to any deſign upon Peter's life; and, even if they did name her as an accomplice, their evidence, extorted by the rack, is by no means to be depended on.

‡ It appears from the following paſſage, that the diſcovery of Sophia's deſigns came from that quarter: "Prince Boris Galitzin, a faithful ſubject of the Tzar Peter, coming timely to penetrate into his kinſman's Prince Baſil's deſigns, put the Tzar upon his guard, adviſing him, without delay, to take the government into his hands." Gordon, vol. i. p. 89.

others had their ſhoulders diſlocated by a cord and pulley, and in that painful poſture received the knoot: many after undergoing the knoot, were roaſted over a ſlow fire, the raw parts being expoſed to the flame *. Phyſicians were preſent to aſcertain the degree of pain which the unhappy convicts were capable of ſupporting, and to recover thoſe who had fainted, that the application of freſh tortures might recommence with the renewal of their ſtrength. This dreadful inquiſition was continued, without intermiſſion, throughout the whole of month of October. Not only every ſpecies of puniſhment, the moſt refined which human cruelty could deviſe, was inflicted in order to extort an accuſation of Sophia; but promiſes of pardon, and even of great promotion, were offered for the ſame purpoſe to the wretched ſufferers in the midſt of the moſt excruciating agonies †.

At length a few of the Strelitz ‡, overcome by the ſeverity of the torments, or ſeduced by hopes of pardon and the promiſe of promotion, confeſſed an intention to ſet fire to the ſuburbs of Moſcow, to maſſacre all foreigners, to baniſh or aſſaſſinate the principal nobility, to raiſe the Tzarovith Alexèy to the throne, and to appoint Sophia regent during his minority; others declared that the ringleaders had drawn up a petition, which they intended to preſent to that Princeſs, praying her to accept the adminiſtration of affairs.

Although none of the rebels charged Sophia with being acceſſary to their inſurrection, yet Peter was ſo prejudiced againſt her that he put to the torture one of her female attendants; and when no evidence of guilt could be procured by that horrid expedient, even examined her in perſon. The Princeſs, whoſe high ſpirit was ſubdued by her misfortunes, and worn out by a long confinement, could not refrain from weeping at the ſight of her obdurate brother; and even extorted tears from Peter himſelf, though without melting his reſentment §. But neither this, nor every other effort employed to convict her, was attended with ſucceſs; and the only proof of her ſecret correſpondence with the rebels was derived from the confeſſion of a boy belonging to an officer of the Strelitz, who declared, that letters incloſed in loaves of bread had paſſed between Sophia and his maſter ‖. The officer, however, peremptorily denied the fact even upon the rack, and was led to execution, perſiſting to the laſt moment in this aſſeveration. The caſe ſeems to be, that the innovations of Peter created a conſiderable number of malcontents; that the introduction of the European diſcipline, and his partiality to the foreign regiments, inflamed the diſaffection of the Strelitz to ſuch a degree as to account for their rebellion, without ſuppoſing any cabals on the part of Sophia; that ſhe had long been the object of affection to all the enemies of Peter, and was naturally the perſon to whom they would conſign the adminiſtration had the revolt been attended with ſucceſs.

* It appears from Olearius, and other travellers into Ruſſia, that theſe tortures were ordinarily uſed in that country for the purpoſe of forcing confeſſion.

† This account is extracted from the Diary of Korb, (vol i. p. 149) ſecretary of the Auſtrian embaſſy to Ruſſia in 1697, who was preſent at Moſcow during theſe horrid proceedings. He received information from ſeveral German officers in the ſervice of Peter, who were eye-witneſſes. Korb's authority is alſo to be depended on in this inſtance, becauſe he ſpeaks highly in favour of Peter, and condemns the ambition of Sophia. Gordon alſo, though ſo partial to Peter, informs us, that the rebels were tortured and examined in his preſence.

‡ "Quorundam pertinaciâ denum victâ. Korb.

§ "Ad monaſterium Neo virginum diſceſſit Tzarus, ut ſororem ſuam Sophiam, dicto monaſterio incluſam, examinaret; publice enim nuperi tumultus vulgo rea habebatur: primus utriuſque introitus uberrimas amborum lacrymas exciviſſe dicitur." Korb.

‖ Gordon, vol. i. p. 129, 130.

Peter

Peter was extremely exaſperated againſt Sophia, and once determined to put her to death; but having changed his reſolution, compelled her to aſſume the veil. To ſtrike her with terror, and announce to the public that he thought her privy to the rebellion, two hundred and thirty Strelitz were hanged withing ſight of the nunnery in which ſhe was confined, and three of the ringleaders ſuſpended upon a gibbet erected cloſe to the window of her apartment *; they held in their hands petitions ſimilar to that which, according to the confeſſion of the Strelitz, was to have been preſented to Sophia.

From this period hiſtory is ſilent in relation to Sophia: ſhe was confined under a ſtrict guard in the monaſtery until her death, in July 1704. She was interred in the church of the convent; the tomb is covered with a black cloth, and contains this inſcription: "A. M. 7212 (or 1704 of the Chriſtian æra) on the third of July, died Sophia Alexiefna, aged forty-ſix years, nine months, and ſix days; her monaſtic name was Suſanna. She had been a nun five years, eighth months, and twelve days: ſhe was buried the fourth in this church, called the Image of Smolenſko. She was daughter of Alexèy Michaelovitch, and of Maria Ilinitchna."

Although Peter always ſuſpected the intrigues of his ſiſter, yet he never failed paying a juſt tribute to her genius and abilities. "What a pity," he was frequently heard to ſay, "that ſhe perſecuted me in my minority, and that I cannot repoſe any confidence in her! otherwiſe, when I am employed abroad, ſhe might govern at home †."

One ſtriking feature in Sophia's character, which I had no opportunity of mentioning, while my inquiry was chiefly confined to her political conduct, muſt not be omitted. She deſerves the veneration of poſterity for patronizing perſons of genius and learning, and encouraging, by her own example, the introduction of polite literature into Ruſſia, then plunged in the deepeſt ignorance. At a period when there was no national theatre, and when the loweſt buffooneries, under the name of *moralities*, were the ſole dramatic repreſentations even at court, this elegant Princeſs tranſlated the *Medecin malgré lui* of Moliere into her native tongue, and performed one of the characters herſelf. She alſo compoſed a tragedy, probably the firſt extant in the Ruſſian language; and ſhe compoſed it at a time when the moſt violent cabals were excited againſt her miniſtry, and when the moſt weighty affairs ſeemed to engroſs her ſole attention.

* Gordon, p. 95, 130. Korb, who ſaw them hanging, ſays, "Tam prope ad ipſas Sophiani cubiculi feneſtras, ut Sophia eoſdem manu facile poſſet attingere." On this occaſion above two thouſand Strelitz ſuffered capital puniſhment. Peter broke at the ſame time the whole body of Strelitz, and aboliſhed their name.

† This anecdote, which I received from Volkonſki, is confirmed by a paſſage in Perry's State of Ruſſia. "I remember that upon a certain occaſion, when mention was made of her [i. e. Sophia], the Czar himſelf gave her this character, that ſhe was a princeſs endowed with all the accompliſhments of body and mind to perfection, had it not been for her boundleſs ambition, and inſatiable deſire of governing." Vol. i. p. 138.

CHAP. IX.—*Journey from Moſcow to Novogorod.—Production of the neighbouring Country.—Quadrupeds.—Birds.—Fiſh.—Deſcription of the Sterlet.—Torſhok.—Viſhnèi-Voloſhok.—Valdai Hills and Lake.—Bronitza.—Wooden Road.—Further Account of the Peaſants.—Yamſhics, who furniſh Poſt-horſes.—Songs of the Peaſants.*

WE quitted Moſcow on the 14th of September, traverſed a gently riſing country, partly open, and partly overſpread with foreſts, paſſed the night at the village of Parſki, in a peaſant's cottage, as uſual, and changed horſes the next morning at Klin, ſituated upon the Seſtra, a broad rivulet. This village had been lately burnt, and the peaſants were engaged in rebuilding their huts: near it we obſerved a ſaw-pit, which, in this country, was too rare an object not to attract our notice. Beyond Savidof we croſſed a rivulet, and ſoon after reached the banks of the Volga, which we coaſted to Gorodna. The next morning the ſprings of our carriage being ready to ſtart, and one of the wheels in a crazy ſtate, we left it to the care of our ſervants, and hired the carts of the country, called *kibitkas*, which we filled with hay. After a conſiderable degree of jolting, we arrived at Tver, which is magnificently ſituated upon the elevated banks of the Volga.

Tver * owes its origin to Vlodimir Georgivitch, Great-duke of Vlodimer, who in 1182 raiſed a ſmall fortreſs at the junction of the Tvertza and Volga, to protect his territories againſt the incurſions of the inhabitants of Novogorod. Afterwards, in 1240, the Great-duke Yaroſlaf II. built another citadel on the ſpot now occupied by the preſent fortreſs, and laid the foundation of a new town, which increaſing in population and wealth, became the metropolis of an independent ſovereignty, called from the town the duchy of Tver. Yaroſlaf III., ſon of Yaroſlaf II., and brother of Alexander Nevſki, received this duchy as his inheritance, and tranſmitted the ſucceſſion to a long train of deſcendants. The laſt ſovereign of this line was Michael Boriſovitch, whoſe ſiſter Maria eſpouſed the Great-duke Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. Notwithſtanding this alliance, an open rupture enſued, and in 1486, Ivan beſieged Tver with a large army, and compelled Michael to abandon the town, and retire into Lithuania. On his retreat, Ivan Vaſſilievitch beſtowed the town and duchy as a fief on his eldeſt ſon Ivan, and on his death in 1490, annexed them to his other dominions.

Tver is divided into the old and new town; the former, ſituated on the oppoſite ſide of the Volga, conſiſts almoſt entirely of wooden cottages; the latter was ſcarcely ſuperior; but in 1763, being deſtroyed by a dreadful conflagration, has riſen with luſtre from its aſhes. The Empreſs ordered a regular plan of a new town to be ſketched by an eminent architect, and enjoined that all the houſes ſhould be re-conſtructed in conformity to this model. She raiſed, at her own expence, the Governor's houſe, the Biſhop's palace, courts of juſtice, the new exchange, priſon, and other public edifices; and offered to every perſon, who would build a brick houſe, a loan of 300l. for twelve years without intereſt. The money advanced on this occaſion amounted to 60,000l.; and one-third of this ſum has been ſince remitted. The ſtreets, which are broad and long, iſſue in a ſtraight line from an octagon, in the centre: the houſes are of brick ſtuccoed white, and form a magnificent appearance. Part only of the new town was finiſhed: when completed, it will conſiſt of two octagons, with ſeveral ſtreets leading to them, and

* See Hiſt. Geog. Beſchreibung der Stadt Twer, &c. Journ Pet. for November 1780.

interſecting each other at right-angles; and would be no inconſiderable ornament to the moſt opulent and civilized country *.

There is an eccleſiaſtical ſeminary at Tver, under the inſpection of the Biſhop, which admits ſix hundred ſtudents. In 1776, the Empreſs founded a ſchool for the inſtruction of two hundred burgher's children; and in June 1779, an academy for the education of the young nobility of the province.

Tver is a place of conſiderable commerce; and both the Volga and the Tvertza were covered with boats. It owes its principal trade to the advantageous ſituation, near the conflux of the two rivers, which convey all the goods and merchandize ſent by water from Siberia and the ſouthern provinces towards Peterſburgh.

The Volga, the largeſt river in Europe, riſes in the foreſt of Volkonſki, at the diſtance of eighty miles from Tver, and begins to be navigable a few miles above the town. By means of the Tvertza, a communication is made between the Caſpian and the Baltic; as will be explained in a future chapter. The number of barges which paſſed by the town in 1776 amounted to two thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven; in 1777, to two thouſand ſix hundred and forty-one, and the average number is generally computed at two thouſand five hundred and fifty. The boats are flat-bottomed, on account of the frequent ſhoals, and are conſtructed with new planks. The rudders have a ſingular appearance; the handle being a tree of fifty feet long, with a pole fixed to a broad piece of timber floating on the ſurface. The pilot ſtands upon a kind of ſcaffold, at the diſtance of thirty or forty feet from the ſtern, and turns the rudder by means of the long handle. Theſe boats are only built for one voyage, and on their arrival at Peterſburgh are ſold for fuel.

I have already mentioned the prodigious waſte of wood ariſing from the cuſtom of forming planks with the axe. To prevent this practice, which was no leſs uſual among the ſhipwrights than among the peaſants, orders were iſſued by government, that each veſſel paſſing the Tver, in which was one plank faſhioned with the hatchet, ſhould pay a fine of 6l. In conſequence of this decree the officer, who levied the fine, collected the firſt year 6000l., the ſecond 1500l., the third 100l., and the fourth nothing. By this judicious regulation the uſe of the ſaw has been introduced among the Ruſſian ſhipwrights, and will probably in time recommend itſelf to the carpenters and peaſants.

The riſing ſpirit of commerce has added greatly to the wealth and population of the town. It contains at preſent ten thouſand ſouls, and the number of inhabitants in the government of Tver has increaſed in a ſurpriſing degree: a circumſtance which ſhews the advantages ariſing from the new code of laws. Tver was the firſt province in which that code was introduced, and has already experienced the beneficial effects of theſe excellent regulations.

Tver being a large town, we concluded that we ſhould find no difficulty in obtaining the neceſſary repairs for the carriage, ſo as to enable it to convey us, during two or three days, without requiring further aſſiſtance. Truſting, therefore, to the workmanſhip of a Ruſſian ſmith, we ſet off at ſix in the evening with the expectation of reaching in four hours the next poſt, where we purpoſed to paſs the night; but we had ſcarcely proceeded ten miles, before we perceived that the wheel, inſtead of being ſtrengthened, was weakened by the ſmith's unſkilfulneſs. In this ſituation we ſtopped at a ſmall village, where it was not poſſible to procure any aſſiſtance, nor even a candle to ſmear the

* According to Heym, the circumference of Tver is fourteen verſts, and it contains two thouſand one hundred and ſixty three houſes, moſtly wooden, twenty-ſix churches, and a monaſtery. The population is eight thouſand and fourteen males, and ſeven thouſand and eighty-one females.

wheel

wheel, which required a conſtant ſupply of greaſe to prevent it from taking fire; and as the next place in our route, likely to afford a new wheel, was above ſixty miles, we prudently returned to Tver. I conſoled myſelf for this delay; as it gave us an opportunity to pay more attention to the town and environs, than our tranſient ſtay had permitted. We took up our abode at the ſame houſe we had juſt quitted, an inn kept by a German, and one of the new magnificent brick edifices lately erected, but almoſt without furniture or beds.

On the following day we made an agreeable excurſion into the adjacent country: after croſſing the Volga over a bridge of boats, and the Tvertza over a raft, we rode between the banks of thoſe two beautiful rivers. We then left the Volga to purſue its courſe towards the Caſpian Sea, watering, as it paſſes, the moſt fertile provinces in Ruſſia, and bathing the walls of Caſan and Aſtracan, and made a circuit in the environs of Tver: we frequently ſtopped to admire ſeveral delightful views of the new town, proudly ſeated upon the ſteep bank of the Volga, the country gently ſloping towards the river.

Tver lies in the midſt of a large plain, interſperſed with gentle acclivities. The country produces in great abundance wheat, rye, barley, oats, buck-wheat, hemp and flax, and all ſorts of vegetables. The foreſts yield oak, birch, alder, poplar, mountain-aſh, pines, firs, and junipers. The quadrupeds, which rove in the neighbouring country, are elks, bears, wolves, and foxes; wild goats and hares; alſo badgers, martens, weaſels, ermines, ferrets, ſquirrels, and marmottes. The principal birds are eagles and falcons, cranes, herons, ſwans, wild-geeſe and ducks, partridges, quails, woodcocks and ſnipes, black game; alſo crows and ravens, magpies and blackbirds, ſparrows and ſtarlings; together with nightingales, linnets, larks, and yellow-hammers. The fiſh caught in the Volga are ſalmon, ſterlet, tench, pike, perch, groundlings, gudgeons, and ſometimes, but rarely, ſturgeon and beluga.

The ſterlet, *acipenſer ruthenus* of Linnæus, is probably peculiar to the northern parts of the globe, and is a ſpecies of ſturgeon highly eſteemed for flavour, and for its roe, from which the fineſt caviare is made. It is diſtinguiſhed from the other ſturgeons by its colour and inferior ſize, being ſeldom more than three feet in length *. The top of the head and back are of a yellowiſh grey, the ſides of the body whitiſh, the belly white, mixed with roſe-colour, eſpecially towards the mouth and vent, the eyes are of a ſky-blue, encircled with white. The ſnout is long and pointed, compreſſed and fluted. The mouth is tranſverſe, with thick prominent lips, which it has the power of drawing inwards, with a beard, conſiſting of four ſmall and ſoft *cirrhi*, or wattles. It has five rows of pointed bony imbricated ſcales, one upon the back, two along the ſides, and two under the belly; the row upon the back begins from the neck, and reaches to the dorſal fin; the number †, by which Linnæus aſcertains the ſpecies, and fixes at fifteen, varies from fourteen to ſeventeen. The two ſide rows begin from the upper angle of the gill-covers, and reach to the middle of the tail; their form is flat in the middle, with dentated margins turning towards the tail; their number varies from ſixty to ſeventy. The two rows, which lie under the belly, reach from the pectoral towards the ventral fins; they are four-ſided, much ſmaller than thoſe upon the back, and thicker than thoſe on the ſides. Beſides theſe five rows, there are alſo ſome adipoſe bony ſcales between the tail and the vent; their number invariably five. The reſt of the ſkin is

* Lepekin's Reiſe, vol. ii. p. 154. and Pallas's Reiſe, part ii. p. 446.

† Acipenſer Ruthenus cirris 4. ſquamis dorſalibus 15. Muſ. Fred. I. p. 54. and Taun. Sue. 272.—In the Syſt. Nat. p. 403, he defines it, Acipenſer ordinibus 5. ſquamarum oſſearum, intermedio oſſiculis 15.

without

without ſcales, but extremely rough to the touch. It has, like moſt other fiſh, two pectoral fins, two ventral, one anal, one dorſal, and the tail is forked *. Many authors have erred in ſuppoſing this fiſh to be peculiar to the Volga and the Caſpian Sea, for they frequent many other rivers, lakes, and ſeas, of the Ruſſian empire. According to Muller, they are caught in the Dnieper, and ſeveral rivers falling into the Frozen Ocean, particularly the Lena †. Lange aſſerts, that they are found in the Yeniſei; Pallas deſcribes them as inhabiting the Irtiſh, Oby, and Yaik; Georgi mentions them among the fiſh of the lake Baikal, and ſometimes in the Angara. We learn from Linnæus, that by order of Frederic I. King of Sweden, ſome live ſterlets, procured from Ruſſia, were thrown into the lake Mæler, where they propagated ‡. They have been ſometimes caught in the Gulf of Finland, and even in the Baltic; yet are not ſuppoſed natives of thoſe ſeas, but ſtray fiſh, which eſcaped from ſome veſſels daſhed to pieces in paſſing the falls of the river Maſta §.

Sept. 19. Having obtained the valuable acquiſition of a new wheel, we proceeded on our journey in the afternoon, and reached before the cloſe of the evening, Torſhok, which is ſituated upon the banks of the Tvertza. It is a large ſtraggling place, conſiſting chiefly of wooden buildings, intermixed with a few public ſtructures, and brick houſes, lately erected at the expence of the Empreſs.

Although Torſhok was only forty miles diſtant from Tver, we eſteemed it a fortunate circumſtance, that, during that ſpace, no accident happened to our carriage. But we were not ſo ſucceſsful on the enſuing day; for the axle-tree breaking about ſix miles from Vidropuſk, we walked to the village, and having procured a temporary axle-tree to ſupport our infirm vehicle, again proceeded in *kibitkas* as far as Viſhnei-Voloſhok; a place remarkable for the canal, which, by uniting the Tvertza and the Maſta, connects the inland navigation between the Caſpian and the Baltic.

Viſhnei-Voloſhok, one of the imperial villages enfranchiſed by the Empreſs, and endowed with conſiderable privileges, has already reaped many benefits from its new immunities. The inhabitants, raiſed from the ſituation of ſlaves to that of freemen, have ſhaken off their former indolence, and caught a new ſpirit of emulation and induſtry: they have turned their attention to trade, and are awakened to a ſenſe of the commercial advantages poſſeſſed by the place of their abode. The town is divided into regular ſtreets, and is already provided with a large range of ſhops and warehouſes, which line each ſide of the canal. All the buildings are of wood, excepting the court of juſtice erected at the charge of the Empreſs, and four brick houſes belonging to a rich burgher. During our ſtay at Viſhnei-Voloſhok, we did not fail to examine, with great attention, every part of the celebrated canal, of which an account will be given in a future chapter ‖.

Having procured a new axle-tree, we quitted, on the 21ſt, Viſhnei Voloſhok, croſſed the river Shlina, and continued along a timber road, carried over extenſive moraſſes,

* The reader will find an engraving of the ſterlet in the Muſeum Fred. I. of Linnæus, in le Bruyn's Travels, vol. i. p. 89; and in Lepekin's Reiſe, Table 9.

† S. R. R. G. ix. p. 4. Haygold's Ruſsland, vol. ii. p. 416. Pallas's Reiſe, part i. p. 284. part ii. p. 446. Georgi Reiſe, vol. i. p. 177.

‡ Faun. Suec. No. 272.

§ Bruce relates in his Memoirs, that ſome veſſels "going for Peterſburgh with live fiſh, called Sterlit, in paſſing the falls of Ladoga, were beat to pieces, by which accident the fiſh regained their liberty, and ſome of them were afterwards taken at Cronſtadt, and one catched at Stockholm, which were conſidered as great curioſities, as none of them had ever been ſeen in thoſe ſeas before." P. 112.

‖ On the inland Navigation of Ruſſia, book vi. c. 7.

and abounding with innumerable ſmall bridges, without railing, and moſtly in a ſhattered ſtate. I obſerved ſeveral villages, as well as fields and gardens, ſurrounded with wooden palliſadoes, about twelve feet in height, which preſented a pictureſque appearance. The cuſtom of encircling villages in this country with ſtakes is very ancient; for among the earlieſt laws of Ruſſia, one enjoins * the peaſants, under pain of the knoot, to ſurround the towns and villages with palliſadoes. Theſe encloſures were intended as a defence againſt the deſultory incurſions of the Tartar hordes before the invention of gunpowder; and the practice has been preſerved among a people tenacious of old uſages.

The country was for ſome way almoſt a continued bog, covered with foreſt, and the villages were built on eminences of ſand riſing out of the moraſs. We paſſed the night at Kholiloff, a ſmall village, which had been lately conſumed by fire. Theſe repeated conflagrations will by no means appear a matter of wonder, when it is conſidered that the cottages are built with wood, and that the greater part of the peaſants, like thoſe in Poland, uſe, inſtead of candles, long ſlips of lighted deal, which they carry about the houſe, and even into hay-lofts, without the leaſt precaution. The next morning, the bad roads having ſhattered our new wheel, which was aukwardly put together, and already diſcovered ſymptoms of premature decay, we ſtopped to repair: but the repairs were as treacherous as the original fabric; for, before the end of the ſtage, it again broke, and we were delayed ſome hours at Yedrovo before we could venture to continue our journey. We now thought ourſelves bleſſed with the aſſiſtance of a very maſterly mechanic, as his workmanſhip laſted to Zimagor, a ſmall village, prettily ſituated upon the borders of the lake Valdai. The ſurrounding country is the moſt agreeable and diverſified which we traverſed ſince our departure from Moſcow. It riſes into gentle eminences, and abounds with beautiful lakes, prettily ſprinkled with woody iſlands, and ſkirted with foreſt, corn-fields, and paſtures. The largeſt of theſe lakes is called Valdai, and ſeems about twenty miles in circumference; in the middle is an iſland containing a convent, which riſes with its numerous ſpires among cluſters of ſurrounding trees †. Valdai, which gives its name to the lake, and to the range of hills, contains ſeveral new brick buildings, and even the wooden houſes are more decorated than the generality of Ruſſian cottages; it lies upon an agreeable ſlope, and commands a pleaſant view of the lake. The Valdai hills, though of no conſiderable elevation, are the higheſt in this part of the country; and ſeparate the waters which flow towards the Caſpian from thoſe which take their courſe to the Baltic. From their termination, the country was no longer diverſified with hill and dale, and enlivened with lakes; but preſented an uniform flat, with a vaſt extent of moraſs.

On the 24th, in the afternoon, we arrived at Bronitza, a village upon the Maſta, within 20 miles of Novogorod. We took up our abode in the houſe of a Ruſſian prieſt, which in no wiſe differed from the other buildings. It was however clean and comfortable; having a chimney, and being provided with plenty of wooden and earthen utenſils. The Prieſt, not being attired in his clerical habit, was dreſſed like the peaſants, and only diſtinguiſhed by his long and flowing hair. He, his wife, and the reſt of the family, were buſily employed in extracting the roe from large quantities of fiſh, which are caught in the Maſta, and with which an excellent caviare is prepared. Having obtained from our landlady the choiceſt of theſe fiſh, and procured in the village a brace of ptarmigans, a

* Haygold, vol. i. p. 357.

† In this convent the unfortunate Ivan, who was depoſed by Elizabeth, ſuffered a temporary confinement. See book v. chap. ii.

bird

bird of the partridge ſpecies, we ſauntered out while ſupper was preparing, towards a neighbouring hill, which attracted our attention.

Two miles from the village, in the middle of a vaſt plain, riſes, in a circular form, an inſulated hill of ſand and clay; the lower parts are thickly ſtrewed with detached pieces of red and grey granite, ſimilar to many others which appear about the adjacent country, I meaſured one of theſe maſſes, and found it twelve feet broad, eight thick, and five above the ſurface of the ground *.

On the ſummit ſtands a brick white waſhed church, which is a pleaſing object from the adjacent grounds †. From the top we had a ſingular and extenſive proſpect. Beneath, the country is ſomewhat open, and divided into large enclоſures of paſture and corn; towards the ſouth riſe the Valdai hills, ſkirting an immenſe plain, which ſtretches towards the north, eaſt, and weſt, as far as the eye can reach; a vaſt expanſe without a ſingle hillock to obſtruct the view; it ſeemed an endleſs foreſt, dotted with a few ſolitary wooden villages, which appeared ſo many points in a boundleſs deſert. Beyond, at a great diſtance, we obſerved the ſpires of Novogorod, and the lake Ilmen ſcarcely diſcernible through the thick gloom of the trees.

The forwardneſs of the harveſt in this northern climate has been already mentioned: it had been ſome time taken in, and the new corn was ſpringing up in many places. The corn remains, during winter, buried under ſnow; at the melting of which, in ſpring, it ſhoots up ſpeedily in theſe countries, where vegetation is rapid, on the returning warmth of the ſeaſon. But as the ſhortneſs of the ſummer does not always allow the grain time to ripen, the peaſants uſe the following method of drying it. They raiſe a wooden building, without windows, ſimilar to the ſhell of the cottages; under this ſtructure is a large cavity, in which a fire being made, the corn is laid upon the floor and dried; it is then hung upon frames in the open air, and afterwards threſhed.

In this part of our journey, we paſſed numberleſs herds of oxen, moving towards Peterſburgh; moſt of them were driven from the Ukraine, the neareſt part of which country is diſtant eight hundred miles from the metropolis. During this long progreſs the drivers ſeldom enter any houſe; they feed their cattle upon the ſlips of paſture on each ſide of the road, and have no other ſhelter in bad weather than the foliage of the trees. In the evening the ſtill ſilence of the country was interrupted by the occaſional lowing of the oxen, and carols of the drivers; while the ſolitary gloom of the foreſt was enlivened with the glare of numerous fires, ſurrounded by different groups of herdſmen in various attitudes; ſome were ſitting round the flame, ſome employed in dreſſing their proviſions, and others ſleeping upon the bare ground. They reſembled, in dreſs and manners, a rambling horde of Tartars.

The route from Moſcow to Peterſburgh is continued during a ſpace of five hundred miles, almoſt in a ſtraight line cut through the foreſt, and is extremely tedious: on each ſide the trees are cleared to the breadth of forty or fifty paces, and the whole way runs chiefly through endleſs tracts of wood, only broken by villages, round which, to a ſmall diſtance, the grounds are open and cultivated.

The road is of an equal breadth, and formed by trunks ‡ of trees laid tranſverſely, and bound down in the center, and at each extremity, by long poles, or beams, faſtened into

* See ſome curious conjectures upon theſe granite ſtones of Bronitza, in Pallas's Travels; and alſo in Hiſtoire des Decouvertes dans pluſieurs Contrées de la Ruſſia, &c. vol. i. p. 42, &c.

† This eminence was remarkable, in the times of idolatry, for an oracular temple, built in the place now occupied by the church.

‡ Mr. Hanway makes a curious calculation of the number of trees employed to make a road of one hundred and fifty verſts. "Allowing one tree with another to be nine inches diameter, and the length

into the ground with wooden pegs; theſe trunks are covered with layers of boughs and the whole is ſtrewed over with ſand or earth. When the road is new it is remarkably good; but as the trunks decay or ſink into the ground, and as the ſand or earth is worn away or waſhed off by the rain, it is broken into innumerable holes; and the jolting of the carriage over the bare timber can better be conceived than deſcribed. In many places the road is a perpetual ſucceſſion of ridges, and the motion of the carriage a continual concuſſion, much greater than I ever experienced over the rougheſt pavement.

The villages which occaſionally line this route are extremelly ſimilar, conſiſting uſually of a ſingle ſtreet, with wooden cottages; a few only being diſtinguiſhed by brick houſes. The cottages in theſe parts are ſuperior to thoſe between Tolitzan and Moſcow; they ſeemed, indeed, well ſuited to a rigorous climate; and although conſtructed in the rudeſt manner, are comfortable habitations. The ſite of each building is an oblong ſquare, incloſed by a high wooden wall, with a penthouſe roof, and appears on the outſide like a large barn. In one angle of this incloſure ſtands the houſe, fronting the ſtreet of the village, with the ſtair-caſe on the outſide, and the door opening underneath the penthouſe roof: it contains one, or at moſt two rooms.

I have frequently obſerved, that beds are by no means uſual in this country; inſomuch that, in all the cottages I entered in Ruſſia, I only obſerved two, each of which contained two women at different ends with their clothes on. The family ſlept generally upon the benches, on the ground, or over the ſtove *; occaſionally men, women, and children, promiſcuouſly, without diſcrimination of ſex or condition, and frequently almoſt in a ſtate of nature. In ſome cottages I obſerved a kind of ſhelf, about ſix or ſeven feet from the ground, carried from one end of the room to the other; to which were faſtened ſeveral tranſverſe planks, and upon theſe ſome of the family ſlept with their heads and feet occaſionally hanging down, and appearing to us, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch places of repoſe, as if on the point of falling to the ground. The number of perſons thus crowded into a ſmall ſpace, ſometimes amounting to twenty, added to the heat of the ſtove, rendered the room intolerably warm, and produced a ſuffocating ſmell, which nothing but uſe enabled us to ſupport. This inconvenience was ſtill more diſagreeable in the cottages not provided with chimnies, where the ſmoke loaded the atmoſphere with additional impurities. If we opened the lattices to admit freſh air, ſuch an influx of cold wind ruſhed into the room, that we preferred the heat and effluvia to the keenneſs of the northern blaſts.

In the midſt of every room hangs from the cieling a veſſel of holy water, and a lamp, lighted on particular occaſions. Every houſe is provided with a picture of a ſaint coarſely daubed on wood, which frequently reſembles more a Calmuc idol than a human head: to this the people pay the higheſt marks of veneration. All the members of the family, the moment they roſe in the morning, and before they retired to ſleep in the evening, never omitted their adoration to the ſaint: they croſſed themſelves during ſeveral minutes upon the ſides and forehead, bowed very low, and ſometimes even proſtrated themſelves on the ground. Every peaſant alſo, on entering the

twenty three feet, and ſuppoſing the foundation and ſides to be only half ſo many more as the bridge is compoſed of, and the road to be forty-ſix feet wide, here is an expence of two million one hundred thouſand trees." Hanway's Travels, vol. i. p. 92. If we extend this calculation over the whole Ruſſian empire, reaching four thouſand miles in length, and take in the different croſs roads, the expence of wood muſt be amazing, but the foreſts are alſo boundleſs and inexhauſtible.

* The ſtove is a kind of brick oven; it occupies almoſt a quarter of the room, and is flat at top.

room, paid his obeiſance to this object of worſhip, before he addreſſed himſelf to the family.

The peaſants, in their common intercourſe, are remarkably polite to each other: they take off their cap at meeting, bow ceremoniouſly and frequently, and uſually exchange a ſalute. They accompany their ordinary diſcourſe with much action and innumerable geſtures, and are exceedingly ſervile in their expreſſions of deference to their ſuperiors: in accoſting a perſon of conſequence, they proſtrate themſelves, and even touch the grounds with their heads. We were often ſtruck at receiving this kind of eaſtern homage, not only from beggars, but frequently from children, and occaſionally from ſome of the peaſants themſelves.

In the appearance of the common people, nothing ſurpriſed us more than the enormous thickneſs of their legs, which we at firſt conceived to be their real dimenſions; but the bulk, which created our aſtoniſhment, proceeded from the coverings with which they ſwaddle their legs, in ſummer as well as winter. Beſide one or two pair of thick worſted ſtockings, they envelope their legs with wrappers of coarſe flannel or cloth, ſeveral feet in length, and over theſe frequently draw a pair of boots, ſo large as to receive their bulky contents with the utmoſt facility.

The peaſants are well clothed, comfortably lodged, and ſeem to enjoy plenty of wholeſome food. The rye-bread, whoſe blackneſs at firſt diſguſts the eye, and whoſe ſourneſs the taſte, of a delicate traveller, agrees well with the appetite; but as I became reconciled to it from uſe, I found it no unpleaſant morſel: this bread is rendered more palatable by ſtuffing it with onions and groats, carrots, or green corn, and ſeaſoning it with oil. The other articles of their food I have enumerated on a former occaſion, in addition to which I ſhall only obſerve, that muſhrooms are ſo exceedingly common in theſe regions as to form a very eſſential part of their proviſion. I ſeldom entered a cottage without ſeeing great abundance; and in paſſing through the markets, was often aſtoniſhed at the prodigious quantity expoſed for ſale: the variety was no leſs remarkable than the number; they were of many colours, amongſt which I particularly noticed white, black, brown, yellow, green, and pink. The common drink of the peaſants is quaſs, a fermented liquor, ſomewhat like ſweet-wort, made by pouring warm water on rye or barley-meal, and deemed an excellent antiſcorbutic. They are extremely fond of whiſky, a ſpirituous liquor diſtilled from malt, which the pooreſt can occaſionally command, and which they often uſe to great exceſs.

The backwardneſs of the Ruſſian peaſants in the mechanical arts, when compared with thoſe of the other European nations, is viſible to a ſuperficial obſerver. As we approached Peterſburgh, and nearer the civilized parts of Europe, the villagers were better furniſhed with the conveniences of life, and further advanced in the knowledge of the neceſſary arts, than thoſe who fell under our notice between Tolitzin and Moſcow. The planks were leſs frequently hewn with the axe, and ſaw-pits, which we had long conſidered as objects of curioſity, often occurred: the cottages were more ſpacious and convenient, provided with larger windows, and generally had chimnies; they were alſo more amply ſtored with houſehold furniture, and with wooden, and ſometimes even earthen utenſils. Still, however, their progreſs towards civilization is very inconſiderable, and many inſtances of the groſſeſt barbariſm fell under our obſervation.

The inhabitants of different villages on the roads, who furniſh poſt-horſes, are called *yamſhics*, and enjoy ſome peculiar privileges. They are obliged to ſupply all couriers and travellers at a moderate price, in the deareſt parts at 1½d. and in many other

parts at ½d. per verſt * for each horſe; and, in compenſation, are exempted from the poll-tax, and ſupplying recruits: notwithſtanding theſe immunities, the price they receive for their horſes is ſo inconſiderable that they frequently produce them with the greateſt reluctance. The inſtant a traveller demands a ſupply of freſh horſes, the yamſhics aſſemble in crowds, and frequently wrangle to ſuch a degree, as to afford amuſement to a perſon who is not impatient to depart. Their ſquabbles on this occaſion have ſtruck all travellers who have given any account of this country. Chanceler, the firſt Engliſhman who landed at Archangel, and went from thence to Moſcow, could not fail to obſerve this circumſtance, which equally prevailed at that period as at preſent †. "Expreſſe commandement was given, that poſt-horſes ſhould bee gotten for him and the reſt of his company, without any money. Which thing was, of all the Ruſſes in the reſt of their journey, ſo willingly done, that they began to quarrel, yea, and to fight alſo, in ſtriving and contending which of them ſhould put their poſt-horſes to the ſledde."

In this deſcription, however, Chanceler has made a ludicrous miſtake: for the object of their ſquabbles was not to obtain, but to decline, the honour of furniſhing him with horſes. The ſame ſcene is often renewed at preſent, and the poſt-maſter not unuſually ſettles the intricate conteſt by compelling the yamſhics to draw lots. Indeed, as I have before remarked, it is abſolutely neceſſary for a foreigner, who wiſhes to travel with expedition, not only to provide himſelf with a paſſport, but alſo to procure a Ruſſian ſoldier, who, inſtead of attending to the arguments of the peaſants, or waiting for the ſlow mediation of the poſt-maſter, ſummarily decides the buſineſs by the powerful interpoſition of his cudgel. The boors, quickly *ſilenced* by this *dumb mode* of *argumentation* ‡, find no difficulty in adjuſting their pretenſions, and the horſes almoſt inſtantly make their appearance.

In our route through Ruſſia I was ſurprized at the propenſity of the natives to ſinging. Even the peaſants who acted in the capacity of coachmen and poſtillions, were no ſooner mounted than they began to warble an air, and continued it, without the leaſt intermiſſion, for ſeveral hours. But what ſtill more aſtoniſhed me was, that they performed occaſionally in parts. I frequently obſerved them engaged in a kind of muſical dialogue, making reciprocal queſtions and reſponſes, as if chanting (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) their ordinary converſation. The poſtilions *ſing* from the beginning to the end of a ſtage; the ſoldiers *ſing* during their march; the countrymen *ſing* amid their moſt laborious occupations; the public-houſes re-echo with their carols; and in a ſtill evening I have frequently heard the air vibrate with the notes of the ſurrounding villages.

An ingenious author §, long reſident in Ruſſia, who turned his attention to the ſtudy of the national muſic, gives the following information upon this ſubject. The general muſic that prevails among the common people in Ruſſia, from the Duna to the Amoor and the Frozen Ocean, conſiſts in one ſpecies of ſimple melody, which admits of infinite variation, according to the ability of the ſinger, or the cuſtom of the ſeveral provinces in this extenſive empire. The words of the ſongs are moſtly in proſe, and often extempore, according to the immediate invention or recollection of

* Three quarters of a mile. The price however has been ſince increaſed.

† Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 247. ‡ Argumentum baculinum.

§ Staehlin. See his Nacrichten von der Muſik in Ruſsland, in Haygold's Beylagen, vol. ii. p. 60 to 65; where ſpecimens of this air are given.

the

the ſinger; perhaps an antient legend, the hiſtory of an enormous giant, a deſcription of a beautiful girl, a dialogue between a lover and his miſtreſs, or the account of a murder. Sometimes they are merely letters and ſyllables taken from an old accidence, metrically arranged, and adapted to this general air. Theſe words are chiefly uſed by mothers in ſinging to their children; while the boors perform their national dance to the ſame tune, accompanied with inſtrumental muſic. The ſubject of the ſong alſo frequently alludes to the adventures of the ſinger, or to his preſent ſituation; and the peaſants adapt the topics of their common diſcourſe and their diſputes with each other, to this general air; which, altogether, forms an extraordinary effect, and led me to conjecture, that they chanted their ordinary converſation.

CHAP. X.—*Novogorod.—Antiquity, Power, Grandeur, Independence, Decline, Subjection, and Downfall.—Preſent State.—Cathedral of St. Sophia.—Early Introduction of Painting into Ruſſia.—Price of Proviſions.—Incidents of the Journey to Peterſburgh.*

At Bronitza we croſſed the Maſta upon a raft compoſed of ſeven or eight trees rudely joined together, which ſcarcely afforded room for the carriage and two horſes. We then continued our route, through a level country, to the banks of the Volkovetz, or little Volkof, which we paſſed in a ferry; and, after mounting a gentle riſe, deſcended into the open marſhy plain of paſture, which reaches, without interruption, to the walls of Novogorod. That town, at a ſmall diſtance, exhibited a moſt magnificent appearance, and, from the great number of churches and convents, which on every ſide preſented themſelves to view, announced our approach to a conſiderable city; but our expectations were by no means realized.

No place ever filled me with more melancholy ideas of fallen grandeur, than Novogorod. It is one of the moſt ancient cities in Ruſſia; and was formerly called *Great* Novogorod, to diſtinguiſh it from other Ruſſian towns of a ſimilar appellation *. According to Neſtor, the earlieſt of the Ruſſian hiſtorians, it was built at the ſame time with Kiof, in the middle of the fifth century, by a Sclavonian horde, who iſſued from the banks of the Volga. Its antiquity is proved by a paſſage in the Gothic hiſtorian, Jornandes, in which it is called Civitas Nova, or New Town †. We have little inſight into its hiſtory before the ninth century, when Ruric, the firſt Great-duke of Ruſſia, made it the metropolis of his vaſt dominions. The year ſubſequent to his death, in 879, the ſeat of government was removed, under his ſon Igor then an infant, to Kiof; and Novogorod continued above a century under the juriſdiction of governors nominated by the Great Dukes. At length, in 970, Svatoſlaf, the ſon of Igor, created his third ſon Vlodimir Duke of Novogorod: Vlodimir, ſucceeding his father in the throne of Ruſſia, ceded the town to his ſon Yaroſlaf; who, in 1036, granted to the inhabitants conſiderable privileges, that laid the foundation of their liberty. From this period Novogorod was for a long time governed by its own Dukes: theſe Sovereigns were at firſt ſubordinate to the Great Dukes, who reſided at Kiof and Volodimir; but afterwards, as the town increaſed in population and wealth, gradually uſurped an abſolute independency ‡.

* Niſhnei Novogorod, and Novogorod Severſkoi.

† Sclavini a Civitate Novâ et Sclavino Rumunenſi, et lacu qui appellatur Muſianus, &c. The lake is the Ilmen, and the Civitas Nova, Novogorod. S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 383.

‡ S. R. G. Vol. v. p. 397.

But

But while they thus ſhook off the yoke of a diſtant lord, they were unable to maintain their authority over their own ſubjects. Although the ſucceſſion continued in the ſame family; yet, as the Dukes were elected by the inhabitants, they gradually bartered, as the price of their nomination, all their moſt valuable prerogatives. They were alſo ſo frequently depoſed, that, for near two centuries, the liſt of the Dukes reſembles more a calendar of annual magiſtrates, than a regular line of hereditary Princes; and, in effect, Novogorod was a republic under the juriſdiction of a nominal Sovereign. The privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants, however unfavourable to the power of the Dukes, proved extremely beneficial to the real intereſts of the town: it became the great mart of trade between Ruſſia and the Hanſeatic cities, and made rapid advances in opulence and population. At this period its dominions were ſo extenſive *, its power ſo great, and its ſituation ſo impregnable, as to give riſe to a proverb, "Who can reſiſt the Gods and Great Novogorod †?"

It continued in this flouriſhing ſtate until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Great Dukes of Ruſſia, who ſtill retained the title of Dukes of Novogorod, having transferred their reſidence from Kiof to Volodimir, and afterwards to Moſcow, laid claim to its feudal ſovereignty; a demand which the inhabitants ſometimes evaded by compoſition, ſometimes by reſiſtance, but were ſometimes compelled to acknowledge. At length, in 1471, Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. having ſecured his dominions againſt the inroads of the Tartars, and extended his empire by the conqueſt of the neighbouring principalities, aſſerted his right to the ſovereignty of Novogorod, and enforced his pretenſions by a formidable army. He vanquiſhed the troops of the republic, and having forced the citizens to acknowledge his claims, appointed a governor, who was permitted to reſide in the town, and exerciſe the authority formerly veſted in their own Dukes ‡. This power, however, being exceedingly limited, left them in the entire poſſeſſion of their moſt valuable immunities: they retained their own laws, choſe their own magiſtrates, and the governor never interfered in public affairs, except by appeal.

Ivan, by no means contented with this limited ſpecies of government, watched a favourable opportunity of extending his authority, and, in 1477, laid ſiege to the town. His deſigns being abetted by internal feuds, the inhabitants were conſtrained to ſubſcribe to the conditions impoſed by the haughty conqueror. The gates were thrown open; the Great Duke entered the place in the character of Sovereign, and the people, tendering the oath of allegiance, delivered into his hands the charter of their liberties, which unanimity would ſtill have preſerved inviolate. One circumſtance, recorded by hiſtorians as a proof of unconditional ſubjection, was the removal of an enormous bell from Novogorod to Moſcow, denominated by the inhabitants *eternal*, and revered as the palaldium of their liberty and the ſymbol of their privileges. It was ſuſpended in the market-place; the ſacred ſound drew the people inſtantly from the moſt remote parts, and tolled the ſignal of foreign danger or inteſtine tumult. The Great Duke peremptorily demanded this object of public veneration, which he called "*The larum of ſedition;*" and the inhabitants conſidered its ſurrender as the ſure prelude of departing liberty.

From this period the Great Duke became in effect abſolute Sovereign of Novogorod, although the oſtenſible forms of government were ſtill preſerved: to enſure the obedience of his new ſubjects, he tranſplanted above a thouſand of the principal citizens to

* Its territory extended to the north as far as the frontiers of Livonia and Finland, and compriſed great part of the province of Archangel, and a large diſtrict beyond the north weſtern limits of Siberia.

† *Quis contra Deos et Magnam Novogardiam?*

‡ The government was ſimilar to that of the German republics, who acknowledge the Emperor as their liege-lord, but are under the juriſdiction of their own magiſtrates.

Moſcow,

Moſcow, and other towns; and ſecured the Kremlin of Novogorod with ſtrong walls of brick. Notwithſtanding the deſpotiſm to which the inhabitants were ſubject, and the oppreſſion which they experienced from Ivan and his ſucceſſors, yet Novogorod ſtill continued the largeſt and moſt commercial city in all Ruſſia, as will appear from the deſcription of Richard Chanceler, who paſſed through it in 1554 in his way to Moſcow. "Next unto Moſcow the city of Novogorod is reputed the chiefeſt of Ruſſia; for although it be in majeſtie inferior to it, yet in greatneſſe it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefeſt and greateſt marte towne of all Moſcovie; and albeit the Emperor's ſeate is not there, but at Moſco, yet the commodiouſneſſe of the river, falling into that gulfe which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by merchants, makes it more famous than Moſco itſelf *."

Its population, during this period, was ſo great, that in 1508, above fifteen thouſand perſons died of an epidemical diſorder †; more than double the number of the preſent inhabitants. In its moſt flouriſhing condition it contained at leaſt four hundred thouſand ſouls ‡. Under the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. the proſperity of Novogorod experienced a fatal downfall; that monarch having, in 1570, diſcovered a ſecret correſpondence between ſome of the principal inhabitants and Sigiſmond Auguſtus King of Poland, relative to a ſurrender of the city into his hands, puniſhed them in the moſt inhuman manner. He repaired in perſon to Novogorod, and appointed a court of inquiry, juſtly denominated the *tribunal of blood*. Contemporary hiſtorians relate that its proceedings continued during the ſpace of five weeks, and that on each day of this fatal period more than five hundred inhabitants fell victims to the vengeance of incenſed deſpotiſm. According to ſome authors, twenty-five thouſand, according to others, more than thirty thouſand perſons periſhed in this dreadful carnage. Thoſe writers, who were the Tzar's enemies, have probably exaggerated the number of theſe executions; and it is but juſtice to add, that ſome circumſtances in their relations are unqueſtionably falſe: but though we ought not to give implicit credit to all the accounts recorded by his adverſaries; yet, even by the confeſſion of his apologiſts, there ſtill remains ſufficient evidence of his ſavage ferocity in this barbarous tranſaction, which equals if not ſurpaſſes in cruelty, the maſſacre at Stockholm under Chriſtian II.

This horrid cataſtrophe and the ſubſequent oppreſſions which the town experienced from that great though ſanguinary Prince, impaired its ſtrength; and it is deſcribed as a place of deſolation by Uhlfield, the Daniſh Ambaſſador. But although the ſplendour of this once flouriſhing town received a conſiderable diminution; yet it was not totally obſcured until the foundation of Peterſburgh, whither Peter the Great transferred all the commerce of the Baltic, which before centered in Novogorod.

The preſent town is ſurrounded by a rampart of earth, with a range of old towers at regular diſtances, forming a circumference of ſcarcely a mile and an half; and even this inconſiderable circle includes much open ſpace, and many houſes which are not inhabited. As Novogorod was built after the manner of the antient towns of this country, in the Aſiatic ſtyle, this rampart, like that of the Semlainogorod at Moſcow, probably encloſed ſeveral interior circles: without it was a vaſt extenſive ſuburb, which reached to the diſtance of ſix miles, and included all the convents and churches, the

* Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 251. † S. R. G. vol. v. p. 494.

‡ According to Heym, Novogorod in 1783 contained ſixty two churches, ſix convents, and excluſive of twelve public buildings, one thouſand five hundred and twelve houſes, of which only thirty-nine were of brick. The population amounted to three thouſand three hundred and forty-two males, and three thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty four females.

antient

antient ducal palace, and other ſtructures, that now make a ſplendid but ſolitary appearance in the adjacent plain.

Novogorod ſtretches on both ſides of the Volkof, a beautiful river of conſiderable depth and rapidity, and ſomewhat broader than the Thames at Windſor. This river ſeparates the town into two diviſions; the Trading Part, and the Quarter of St. Sophia, which are united by means of a bridge, partly of wood and partly of brick.

The firſt diviſion, or the Trading Part, is, excepting the Governor's houſe, a rude cluſter of wooden habitations, and in no other reſpect diſtinguiſhed from the common villages than by numerous brick churches and convents, melancholy monuments of former magnificence. In all parts I was ſtruck with theſe remains of ruined grandeur; while half-cultivated fields encloſed within high paliſadoes, and large ſpaces covered with nettles, atteſted preſent deſolation. Towards its extremity a brick edifice, and ſeveral detached ſtructures of the ſame materials, erected at the Empreſs's expence, for a manufacture of ropes and ſails, exhibited a ſplendid figure when contraſted with the ſurrounding hovels.

The oppoſite diviſion, denominated the Quarter of St. Sophia, derives its appellation from the cathedral, and comprehends the fortreſs or Kremlin erected for the purpoſe of curbing the inhabitants, and preventing frequent inſurrections. It is of an oval form, and ſurrounded by a high brick wall, ſtrengthened with round and ſquare towers: the wall is ſimilar to that which encloſes the Kremlin at Moſcow, and was alſo built in 1490 by the Italian architect Solario, of Milan, at the order of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. ſoon after the conqueſt of Novogorod. The fortreſs contains the cathedral of St. Sophia, the old archiepiſcopal manſion with the ſtair-caſe on the outſide, part of a new palace not finiſhed, and a few other brick buildings; but the remaining ſpace is a waſte, overſpread with weeds and nettles, and covered with ruins.

The cathedral of St. Sophia, one of the moſt antient churches in Ruſſia, was begun in 1044 by Vlodimir Yaroſlavitch, Duke of Novogorod, and completed in 1051 *. It was probably conſtructed ſoon after Chriſtianity was introduced into Ruſſia by the Greeks, and called St. Sophia, from the church of that name in Conſtantinople. It is a high ſquare building, with a gilded cupola, and four tin domes. We entered this venerable pile through a pair of brazen gates ornamented with various figures in alto relievo, repreſenting the Paſſion of our Saviour, and other ſcriptural hiſtories. According to tradition, theſe gates were brought from the antient town of Cherſon, where Vlodimir the Great was baptized, are ſuppoſed to be of Grecian workmanſhip, and are in conſequence of this perſuaſion called Korſunſkie Dveri, the doors of Cherſon. But if we admit the truth of this tradition, how ſhall we account for the Latin characters with which they are inſcribed.

p. e. WICKMANNVS MEGIDEBVRGENSIS
ALEXANDER epe DEBLVCICH.
AVE MARIA GPACIAPLEHS DHS EECVGI.

The firſt part of this inſcription ſeems to prove rather, that they came from Magdeburgh in Germany; a circumſtance by no means improbable, as the inhabitants of Novogorod maintained, in thoſe early times, a no leſs frequent intercourſe with Germany than with Greece.

* S. R. G. vol. v. p. 398. A wooden church of the ſame name was conſtructed about the year 1000, by Joachim, the firſt Biſhop of Novogorod, on the ſpot where this cathedral now ſtands. Ibid. p. 394.

In the inſide of this cathedral are twelve maſſy piers white-waſhed, which, as well as the walls, are thickly covered with the repreſentations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of various ſaints. Some of theſe paintings are of very high antiquity, and probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy. Many of the figures are finiſhed in a *hard flat ſtyle* of colouring upon a *gold ground*, and exactly ſimilar to thoſe of the Greek artiſts, by whom, according to Vaſari, painting was firſt introduced into Italy.

Towards the latter end of the thirteenth century, ſome Greek artiſts invited to Florence, painted a chapel in the church of Santa Maria Novella. Although their deſign and colouring were *hard and flat*, and they chiefly repreſented the figures on a *field of gold*; yet their productions were much admired in that ignorant century. Cimabue, who was then a boy, ſtruck with their performance, was accuſtomed to paſs all the time he could ſteal from ſchool in contemplating the progreſs of their work. His enthuſiaſm being thus kindled, he turned his whole attention to the ſtudy of an art to which his genius ſeemed inclined. His firſt compoſitions had all the defects of the maſters whom he imitated; but he gradually improved as he advanced, and laid the firſt rude foundation of that aſtoniſhing excellence which the ſchools of Italy afterwards attained.

As painting was brought into Italy from the Greek empire, when there was ſcarcely any connection between thoſe two countries, we may be well aſſured it was introduced at a more early period into Ruſſia, from the ſame quarter; not only becauſe a conſtant intercourſe had been long maintained between the Great Dukes and Emperors of Conſtantinople, and becauſe the Patriarch was formerly the head of the church eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia; but likewiſe becauſe the Ruſſians being converted to Chriſtianity by the Greeks, were accuſtomed, after their example, to decorate their temples with various figures, and muſt have received from them many portraits of ſaints, which form in their religion a neceſſary part of divine worſhip. We may conclude, therefore, that the cathedral of St. Sophia, which was built in the eleventh century, and is one of the moſt antient churches of Ruſſia, was ornamented with figures of ſaints by the Greek artiſts, whom the Great Dukes of Novogorod drew from Conſtantinople. The repreſentations in queſtion, indeed, are ſuch mere daubings, as not to deſerve a particular inquiry, if it did not aſſiſt in illuſtrating the progreſs of the liberal arts, and aſcertaining the early introduction of painting into this country, at a period when it was probably unknown even in Italy *.

Several Princes of the ducal family of Ruſſia are interred in this cathedral. The firſt is Vlodimir Yaroſlavitch, who was born in 1020, died in 1051 †, and buried in this church, which he had juſt completed. Beſides his tomb, are thoſe of his mother Anne, daughter of the eaſtern Emperor Romanus, his wife Alexandra, his brother Micſliſlaf, and laſtly, of Feodor, brother of Alexander Nevſki, who died in 1228. The moſt antient of theſe ſepulchres are of carved wood gilt, ſilvered, and ſurrounded with iron rails; the others are of brick and mortar. Within the ſanctuary the walls are covered with Moſaic compartments, of coarſe workmanſhip, but curious from their antiquity.

Our landlord is a German, and his inn, though ſmall, one of the moſt commodious we had hitherto met with in Ruſſia; it was neatly furniſhed, and afforded beds, an article of ſingular luxury in this country, which we had no ſmall difficulty to procure, even in the city of Moſcow.

* Jam diu pingunt Rutheni, et quis credat? ſeculo duodecimo, ſays Falconi.—See Eſſai ſur la Bib. &c. p. 19.

† S. R. G. vol. v. p. 399.

By the aſſiſtance of our landlord we obtained the price of proviſions in theſe parts *:

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Buteher's meat per Ruſſian pound †,	0	1½	to	0	2
Black bread per ditto,	0	0½			
White common ditto,	0	1			
French ditto,	0	2			
Butter ditto,	0	4			
Ten eggs from	0	1½	to	0	5
Pair of fowls from	1	3	to	1	8
Fatted gooſe,	1	0			
Couple of wild ducks,	0	6			
Tame ditto,	1	3			
Brace of Partridges,	0	10			
Black game, cock and hen,	1	6			
Hare,	0	7½			
Quart of milk,	0	1½			
Beſt ſpirituous liquors per quart,	1	5½			
Worſt ſort,	0	8¾			
Pair of peaſant's leather ſhoes,	1	3			
Boots,	4	10			
Round hat,	1	3			
Peaſant's ſhirt, no collar or wriſtband, and very ſhort,	1	3			

Our coach being much ſhattered by the bad roads, we left it at Novogorod, and continued our journey in *kibitkas*, the common carriages of the country. A *kibitka* is a ſmall cart, capable of containing two perſons abreaſt, while the driver ſits upon the further extremity cloſe to the horſe's tails. It is about five feet in length, and the hinder half is covered with a ſemi-circular tilt, open in front like the top of a cradle, made of laths interwoven and covered with birch or beech bark. There is not a piece of iron in the whole machine. It has no ſprings, and is faſtened by means of wooden pins, ropes, and ſticks, to the body of the carriage. The Ruſſians, when they travel in theſe kibitkas, place a feather-bed in the bottom, admirably calculated to break the intolerable jolts and concuſſions, occaſioned by the uneven timber roads. With this precaution, a kibitka, though inferior in ſplendour, equals in comfort the moſt commodious vehicle. The traveller ſtretches himſelf at length upon the feather-bed, and if inclined, may doſe away the journey in perfect tranquillity. But being novices in the method of equipping this ſpecies of conveyance, we ſuffered a layer of trunks and other hard baggage to be ſubſtituted in the place of feather-beds: theſe ſubſtances, ſo much more bulky, and ſo much leſs yielding than down, obliged us either to ſit under the tilt in a ſloping poſture, or upon the narrow edge of the carriage; in the alternate enjoyment of which delectable poſitions we paſſed twelve hours without intermiſſion, and with no refreſhment. Thoſe who have ever regaled themſelves amidſt a pile of looſe trunks and boxes in the baſket of a heavy-laden ſtage coach, over the rougheſt pavement, would eſteem that mode of conveyance luxury to what we experienced. Our impatience, however, to reach Peterſburg beguiled in ſome meaſure the bruiſes we received from our *kibitkas* and their contents, and induced us to perſevere in our route till after ten at night; when, being depoſited in a ſmall village, I had ſcarcely ſtrength remain-

* A Ruſſian pound—14½ Engliſh ounces. † 1778.

ing

View of Petersburg.

Engraved by permission from a drawing of Mr. Atkinsons.

ing to crawl to ſome freſh ſtraw ſpread for our beds in the corner of an unfurniſhed inn. With the comforts of this delightful place of repoſe I was ſo enamoured, that I could not be prevailed upon to relinquiſh it even for a few minutes, for the enjoyment of an excellent ragout prepared by our ſervant, which a conſtant faſting ſince nine in the morning tended greatly to recommend.

A tolerable night's reſt, and the proſpect of only fifty miles between us and Peterſburgh, induced us to re-aſſume our former ſtations, and to brave a repetition of our fatigue. The country we paſſed through was ill calculated to alleviate our ſufferings, by transferring our attention from ourſelves to the ſurrounding objects. Excepting the environs of Novogorod, which were tolerably open, the road made of timber, and as ſtraight as an arrow, ran through a perpetual foreſt, without the leaſt intermixture of hill or dale, and with few ſlips of cultivated ground. Through this dreary extent, the gloomy uniformity of the foreſt was only broken by a few ſolitary villages, at long diſtances from each other, without the intervention of a ſingle houſe. Itchora, the laſt village at which we changed horſes, though but twenty miles from the capital, was ſmall and wretched, and the adjacent country as inhoſpitable and unpeopled as that we had already paſſed. About ten miles from Itchora we ſuddenly turned to the right, and the ſcene inſtantly brightened: the woods gave way to cultivation, the country began to be enlivened with houſes, the inequalities of the timber road were ſucceeded by the level of a ſpacious cauſeway, equal to the fineſt turnpikes of England, the end of each verſt * was marked with ſuperb mile-ſtones of granite and marble, and a long avenue of trees was cloſed at the diſtance of a few miles with a view of Peterſburgh, the object of our wiſhes, and the termination of our labours.

CHAP. III.—*Juſtification of Peter the Great for transferring the Seat of Empire from Moſcow to St. Peterſburgh.—Deſcription of the new Metropolis.—Foundation and Progreſs.—Circumference and Population.—Inundations of the Neva.—Remarkable Flood in 1777.—Bridge of Pontoons.—Plan for a Bridge of a ſingle Arch acroſs the Neva.—Coloſſal Statue of Peter the Great.—Account of the Pedeſtal, and its Conveyance to Peterſburgh.—General Obſervations on the Weather during the Winter.—Precautions againſt the Cold.—Diverſions and Winter Scenes upon the Neva.—Ice Hills.—Annual Fair.*

SAINT Peterſburgh is ſituated in the latitude of 59° 56′ 23″ north, and longitude 30° 25′ eaſt, from the meridian of Greenwich. It ſtands upon the Neva, near the Gulph of Finland, and is built partly on ſome iſlands in the mouth of that river, and partly on the continent. The principal diviſions are: 1. The Admiralty quarter. 2. The Vaſſili Oſtrof †. 3. The fortreſs. 4. The Iſland of St. Peterſburgh; and 5. The various ſuburbs, called the ſuburbs of Livonia, of Moſcow, of Alexander Nevſki, and of Wiburgh. Their reſpective ſituation will be better explained by the annexed plan of the town, than by the moſt elaborate deſcription.

Peter the Great incurred conſiderable cenſure for transferring the ſeat of empire from Moſcow to St. Peterſburgh; it has been urged, with ſome degree of plauſibility, that he was in effect more an Aſiatic than an European ſovereign; that Moſcow, lying

* Throughout all the high roads of Ruſſia, each verſt (or three quarters of a mile) is marked by a wooden poſt, about twelve feet in height, painted red.

† Oſtrof ſignifies Iſland.

nearer to the center of his dominions, was better calculated for the imperial reſidence; and that, by removing his capital, he neglected the interior provinces, and ſacrificed every conſideration to his predilection for the ſettlements upon the Baltic.

But although Peterſburgh is ſituated at the extremity of Ruſſia, he did not neglect any other part of his vaſt dominions. On the contrary, he was no leſs attentive to his Aſiatic than to his European provinces; his repeated negotiations with the Chineſe, his campaigns againſt the Turks, and his conqueſt of the Perſian provinces, which border upon the Caſpian, prove the truth of this aſſertion. It is no leſs obvious, that Europe was the quarter from whence the greateſt danger to his throne impended; that the Swedes were his moſt formidable enemies, and from them the very exiſtence of his empire was threatened with annihilation. It was not by leading his troops againſt the deſultory bands of Turks or Perſians, that he acquired a ſolid military force; but by training them to endure the firm attack of regular battalions, and to learn to conquer from repeated defeats; with this deſign, the nearer he fixed his ſeat to the borders of Sweden, whoſe veterans had long been the terror of the north, the more readily his troops would imbibe their military ſpirit, and learn their well regulated manœuvres. Add to this, that the protection of the new commerce, which he opened through the Baltic, depended upon the creation and maintenance of a naval force, which required his immediate and almoſt continual inſpection. To this circumſtance alone is owing the rapid and reſpectable riſe of the Ruſſian power, its preponderance in the north, and political importance in the ſcale of Europe. In a word, had not Peter transferred the ſeat of government to the ſhores of the Baltic, the Ruſſian navy had never rode triumphant in the Turkiſh ſeas; and Catharine II. had never ſtood forth the arbitreſs of the north, and the mediatrix * of Europe.

The internal improvement of the Ruſſian Empire, the great object of Peter's reign, was conſiderably advanced by approaching the capital to the more civilized parts of Europe; by this means he drew the nobility from their rude magnificence and feudal dignity at Moſcow, to a more immediate dependence upon the Sovereign, to more poliſhed manners, to a greater degree of ſocial intercourſe. Nor did any other cauſe, perhaps, ſo much tend to promote his plans for the civilization of his ſubjects, as the removal of the imperial ſeat from the inland provinces to the Gulf of Finland.

In oppoſition, therefore, to the cenſurers of Peter, we cannot but eſteem this act as extremely beneficial, and might even venture to aſſert, that if, by any revolution of Europe, this empire ſhould loſe its acquiſitions on the Baltic; if the court ſhould repair to Moſcow, and maintain a fainter connection with the European powers before an eſſential reformation in the manners of the people takes place; Ruſſia would ſoon relapſe into her original barbariſm, and no traces of the memorable improvements introduced by Peter I. and Catharine II. be found but in the annals of hiſtory.

In walking about this metropolis I was filled with aſtoniſhment on reflecting, that ſo late as the beginning of this century, the ground on which Peterſburgh now ſtands was a moraſs occupied by a few fiſhermen's huts. The firſt building of the city is ſo recent as to be almoſt remembered by perſons now alive, and its gradual progreſs is traced without difficulty. Peter the Great having wreſted Ingria from the Swedes, and advanced the boundaries of his empire to the ſhores of the Baltic, determined to erect a fortreſs upon a ſmall iſland in the mouth of the Neva, for protecting his conqueſts, and

* It muſt be remembered, that Catharine II. mediated the peace of Teſchen, in 1799, between the Emperor of Germany and the King of Pruſſia.

opening

opening a new channel of commerce *. As a prelude to this undertaking, a ſmall battery was raiſed on another iſland of the Neva, upon the ſpot now occupied by the Academy of Sciences, and was commanded by Vaſſili Demitrievitch Kotſhmin. All the orders of the Emperor ſent to this officer being directed *Vaſſili na Oſtrof*, To Vaſſili upon the iſland, this part of the town was called *Vaſſili Oſtrof*, or the iſland of Vaſſili.

The fortreſs was begun on the 16th of May, 1703; and, notwithſtanding the obſtructions ariſing from the marſhy nature of the ground, and the inexperience of the workmen, a ſmall citadel, ſurrounded with a rampart of earth, and ſtrengthened with ſix baſtions, was completed in a ſhort time. An author †, who was in Ruſſia at that period, informs us, "that the labourers were not furniſhed with the neceſſary tools, as pick-axes, ſpades and ſhovels, wheel-barrows, planks and the like; notwithſtanding which, the work went on with ſuch expedition, that it was ſurpriſing to ſee the fortreſs raiſed within leſs than five months, though the earth, which is very ſcarce thereabouts, was, for the greater part, carried by the labourers in the ſkirts of their clothes, and in bags made of rags and old mats, the uſe of wheel-barrows being then unknown to them."

Within the fortreſs a few wooden habitations were erected. For his own immediate reſidence, Peter alſo ordered, in the beginning of 1703, a ſmall hut to be raiſed in an adjacent iſland, which he called the iſland of St. Peterſburgh, and from which the new metropolis has derived its name: this hut was low and ſmall, and is ſtill preſerved in memory of the ſovereign who condeſcended to dwell in it. Near it was ſoon afterwards conſtructed another wooden habitation, but larger and more commodious, in which Prince Mentchikof reſided, and gave audience to foreign miniſters. At a ſmall diſtance was an inn, much frequented by the courtiers and perſons of all ranks; to which Peter frequently repaired on Sundays after divine ſervice, and carouſed with his ſuite and others who happened to be preſent, as ſpectators of the fire-works and diverſions exhibited by his orders.

On the 30th of May, 1706, Peter demoliſhed the ſmall citadel, and began the foundation of the new fortreſs on the ſame ſpot. In 1710, Count Golovkin built the firſt edifice of brick, and in the following year the Tzar, with his own hand, laid the foundation of a houſe, to be erected with the ſame materials ‡. From theſe ſmall beginnings roſe the preſent metropolis of Ruſſia; and in leſs than nine years, the ſeat of empire was transferred from Moſcow to Peterſburgh.

The deſpotic authority and zeal of Peter for the improvement of the new capital, will appear from his mandates. In 1714 he enjoined, that all buildings upon the iſland of St. Peterſburgh, and in the Admiralty quarter, particularly thoſe on the banks of the Neva, ſhould be conſtructed after the German manner, with timber and brick; that the nobility and principal merchants ſhould be obliged to have houſes in Peterſburgh; that every large veſſel navigating to the city, ſhould bring thirty ſtones, every ſmall one ten, and every peaſant's waggon three, towards the conſtruction of the bridges and other public works; that the roofs of the houſes ſhould be no longer covered with birch planks and bark, ſo dangerous in caſe of fire, but with tiles or clods of earth. In 1716 a regular plan § for the new city was approved by Peter; the principal part of the new metropolis was to be ſituated in the iſland of Vaſſili-Oſtrof; and, in imitation of the

* See Hiſt. Geog. and Top. Beſchreibung der Stadt. S. Pet. in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.
† Perry's State of Ruſſia, vol. i. p. 300. ‡ Journal of St. Peterſburgh, 1799.
§ The reader will find a delineation of this plan in Perry's State of Ruſſia.

Dutch

Dutch towns, canals were to be cut through the principal ſtreets, and lined with avenues of trees; but it has never been carried into execution; and under the Empreſs Anne, the imperial reſidence was removed to the Admiralty quarter. The nobility ſoon followed the example of the ſovereign; and, excepting ſome public edifices, and the row of houſes fronting the Neva, the Vaſſili-Oſtrof is the worſt part of the city, and contains more wooden buildings than all the other quarters.

Succeeding ſovereigns have continued to embelliſh Peterſburgh, but none more than the preſent Empreſs, who may be called its ſecond founder. Notwithſtanding, however, all theſe improvements, it bears every mark of an infant city, and is ſtill "only an immenſe outline, which will require future Empreſſes and almoſt future ages to complete *." The ſtreets in general are broad † and ſpacious; and three of the principal ſtreets, which meet at the Admiralty, and reach to the extremities of the ſuburbs, are at leaſt two miles in length. Moſt of them are paved; but a few are ſtill ſuffered to remain floored with planks. In ſeveral parts of the metropolis, particularly in the Vaſſili-Oſtrof, wooden houſes and habitations, ſcarcely ſuperior to common cottages, are blended with the public buildings; but this motley mixture is far leſs common than at Moſcow.

The brick houſes are ornamented with a white ſtucco, which has led ſeveral travellers to aſſert that they are built with ſtone; whereas, unleſs I am miſtaken, there are only two ſtone ſtructures in all Peterſburgh; the one the church of St. Iſaac, of hewn granite, and marble columns, not yet finiſhed; the other the marble palace, conſtructed at the expence of the Empreſs, on the banks of the Neva. Her Imperial Majeſty gave this ſuperb edifice to Prince Orlof; and, at his death, purchaſed it from his executor for 2,000,000 of roubles. The ſtyle of architecture is magnificent but heavy; the front is compoſed of poliſhed granite and marble, and finiſhed with ſuch nicety, and in a ſtyle ſo ſuperior to the contiguous buildings, that it ſeems to have been tranſported to the preſent ſpot, like a palace in the Arabian tales, raiſed by the enchantment of Aladdin's lamp ‡. It contains forty rooms upon each floor, and is fitted up in a ſtyle of ſuch ſplendour, that the expence of the furniture amounted to 1,500,000 roubles.

The manſions of the nobility are vaſt piles of building, but not in general upon ſo magnificent a ſcale as ſeveral I obſerved at Moſcow: they are furniſhed with great coſt, and as elegantly as thoſe at Paris or London. They are ſituated chiefly on the ſouth ſide of the Neva, either in the Admiralty quarter, or in the ſuburbs of Livonia and Moſcow, which are the fineſt parts of the city.

The views upon the banks of the Neva exhibit the moſt grand and lively ſcenes I ever beheld. That river is in many places as broad as the Thames at London; it is alſo deep, rapid, and as tranſparent as cryſtal; and the banks are lined with handſome buildings. On the north ſide, the fortreſs, the Academy of Sciences, and Academy of Arts, are the moſt ſtriking objects: on the oppoſite ſide are the imperial palace, the Admiralty, the manſions of many Ruſſian nobles, and the Engliſh line, ſo called, becauſe the whole row is principally occupied by the Engliſh merchants. In the front of theſe buildings, on the ſouth ſide, is the Quay, which ſtretches for three miles, except where it is interrupted by the Admiralty; and the Neva, during the whole of that ſpace, has been lately embanked by a wall, parapet, and pavement of hewn granite; a magnificent and durable monument of imperial munificence. The canals of Catherine, and of

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 231.

† They are moſtly as broad as Oxford-ſtreet: thoſe with canals much broader.

‡ In this palace Staniſlaus, the abdicated king of Poland, died.

the

the Fontanka *, which are ſeveral miles in length, have been recently embanked in the ſame manner, and add greatly to the beauty of the metropolis.

The quantity of poliſhed granite uſed in theſe public works is ſufficient to aſtoniſh an European architect, who conſiders the hardneſs of the ſtone, and the difficulty with which it is poliſhed. I have frequently viewed with ſurprize the proceſs employed by the Ruſſian workmen, in ſmoothing the granite. They batter the ſtone with an iron hammer edged with ſteel; the quantity which flies off at each ſtroke is almoſt imperceptible; but by repeatedly ſtriking the ſame place, the prominent parts are worn away, and the ſtone becomes ſmooth. To this gradual attrition may be applied the proverb,

Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi ſed ſæpe cadendo.

Peterſburgh, though more compact than other Ruſſian cities, with the houſes in many ſtreets contiguous to each other, ſtill bears a reſemblance to the towns of this country, and is built in a very ſtraggling manner. By an order lately iſſued from government, the city has been encloſed within a rampart, the circumference whereof is twenty-one verſts, or fourteen Engliſh miles.

The average population of Peterſburgh may be collected from the liſts of births and deaths during ſeven years.

	Births.			Deaths.		
1771	Males	2459	4781	Males	3137	4779
	Females	2322		Females	1642	
1772			4759			4727
1773			5483			5031
1774	Males	2839	5437	Males	2899	4458
	Females	2598		Females	1559	
1775			4961			3107
1776	Males	2816	5397	Males	2694	4463
	Females	2581		Females	1769	
1777	Natives.			Natives.		
	Males	2717	5854	Males	3117	5660
	Females	2618		Females	2043	
	Foreigners.			Foreigners.		
	Males	265		Males	265	
	Females	254		Females	235	
Total of births for ſeven years			36,672	Total of Deaths		32,165

Annual average of births, omitting ſmall fractions - 5238
of deaths - - - 4594

By multiplying the births five thouſand two hundred and thirty-eight by twenty-five, the ſum is one hundred and thirty-four thouſand nine hundred and fifty; and the deaths four thouſand five hundred and ninety-four by twenty-ſix, the ſum is one hundred and nineteen thouſand four hundred and forty four. By taking the medium, therefore,

* And the Moika ſince my departure.

between theſe two ſums, we have one hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-ſeven for the number of inhabitants *.

Peterſburgh, from its low and marſhy ſituation, is ſubject to inundations, which ſometimes threaten the town with a total ſubmerſion. Theſe floods are chiefly occaſioned by a weſt or ſouth-weſt wind, which, blowing directly from the gulf, obſtructs the current of the Neva, and cauſes an accumulation of the waters. On the 16th of November we had nearly perſonal experience of this dreadful calamity. Being invited to a maſquerade at the Cadet's in the Vaſſili Oſtrof, on our approach to the bridge we perceived that a ſtormy weſt wind had ſwelled the river ſo conſiderably as to elevate the pontoons; and the bridge was in danger of being carried away. Inſtead, therefore, of repairing to the maſquerade, we returned home, and waited for ſome hours in awful expectation of an immediate deluge. Providentially a ſudden change of wind preſerved Peterſburgh from the impending cataſtrophe, and the inhabitants from an almoſt univerſal conſternation, which recent ſufferings impreſſed upon their minds. I allude to the flood in the month of September 1777, whoſe effects are thus deſcribed: "† In the evening of the 9th a violent ſtorm of wind blowing at S.W. and afterwards W. raiſed the Neva and its various branches to ſo great a height, that at five in the morning the waters poured over their bank, and ſuddenly overflowed the town, but more particularly the Vaſſili Oſtrof and the iſland of St. Peterſburgh. The torrent roſe in ſeveral ſtreets to the depth of four feet and an half; and overturned, by its rapidity, various buildings and bridges. About ſeven, the wind ſhifting to N.W. the flood fell ſuddenly; and at mid-day moſt of the ſtreets, which in the morning could only be paſſed in boats, became dry. For a ſhort time the river roſe ten feet ſeven inches above its ordinary level."

The diviſions of Peterſburgh, on each ſide of the Neva, are connected by a bridge on pontoons, which was uſually removed when the large maſſes of ice driven down the ſtream from the lake Ladoga ‡, firſt made their appearance, and for a few days, until the river was frozen ſufficiently hard to bear carriages, there was no communication between the oppoſite parts of the town. The depth of the river renders it extremely difficult to build a ſtone bridge; and if one ſhould be conſtructed, it would probably be deſtroyed by theſe vaſt ſhoals of ice. To remedy this incovenience, a Ruſſian peaſant projected the ſublime plan of throwing a wooden bridge of a ſingle arch acroſs the river, which in its narroweſt part is nine hundred and eighty feet in breadth. The artiſt has executed a model ninety-eight feet in length, which I examined with great attention, as he explained the proportion and mechaniſm.

* Süſslick eſtimates the population of Peterſburgh at one hundred and thirty-three thouſand one hundred and ninety ſix, by multiplying the births by twenty eight; and one hundred and thirty-two thouſand nine hundred and ninety, by multiplying the deaths by twenty ſix; neither of which numbers differs eſſentially from the average number in the text: he adds, that Peterſburgh is the only large town in which there are more births than deaths. The population of Peterſburgh is continually increaſing, as well from the exceſs of the births above the deaths, as from the influx of natives and foreigners. According to a cenſus taken in 1784, it contained one hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and twenty-ſeven males, and ſixty five thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen females, including about twenty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and ninety foreigners; in all one hundred and ninety-two thouſand four hundred and forty-ſix perſons.

According to Profeſſor Heym (Encyclopediæ des Ruſſiſchen Reichy) Peterſburgh was twenty-four verſts in circumference in 1784, and contained ſeventy-one churches, and three thouſand four hundred and thirty-one houſes, of which one thouſand two hundred and ninety-one were of brick, and two thouſand one hundred and forty of wood. † Journ. St. Pet. Sept. 1777.

‡ This bridge was, in December 1779, replaced for the firſt time, and continued during the winter, a practiſe which has been ſince renewed, and renders the communication more convenient.

The bridge is conſtructed on the ſame principle as that of Schaffhauſen, excepting that the mechaniſm is more complicated, and the road not ſo level. I ſhall attempt to deſcribe it by ſuppoſing it finiſhed, as that will convey the beſt idea of the plan. The bridge is roofed at the top, and encloſed at the ſides: it is formed by four frames of timber, two on each ſide, compoſed of beams or truſſes, which ſupport the whole fabric. The road is not carried over the top of the arch, but ſuſpended in the middle.

	Feet.
Length of the abutment on the north end	658
Span of the arch	980
Length of the abutment on the ſouth end	658
Length of the whole ſtructure	2296
The plane of the road upon its firſt aſcent makes an angle of five degrees with the ordinary ſurface of the river	
Mean level of the river to the top of the bridge in the center	168
Ditto to the bottom of the bridge	126
Height of the bridge in the center	42
Height from the bottom of the bridge in the center to the road	7
Height from the bottom of the bridge to the water	84
Height from the water to the ſpring of the arch	56

There is a difference of thirty-five feet between the road at the ſpring of the arch, and the road at the center; in other words, an aſcent of thirty-five feet in four hundred and ninety, which is little more than eight tenths of an inch to a foot *. The bridge is broadeſt toward the ſides, and diminiſhes towards the center.

In the broadeſt part it is	168 feet.
In the center or narroweſt	42
The breadth of the road is	28

The artiſt informed me, that to conſtruct the bridge would require forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and fifty iron nails, twelve thouſand nine hundred and eight large trees, five thouſand five hundred beams, and that it would coſt 300,000 roubles, or 60,000l. He ſpeaks of this bold project with the warmth of genius, and is convinced that it is practicable. I muſt own, I am of the ſame opinion, though I hazard it with great diffidence. What a noble effect would be produced by a bridge ſpringing acroſs the Neva, with an arch nine hundred and eighty feet wide, and towering one hundred and ſixty-eight feet from the ſurface of the water! The deſcription of ſuch a bridge ſeems almoſt chimerical; and yet, on inſpecting the model, we are reconciled to the idea. But whether the execution of this ſtudendous work may be deemed poſſible or not, the model itſelf is worthy of attention, and reflects high honour on the inventive faculties of untutored genius: it is ſo compact, that it has ſupported three thouſand five hundred and forty pood, or one hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand four hundred and forty pounds, without ſwerving from its direction, which is far more, in proportion to its ſize, than the bridge, if completed, would have occaſion to ſuſtain from the preſſure of the carriages added to its own weight.

* The aſcent of the road of the bridge of Schaffhauſen is barely four tenths of an inch in a foot.

The projector of this plan was apprenticed to a ſhop-keeper at Niſhnei Novogorod; and, like the Swiſs carpenter who built the bridge of Schaffhauſen*, unacquainted with the theory of mechanics. Oppoſite to his dwelling was a wooden clock, which excited his curioſity; by repeated examinations he comprehended the internal ſtructure, and, without aſſiſtance, formed one exactly ſimilar. His ſucceſs in this eſſay urged him to undertake the conſtruction of metal clocks and watches. The Empreſs, acquainted with theſe wonderful exertions of native genius, took him under her protection, and ſent him to England; from whence, on account of his ignorance of the language, he ſoon returned to Ruſſia. I ſaw a repeating watch of his workmanſhip at the Academy of Sciences: it is about the bigneſs of an egg; in the inſide is repreſented the tomb of our Saviour, with the ſtone at the entrance, and the centinels upon duty; ſuddenly the ſtone is removed, the centinels fall down, the angels appear, the women enter the ſepulchre, and the chant performed on Eaſter-eve is heard. Theſe are trifling, although curious performances; but the plan of the bridge was a ſublime conception. This perſon, whoſe name is Kulibin, bears the appearance of a Ruſſian peaſant; he has a long beard, and wears the common dreſs of the country; he receives a penſion from the Empreſs, and is encouraged to follow the bent of his mechanical genius.

The nobleſt monument of the gratitude and veneration paid to Peter I. is his equeſtrian ſtatue in bronze, of coloſſal ſize; it is the work of Falconet, the celebrated French ſtatuary, caſt at the expence of Catharine II. in honour of her great predeceſſor, whom ſhe reveres and imitates. The monarch is repreſented in the attitude of mounting a precipice, the ſummit of which he has nearly attained. His head is uncovered, and crowned with a laurel; he wears a looſe veſt in the Aſiatic ſtyle, with half-boots, and ſits on a houſing of bear-ſkin: the right hand is ſtretched out, as in the act of giving benediction to his people, and the left holds the reins. The deſign is maſterly, and the attitude bold and ſpirited. The flat poſition of the right hand is deficient in dignity, and has an unpleaſing effect; for which reaſon, the view of the left ſide is moſt ſtriking, where the figure is graceful and animated. The horſe is ſpringing upon the hind legs, and the tail, which is full and flowing, appears ſlightly to touch a ſerpent, artfully contrived to aſſiſt in ſupporting the vaſt weight †. The artiſt has, in this noble eſſay of genius, repreſented Peter as the legiſlator of his country, without alluſion to conqueſt and bloodſhed; wiſely preferring his civil qualities to his military exploits ‡. The contraſt between the compoſure of Peter (though perhaps not characteriſtic) and the fire of the horſe, eager to preſs forwards, is very ſtriking. The ſimplicity of the inſcription correſponds to the ſublimity of the deſign.

PETRO PRIMO §, CATHARINA SECUNDA 1782.	PETRU PERVOMU EKATHERENA VTORAIYA 1782.

* For the account of the bridge of Schaffhauſen, ſee Travels in Switzerland, Letter II.

† The height of the hero is eleven feet; of the horſe ſeventeen; the bronze in the thinneſt part is only three lines, but increaſes gradually towards the hind feet of the horſe to one inch; the weight of the whole (excluſive of the counterpoiſe of ten thouſand pounds) is forty-four thouſand and forty-one Ruſſian, or thirty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſix Engliſh pounds.

‡ Falconet has ably refuted the cenſures urged againſt his ſtatue on this account. See his Letter to Diderot, in "Pieces written by Monſ. Falconet," tranſlated by Mr. Tooke, p. 47. Where the reader will alſo find an engraving of the ſtatue.

§ Catherine II. to Peter I.

Falconet

Falconet having conceived the deſign of placing the ſtatue on a huge rock * inſtead of a pedeſtal, carefully examined the environs of Peterſburgh, for a detached maſs of granite, of magnitude correſpondent to the dimenſions of the equeſtrian figure; and after conſiderable reſearch, he diſcovered, near the village of Lachta, a ſtupendous crag, half buried in the midſt of a marſhy foreſt. The expence and difficulty of tranſporting it were no obſtacles to Catherine II.: the moraſs was drained, the foreſt cleared, and a road four verſts in length formed from the ſhore to the Gulf of Finland. It was ſet in motion on large friction-balls, and grooves of metal, by means of pullies and windlaſſes, worked by four hundred men. In this manner it was conveyed, with forty men ſeated on the top, twelve hundred feet a day to the ſhore, then embarked on a nautical machine †, tranſported eight verſts by water, and landed at Peterſburgh near the ſpot where it is now erected. This more than Roman work was accompliſhed in leſs than ſix months; the rock when landed was forty-two feet long at the baſe, thirty-ſix at the top, eleven broad and ſeventeen high, and weighed fifteen-hundred tons.

The pedeſtal, however, though ſtill of prodigious magnitude, is far from retaining the original dimenſions; as, in order to form a proper ſtation for the ſtatue, and repreſent an aſcent, the bulk has been much diminiſhed. But I could not obſerve without regret, that the artiſt had refined too much upon nature; and in order to produce a reſemblance of an abrupt precipice, had been too laviſh of the chiſſel. Art is too conſpicuous; and the effect would have been more ſublime had the ſtone been left as much as poſſible in its rude ſtate, a vaſt, unwieldy, ſtupendous maſs.

The ſtatue was erected on the pedeſtal on the 27th of Auguſt 1782, near the Admiralty, and the pontoon bridge over the Neva. The ceremony was performed with great ſolemnity, and accompanied with a ſolemn inauguration.

Having paſſed ſeveral months in Ruſſia, I ſhall throw together ſeveral facts and obſervations concerning the ſtate of the weather, and the effects of the cold in this ſevere climate.

During our journey from Moſcow to Peterſburgh, in the month of September, we found the weather very changeable, the autumnal rains being extremely frequent and heavy ‡. The mornings and evenings were extremely cold; and, whenever it did not rain, we generally obſerved the graſs and trees covered with a hoar froſt. On our arrival at Peterſburgh on the 29th of September, the winter was not yet ſet in: in October

* "Pour marqueur à poſtérité, d'où cet héros legiſlateur étoit parti, et quels obſtacles il avoit ſurmonté."—Deſcription d'une Pierre pour ſervir de Piédeſtal, &c. in Haygold's Ruſsland, vol. ii. p. 211.

† This nautical machine was conſtructed on the principle of the camel, which is uſed to convey ſhips over the bars, both at Amſterdam and St. Peterſburgh. It was hollow, and being ſunk to the water level, the ſtone was placed upon it, the water was then pumped out of it, and it roſe and floated. The ſtone, ſupported by this machine, appeared like a moving mountain on the ſurface of the gulf.

The machinery for the tranſport of this enormous maſs was conſtructed under the direction of Count Carburi, who was known in Ruſſia under the name of the Chevalier Laſcaris, and the proceſs is deſcribed in a ſuperb work, illuſtrated with engravings, under the title of "Monument elevé à la glorie de Pierre le Grand, 1777."

‡ In thirty days it rained twenty-four; and the quantity of water which fell at St. Peterſburgh in the month of September O. S. was equal to 2¼ Engliſh inches in depth.

From accurate obſervations, during fourteen years, to aſcertain the quantity of rain and ſnow which fell at St. Peterſburgh, the reſult was, that the average annual duration of ſnowy and rainy weather was equal to forty-two times twenty-four hours, or ſomething leſs than the ninth part of the year. From a courſe of ten years' obſervations it appeared, that rain fell during ſome part of one hundred and three days, and ſnow during ſome part of ſeventy-two; and that if the year was divided into twelve parts, a fourth was fine weather, a third rain, and a fifth ſnow.

October the weather, for the first twenty days, was the most part rainy; the mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, was seldom below freezing point, and mostly fluctuated between 32 and 44.

The snow made its first appearance in sleet on the 9th, and the following day came down in flakes and in large quantities; on the 24th the mercury suddenly sunk to 25, rose the next morning above the freezing point, a sudden thaw ensued, and all the snow disappeared in a few hours. The summer and winter are not, as in our climate, gradually divided by spring and autumn, but seem almost to succeed each other.

On the 15th of November the Neva * was entirely frozen †: soon afterwards the

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The whole quantity of rain and snow water, taken together, which fell in the course of a year, was the following proportion:

	Inches.		Inches.
January,	0,979	July,	2,760
February,	0,979	August,	2,671
March,	0,801	September,	3,473
April,	1,246	October,	2,493
May,	1,335	November,	1,513
June,	3,116	December,	0,979
			22,345

The average quantity of rain which falls in London in the course of a year is equal to nineteen thousand two hundred and forty-one.

* The freezing of the Neva is not attended with any peculiarities which distinguish it from other rivers. The following circumstances, which fell under my observation, are extracted from my journal.

Monday morning, Nov. 9. On Saturday the 7th, small pieces of ice, which came from the lake Ladoga, were first observed floating with the stream: the same day in the evening the bridge of boats was removed, as in these cases they collect and would carry it away. Yesterday the pieces of ice were more frequent and massy; to-day they are small floating islands, which almost cover the river: the sides of the Neva are frozen only a few feet from the banks; all the canals are covered with ice, and people are seating upon them.

Nov. 12 and 13. The Neva is frozen above the place where the bridge was stationed, by the pieces of ice which have united and barred the passage: below it the stream is open for boats, which are continually passing to and fro.

Nov. 14. The bridge of boats is again replaced, as there is no longer any danger of its being carried away by the floating masses of ice; and will continue during the whole winter, a circumstance which has not happened since the foundation of Petersburgh.

Nov. 15. The river about and below the bridge is entirely frozen, and I saw persons walking across it. I am informed that yesterday the ice was strong enough to bear foot passengers; this will convey some idea of the severity of the weather in this climate; as the rapid current was open on the 13th, and on the next day was frozen.

Table of the freezing and thawing of the Neva for five successive years, from Professor Kraft's Observations.

	1773.	1774.	1775.	1776.	1777.
April, New Style	16	April 21	22	25	30
April, Old Style	27	May 2	May 3	May 6	May 11
Nov.	19	7	12	12	26
	30	18	23	23	Dec. 7
	Open 217 days.	200	204	201	210

See Nov. Ac. Pet. for 1777. P. II. p. 73.

† In 1784, the Neva was not finally frozen until the night of the 5th of December, N. S. The thickness of the ice is from twenty-four to thirty-eight feet; the average about twenty-eight.

Gulf

Gulf of Finland was covered with ice, and ſledges began to paſs from Peterſburgh to Cronſtadt, the road being marked over the ſurface by rows of trees.

Even during the months of December and January, the weather was extremely changeable; is ſhifted in a ſudden manner from a ſevere froſt to a thaw; the mercury in the thermometer often roſe within the courſe of twenty hours from 20 to 34, and ſunk again as rapidly in the ſame ſpace of time *.

When the froſt was not ſevere, namely, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer was not below 10, I frequently walked out in a common great coat. When the cold was more intenſe, I was dreſſed in the manner of the natives; and wore, in my daily excurſions, a *peliſſe*, or large fur cloak, fur boots or ſhoes, a black velvet or fur bonnet, that prevented the froſt from nipping my ears, the part which I found the moſt liable to be affected. During the 9th, 10th, and 11th of January, the froſt was nearly as intenſe † as it was ever felt at Peterſburgh; the mercury in the thermometer falling at one time to 63 below freezing point, or — 31. This cold, however, did not detain me at home; but I walked out, as uſual, with my *peliſſe*, boots, and found it by no means unpleaſant, the ſun ſhining with great brightneſs. As I traverſed the city on the morning of the 12th, I obſerved ſeveral perſons whoſe faces had been bitten by the froſt: their cheeks had large ſcars, and appeared as if ſinged with a hot iron. As I was walking with an Engliſh gentleman, who, inſtead of a fur cap, had on a common hat, his ears were ſuddenly frozen: he felt no pain, and would not have perceived it for ſome time, had not a Ruſſian informed him ‡, and aſſiſted him in rubbing the part affected with ſnow, by which means it was inſtantly recovered. This, or friction with flannel, is the uſual remedy; but ſhould the perſon in that ſtate approach the fire, or dip the part in warm water, it immediately mortifies and drops off.

The common people continued at work as uſual, and the drivers of ſledges plied in the ſtreets, ſeemingly unaffected by the froſt; their beards were incruſted with clotted ice, and the horſes covered with icicles. Even during this extreme cold, the people

* Although I examined the thermometer every day; yet I did not attempt to form a ſeries of regular obſervations, which I now much regret. I occaſionally, indeed, made a few remarks, which I ſhall inſert, as I find them ſcattered in my journal: they will tend to confirm the truth of what I have advanced in relation to the change of weather obſervable at Peterſburgh, and will ſerve to contradict thoſe authors, who aſſert that, as ſoon as the hard froſt commences, the cold continues with uniform ſeverity, and with little variation, during the whole ſeaſon. Nov. 16. To day a thaw; the thermometer mounted to 40: in the evening ſharp froſt again; the mercury falling to 20.—Nov. 23. The thermometer at 4, 5, and 6.—Dec. 3. It has been theſe few days moſtly a thaw and changeable weather.—Dec. 6. The thermometer fell almoſt ſuddenly from 33 to 10.—Dec. 11. Thermometer at -10.—Dec. 14. A ſudden thaw, which continued the 15th and 16th.—Dec. 17. Thermometer -7.—Dec. 18. Thermometer at -5, and a fog at the ſame time.—Dec. 19. Windy, thaw, thermometer above freezing point.—Dec. 21. Changeable weather all this week, from ſharp froſt to ſudden thaw.—Jan 1. 1779. Weather very changeable, the thermometer one morning at -8, the next above freezing point; this winter it has not as yet been lower than -13.—Jan. 6. Thermometer at -14.—Jan. 9, Thermometer at -7½; the barometer mounted ſuddenly very high ſince laſt night.—Jan 10. Early this morning the thermometer at -23, and at 11 at 20¾. Barometer at $30\frac{6}{10}$. The ſmoke of the chimnies was preſſed down to the ground.—Jan. 11. Thermometer at -28, according to my own obſervation, at ten in the morning: but earlier the mercury had ſunk to -31½ or 63½ below freezing point. Jan. 15. Thermometer, ſince the 11th, roſe gradually: on the 12th in the morning it ſtood to -13; from thence it fell to 0, to 15; and to-day it is above freezing point.

I made the ſame obſervations during the ſecond winter which I paſſed at Peterſburgh, and found the weather equally uncertain.

† The winter in which profeſſor Braun congealed quickſilver, the cold was ſo intenſe, that De Liſle's thermometer ſunk to 204=in Fahrenheit's to—33, or 65 below freezing point.

‡ The part frozen always turns quite white, a ſymptom well known, and immediately perceived by the natives.

did not add to their ordinary clothing, which is at all times well calculated for the ſeverities of the climate. They are careful in preſerving the extremities againſt the cold, by covering the legs, hands, and head, with fur. The upper garment of ſheep-ſkin, with the wool turned inwards, is tied round the waiſt with a ſaſh; but the neck is bare, and the breaſt only covered with a coarſe ſhirt: theſe parts, however, are well guarded by the beard. I obſerved, with much ſurpriſe, ſeveral women engaged in waſhing upon the Neva or on the canals. They cut holes in the ice with a hatchet, dipped their linen into the water with bare hands, and then beat it with flat ſticks. During this operation the ice continually formed again, and they were conſtantly employed in clearing it away. Many of them paſſed two hours without intermiſſion at this work, when the thermometer was at 60 below freezing point; a circumſtance which proves that the human body may be brought to endure all extremes.

It ſometimes happens that coachmen or ſervants, waiting for their maſters, are frozen to death. To prevent as much as poſſible theſe dreadful accidents, great fires of whole trees, piled one upon another, are kindled in the court-yard of the palace, and the moſt frequented parts of the town. As the flames blazed above the tops of the houſes, and caſt a glare to a conſiderable diſtance, I was much amuſed with contemplating the picturesque groups of Ruſſians, with their Aſiatic dreſs and long beards, aſſembled round the fire. The centinels upon duty, having no beards, which are of great uſe to protect the glands of the throat, generally tie handkerchiefs under their chins *, and cover their ears with ſmall caſes of flannel.

Nothing can be more lively and diverſified than the winter ſcenes upon the Neva; and ſcarcely a day paſſed that I did not take my morning walk, or drive in a ſledge upon the river. Many carriages and ſledges, and numberleſs foot paſſengers perpetually croſſing, afford a conſtant ſucceſſion of moving objects; the ice is alſo covered with different groups of people, diſperſed or gathered together, and variouſly employed as their fancy leads them. In one part are ſeveral long areas railed for the purpoſe of ſcating; a little further is an encloſure, where a nobleman is training his horſes, and teaching them the evolutions of the manège. In another part the croud and ſpectators of a ſledge race. The courſe is an oblong ſpace about the length of a mile, and ſufficiently broad to turn the carriage. It can hardly be denominated a race, for there is only a ſingle ſledge drawn by two horſes, and the whole art of the driver conſiſts in making the ſhaft horſe trot faſt, while the other is puſhed into a gallop.

The ice-hills afford a perpetual fund of amuſement to the populace. A ſcaffolding is raiſed upon the river thirty feet in height, with a landing place on the top, to which the aſcent is by a ladder. From this ſummit a ſloping plain of boards, four yards broad and thirty long, ſupported by ſtrong poles gradually decreaſing in height, deſcends to the ſuperficies of the river, and the ſides are defended by a parapet of planks. On theſe boards are laid ſquare blocks of ice chipped with the axe, and ſprinkled with water, by which means they coaleſce, become ſmooth, and form an inclined plain of pure ice. At the bottom the ſnow is cleared away for the length of two hundred yards and the breadth of four, and the ſides of this courſe, as well as the ſides and top of the ſcaffolding, are ornamented with firs and pines. Each perſon being provided with a ſmall ſledge †, mounts the ladder to the ſummit, ſeats himſelf on his ſledge and glides down the inclined plane; when the velocity acquired by the deſcent, carries the ſledge above one hundred

* The women alſo uſe this precaution.

† Something like a butcher's tray, as Dr. King juſtly obſerves in his ingenious pamphlet on the effects of cold in Ruſſia.

yards

yards on the level ice of the river. At the end of this courſe, is uſually a ſimilar ice-hill, nearly parallel to the former, which begins where the other ends; thus the diverſion may be perpetually renewed without intermiſſion. The chief difficulty conſiſts in poiſing the ſledge in its rapid deſcent down the inclined plane, for if the pilot is not ſteady, but totters either through inadvertence or fear, he is liable to be overturned, and incurs no ſmall riſk of breaking his bones, if not his neck. I have frequently ſtood above an hour at the bottom of theſe ice-hills, obſerving the ſledges follow each other with inconceivable rapidity; but never had ſufficient courage to try the experiment *, as one failure might have proved fatal.

Boys alſo continually amuſe themſelves in ſcating down theſe hills; they glide chiefly upon one ſcate, being better able to preſerve their balance on one leg than on two. Theſe ice-hills exhibit a pleaſing appearance, as well from the trees with which they are ornamented, as from the moving objects deſcending without intermiſſion, which Richter, in his ſketch of Moſcow, not unaptly compares to a cataract of human figures.

Another ſtriking object is the market on the Neva. At the concluſion of the long faſt which cloſes on the 24th of December, O. S. the Ruſſians lay in their proviſions for the remainder of the winter. For this purpoſe an annual market, which laſts three days, is held on the river near the fortreſs. A long ſtreet, above a mile in length, was lined on each ſide with an immenſe ſtore of proviſions, ſufficient for the ſupply of the capital during three months.

Many thouſand carcaſe of oxen, ſheep, hogs, pigs, together with geeſe, fowls, and every ſpecies of frozen food, were expoſed for ſale. The larger quadrupeds were grouped in various circles upright: their hind legs fixed in the ſnow, with their heads and fore legs turned towards each other; next to them ſucceeded a regular ſeries of animals, deſcending gradually to the ſmalleſt, intermixed with poultry and game hanging in feſtoons, and garniſhed with heaps of fiſh, butter, and eggs. I ſoon perceived, from the profuſion of partridges, pheaſants, moor-fowl, and cocks of the wood, that no laws in this country prohibit the diſpoſal of game. I obſerved alſo the truth of what has been frequently aſſerted, that many of the birds, as well as ſeveral animals, in theſe northern regions, become white in winter, many hundred black cocks being changed to that colour; and ſome taken before they had completed their *metamorphoſis*, exhibited a variegated mixture of black and white plumage.

The moſt diſtant quarters of the empire contributed to ſupply this vaſt ſtore of proviſions, and the fineſt veal was ſent by land-carriage from Archangel, which is eight hundred and thirty miles from Peterſburgh; yet every article of proviſion is ſurprizingly cheap: beef was ſold at one penny the Ruſſian pound †, pork at five farthings, and

* Timid perſons, or thoſe unaccuſtomed to this exerciſe, are occaſionally accompanied by a conductor, who directs the ſledge. A mode well deſcribed in the "Voyage de deux François," &c.

"Le traîneau conſiſte en une petite planche plus longue que large, et peu elevée: une ſeule perſonne peut s'y tenir, encore n'eſt elle point à ſon aiſe. Le conducteur du traîneau eſt aſſis, les jambes ouvertes, entre leſquelles ſe place celui qui veut deſcendre (chaque courſe coûte cinq copecks); l'un et l'autre ont l'attention de tenir les jambes fort elevées et le corps très en arrière; ainſi placés, et le traîneau étant parfaitement droit, on le conduit au bord de la deſcente, et on le laiſſe aller: le conducteur le dirige avec les mains qu'il tient écartées du corps, et qui ſont garanties par des mitaines d'un cuir fort épais. La rapidité de la courſe eſt prodigieuſe, et le traîneau arrivé ſur le terrain plat, parcourt encore une aſſez grande étendue: dans le premier moment la reſpiration eſt fort genée; il faut avoir l'attention de ne faire aucun mouvement d'un côté ou d'un autre; on ſeroit bientôt culbuté, ce qui eſt fort ordinaire, mais il arrive très peu d'accidens, par le peu de hauteur de la chûte."

Voyage de deux Français au Nord de l'Europe, tom iii. p. 353.

† A Ruſſian pound contains fourteen ounces and a half.

mutton at three half-pence per pound; a goose for ten-pence, and a pig for eight pence, and all other articles equally reasonable *.

To render this frozen food fit for dressing, it is first thawed in cold water. Frozen meat, however, loses much of its flavour; and the tables of persons of condition, and those of the English merchants, are supplied with fresh killed meat, which is sold from four-pence to six-pence a pound.

CHAP. IV.—*Presentation to the Empress.—Court.—Balls.—Masquerades.—Public Entertainments.—Orders of Knighthood.—Account of the Place called the Hermitage.—Distribution of the Empress's Time.—Russian Nobility.—Their Hospitality.—Politeness. Assemblies.—English Merchants.—Club.*

ON the first of October, in the morning, between eleven and twelve, we attended our minister, Sir James Harris †, to the drawing-room, impatient to behold Catharine II. It was fortunately the name-day, or, as we term it, the birth-day of the Great Duke, in honour of whom a most brilliant court was assembled. At the entrance into the drawing-room stood two centinels of the guards; their uniform was a green coat, with a red cuff and cape, white waistcoat and breeches; they had silver helmets fastened under the chin with silver clasps, and ornamented with an ample plume of red, yellow, black, and white feathers. Within the drawing-room, at the doors of the passage leading to the royal apartments were stationed two soldiers of the knight's body-guard; a corps perhaps more sumptuously accoutred than any in Europe. They wore casques, like the antients, with a rich plumage of black feathers, and chains and broad plates of solid silver were braided over their uniforms, representing a splendid coat of mail.

In the drawing-room we found a numerous assembly of foreign ministers, Russian nobility, and officers waiting the arrival of the Empress, who was attending divine service in the chapel of the palace, whither we also repaired. Amid a prodigious concourse of nobles, I observed Catharine standing singly behind a railing; the only distinction by which her place was marked. Next to her stood the Great Duke and Duchess, and behind an indiscriminate throng of courtiers. The Empress repeatedly bowed, and crossed herself, according to the forms used in the Greek church, with great appearance of devotion. Before the conclusion of the service we returned to the drawing-room, and took our station near the door, in order to be presented at Her Majesty's entrance.

About twelve, the chief officers of the household, the mistress of the robes, the maids of honour, and other ladies of the bed-chamber, advancing two by two in a long train, announced the approach of their Sovereign. Her Majesty came forward with a slow and solemn pace, walking with great pomp, holding her head high, and perpetually bowing to the right and left. She stopped near the entrance of the drawing-room, and spoke with great affability to the foreign ministers, while they kissed her hand. She then advanced a few steps, and we were singly presented by the vice chancellor Count Osterman, and had the honour of kissing Her Majesty's hand. The Empress wore, according to her usual custom, a Russian dress, a robe with a short train, and a vest with sleeves reaching to the wrist, like a Polonaise; the vest was of gold brocade, and the robe of light green silk; her hair was dressed low, and lightly sprinkled with powder; her cap ornamented with a profusion of diamonds, and she wore much rouge. Her

* In 1778.

† Now Earl of Malmesbury.

person,

perſon, though rather below the middle ſize, is majeſtic, and her countenance, particularly when ſhe ſpeaks, expreſſes both dignity and ſweetneſs. She walked ſlowly through the drawing-room, to her apartment, and entered alone. The Great Duke and Ducheſs followed the Empreſs to the door, and then retired to their own drawing-room, where they had a levee; but as we had not yet been preſented to them at a private audience, we could not, according to the etiquette of the Ruſſian court, follow them. The Great Ducheſs leaned upon the arm of His Imperial Highneſs, and they both inclined their heads on either ſide to the company, as they paſſed along.

In the afternoon, at ſix, we repaired to a ball at court. The private as well as the ſtate apartments of the Empreſs are on the third ſtory, and the whole ſuite is remarkably grand and ſplendid. We found the company aſſembled in the anti-chamber, who, as ſoon as the Great Duke and Ducheſs made their appearance, all entered a ſpacious ball-room.

The Great Duke opened the ball by walking a minuet with his conſort, at the end of which he handed out a lady, and the Great Ducheſs a gentleman, with whom they each performed a ſecond minuet at the ſame time. They afterwards ſucceſſively conferred this honour in the ſame manner upon many of the principal nobility, while ſeveral other couples were dancing minuets in different parts of the circle: the minuets were ſucceeded by Poliſh dances, and followed by Engliſh country-dances. When the Empreſs entered, ſhe was more richly appareled than in the morning, and wore a ſmall crown of diamonds.

On her appearance the ball was ſuſpended; while the Great Duke and Ducheſs and the moſt conſiderable perſons haſtened to pay their reſpects to their Sovereign. Catharine having addreſſed a few words to ſome of the principal nobility, aſcended an elevated ſeat, and the dancing being again reſumed, ſhe, after a ſhort time, withdrew into an inner apartment. We, in company with ſeveral courtiers, threw ourſelves into the ſuite, and formed a circle round a table, at which ſhe had ſat down to cards. Her party conſiſted of the Ducheſs of Courland, Counteſs Bruce, Sir James Harris, Prince Potemkin, Marſhal Razomoſſki, Count Panin, Prince Repnin, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The game was Macao, the pieces in circulation were imperials *, and a player might win or loſe two or three hundred pounds.

In the courſe of the evening the Great Duke and Ducheſs preſented themſelves, and ſtood by the table about a quarter of an hour, during which time Her Majeſty occaſionally entered into converſation with them. The Empreſs paid little attention to the cards; converſed familiarly and frequently with great vivacity, as well with the party at play as with the perſons of rank ſtanding near her. About ten ſhe retired, and ſoon after the ball concluded.

On the 6th we had the honour of being preſented at a private audience to the Great Duke and Ducheſs; both of whom converſed with us in the moſt affable and condeſcending manner; according to the etiquette of this court, we kiſſed Her Imperial Highneſs's hand.

There is a drawing room at court every Sunday morning at twelve, and on other particular feſtivals, at which the Ambaſſadors are uſually preſent, and which all foreigners who have been preſented, are permitted to attend. The ceremony of kiſſing the Empreſs's hand is repeated every court day by foreigners in the preſence chamber, and by the Ruſſians in another apartment, who bend their knee on this occaſion; an ex-

* An Imperial = 2l.

preſſion of homage not exacted from foreigners. No ladies, excepting thoſe of the Empreſs's houſehold, make their appearance at the morning levees.

Every court day the great Duke and Ducheſs have alſo ſeparate levees at their own apartments in the palace. And on particular occaſions, ſuch as her own and the Empreſs's birth-day, &c. foreigners have the honour of kiſſing Her Imperial Highneſs's hand.

In the evening of a court day, there is always a ball at the palace, which begins between ſix and ſeven; the foreign ladies kiſs the Empreſs's hand, who ſalutes them in return on the cheek. Her Majeſty, unleſs indiſpoſed, generally makes her appearance at ſeven; and if the aſſembly is not numerous, plays at Macao in the ball-room; the Great Duke and Ducheſs, after dancing, ſit down to whiſt. Their Imperial Highneſſes, after a ſhort interval, riſe, approach the Empreſs's table, pay their reſpects, and then return to their game. When the ball happens to be crowded, the Empreſs forms her party in an adjoining room, which is open to all perſons who have been preſented.

The richneſs and ſplendour of the Ruſſian court ſurpaſſes deſcription. It retains many traces of the Aſiatic pomp, blended with European refinement. An immenſe retinue of courtiers always preceded and followed the Empreſs; the coſtlineſs and glare of their apparel, and a profuſion of precious ſtones, created a ſplendour, of which the magnificence of other courts gives a faint idea. The court-dreſs of the men is in the French faſhion; that of the ladies is a gown and petticoat, with a ſmall hoop; the gown has long hanging ſleeves and a ſhort train, and is of a different colour from the petticoat. The ladies wore, according to the faſhion of the winter of 1778 at Paris and London, lofty head-dreſſes, and were not ſparing in the uſe of rouge. Amid the ſumptuous articles which diſtinguiſh the Ruſſian nobility, none perhaps is more calculated to ſtrike a foreigner than the profuſion of diamonds and other precious ſtones, which ſparkle in every part of the dreſs. In moſt other European countries theſe coſtly ornaments are principally appropriated to the ladies; but here the men vie with the fair ſex in the uſe of them. Many of the nobility were almoſt covered with diamonds; their buttons, buckles, hilts of ſwords, and epaulets, were ſet with diamonds, their hats were frequently embroidered, if I may uſe the expreſſion, with ſeveral rows, and a diamond ſtar on the coat was ſcarcely a diſtinction. This paſſion for jewels ſeems to pervade the lower ranks of people, for even private families abound with them, and the wife of a Ruſſian burgher will appear with a head-dreſs or girdle of pearls, and other precious ſtones, of the value of two or three hundred pounds.

On days of high ceremony, the Empreſs generally wears a crown of diamonds, and appears with the ribbands of the order of St. Andrew and St. George, both thrown over the ſame ſhoulder, with the collars and the two ſtars emblazoned upon her veſt.

On certain anniverſaries the Empreſs dines in public; two of theſe days occurred during our ſtay at Peterſburgh. The 2d of December being the feaſt of the Iſmailof regiment of guards, Her Majeſty, who as Sovereign, is Colonel of the corps, gave, according to annual cuſtom, a grand entertainment to the officers. She was dreſſed in the uniform of the regiment, which is green trimmed with gold lace, made in the form of a lady's riding habit. The officers having kiſſed her hand, a ſalver with wine was brought in by one of the lords in waiting, and the Empreſs preſented a glaſs to each officer, who after a low obeiſance, drank it off. At the concluſion of this ceremony Her Majeſty led the way, at one o'clock, into an adjoining apartment, in which a ſumptuous dinner was ſpread: ſhe took her place in the middle of the table, and the officers were

ranged

ranged on each ſide according to their reſpective ranks. The Empreſs helped the ſoup, and during the whole repaſt, which laſted an hour, paid great attention to her gueſts.

On a ſubſequent occaſion we attended an entertainment given to the Knights of the order of St. Andrew. The Empreſs wore a robe of green velvet, lined and faced with ermine, and a diamond collar of the order. The dreſs of the knights is ſplendid, but gaudy and inelegant: they are habited in a green velvet robe, lined with ſilver brocade, a coat of ſilver brocade, waiſtcoat and breeches of gold ſtuff, red ſilk ſtockings, a hat *à la Henry IV.* ornamented with a plume of feathers, and interſperſed with diamonds. This order * being the moſt honourable in Ruſſia, is confined to a few perſons of the firſt rank and conſequence; and only twelve ſat down at the imperial tables: Prince Potemkin, Prince Orlof, Marſhal Galitzin, Counts Alexèy Orlof, Panin, Razomoſſki, Tchernichef, Voronzof, Alexander and Leon Nariſkin, Munic, and Betſkoi. Before dinner, the Empreſs preſented each knight with a glaſs of wine; at table ſhe was diſtinguiſhed by a chair ornamented with the arms of Ruſſia, and preſided with her uſual dignity and condeſcenſion. The

* The order of St. Andrew, or the Blue Ribband, the firſt ever known in this country, was inſtituted by Peter I. in the year 1698, ſoon after his return from his firſt expedition into foreign countries. Weber's Ver. Ruſſ. part iii. p. 38. 161.

That of St. Alexander Nevſki, or the Red Ribband, was founded by the ſame Sovereign, but never conferred until the reign of Catharine I. in 1725.

The order of St. Anne of Holſtein, was inſtituted in 1735, by Charles Frederick Duke of Holſtein, in memory of his wife Anne, daughter of Peter the Great, and introduced into Ruſſia by her ſon Peter III. It is in the diſpoſal of the Great Duke as Sovereign of Holſtein. The knights wear a red ribband bordered with yellow.

The military order of St. George, called alſo the order of Merit, and which has the precedence over that of St. Anne, was created by the preſent Empreſs in 1769. It is appropriated to perſons ſerving by land or by ſea, and excepting the ſmall croſs of the fourth claſs, never beſtowed in time of peace. The knights wear a ribband with black and orange ſtripes.

This order is divided into four claſſes. The knights of the firſt claſs, called the Great Croſs, wear the ribband over the right ſhoulder, and the ſtar upon the left ſide. Each receives an annual ſalary of 700 roubles = 140l. The knights of the ſecond claſs wear the ſtar upon their left breaſt, the ribband with the croſs pendent round their neck. Each receives 400 roubles = 80l. *per ann.* The knights of the third claſs wear the ſmall croſs pendent round their neck. Each receives 200 roubles, or 40l. *per ann.* This claſs admits fifty. The knights of the fourth claſs wear the ſmall croſs faſtened by a ribband to their button-hole like the French Croix de St. Louis. Each receives 100 roubles, or 20l. *per ann.* The fund of this order, aſſigned by the Empreſs for the payment of their ſalaries and other expences, is 40,000 roubles = 8,000l. *per ann.* Of this 1,680 is deſtined for the firſt claſs, and 2,000 for each of the remaining three. The number of knights is unlimited. In 1778 the firſt claſs, which is confined to commanders in chief, contained only four; namely, Marſhal Romanzof, for his victories over the Turks; Count Alexèy Orlof, for burning the Turkiſh fleet at Tcheſme; Count Panin, for the taking of Bender; and Prince Dolgorucki, for his conqueſts in the Crimea. The ſecond claſs comprized only eight knights; the third forty-eight; and the fourth two hundred and thirty ſeven. No perſon can obtain this order without having performed ſome gallant exploit, or having ſerved with credit in the rank of officer twenty-five years by land, or eighteen by ſea. See Ukaſe ueber die Stiftung de St. Georg's-Ordens, in Schmidts Beytrage.

The order of St. Catharine, appropriated to the ladies was inſtituted in 1714 by Peter, in honour of his wife Catharine. The motto of "Love and fidelity" was intended to commemorate the diſplay of thoſe virtues in her behaviour on the banks of the Pruth. This order is extremely honourable, as beſides the Empreſs, the Great Ducheſs, and a few foreign princeſſes, only five Ruſſian ladies were decorated with it.

The firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe ſeveral orders is the order of St. Andrew, which, beſide the ſovereign princes and foreigners, comprized, in 1778, twenty-ſix Ruſſians; that of St. Alexander Nevſki, one hundred and nine; and that of St. Anne two hundred and eight. The Empreſs may alſo be ſaid to have the diſpoſal of the Poliſh orders of the White Eagle and of St. Staniſlaus.

Catharine founded, on the 4th of October, 1782, a new order, called St. Vlodimir, in favour of thoſe who ſerve in civil employments; and it is nearly on the ſame footing as that of St. George with reſpect to the ſalaries annexed to the different claſſes. There are to be ten great croſſes, twenty of the ſecond claſs, thirty of the third, and ſixty of the fourth, beſide a fifth for thoſe who have ſerved thirty-five years, which gives them a right to wear it.

foreign miniſters and a ſplendid train of courtiers ſtood ſpectators of the entertainment, and ſeveral were occaſionally noticed by the Empreſs.

Two or three times in the winter there are maſquerades at court, to which perſons of all ranks are admitted. At one of theſe entertainments which we attended, eight thouſand tickets were diſtributed; and a magnificent ſuite of twenty apartments, handſomely illuminated, was opened on this occaſion. One of theſe, a large oblong room, the ſame in which the common balls at court are held, had a ſpace in the middle encloſed with a low railing, appropriated to the nobility who danced. An elegant ſaloon of an oval form, called the great hall of Apollo, nearly as ſpacious as the rotunda at Ranelagh, but without ſupport in the middle, was allotted for the dances of the burghers, and other perſons who had not been preſented. The remaining rooms, in which tea and other refreſhments were ſerved, were filled with card tables, and crowded with perſons continually paſſing and repaſſing. The company either retained their maſks, or took them off at their pleaſure. The nobles in general wore dominos; the natives of inferior rank appeared in their own provincial clothes, perhaps embelliſhed with occaſional ornaments. An exhibition of the ſeveral dreſſes actually uſed by the different inhabitants of the Ruſſian empire, afforded a greater variety of motley figures, than the wildeſt fancy ever invented in the maſquerades of other countries. Several merchants wives were decked with large quantities of valuable pearls, many of which were ſplit in halves for the purpoſe of making more ſhow.

At ſeven the Empreſs made her appearance at the head of a ſuperb *quadrille*, conſiſting of eight ladies led by as many gentlemen. Her Majeſty and the ladies of the ſelect band were ſumptuouſly appareled in Greek habits, and the gentlemen were accoutred in the Roman military garb, their helmets richly ſtudded with diamonds; among the ladies I diſtinguiſhed the Ducheſs of Courland, Princeſs Repnin, and Counteſs Bruce; among the gentlemen, Prince Potemkin, Marſhal Razomoſki, and Count Ivan Tchernichef. The Empreſs led the way, leaning upon the arm of Marſhal Razomoſki, and paſſing in great ſtate through the ſeveral apartments, walked two or three times round the hall of Apollo, and then ſat down to cards in an adjoining ſaloon; the company flocked thither in crowds without diſtinction, and arranged themſelves round the table at a reſpectful diſtance. The Empreſs withdrew as uſual before eleven.

A ſeparate edifice called the Hermitage, communicates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes this appellation becauſe it is the ſcene of imperial retirement; but bears no reſemblance to a hermitage, the apartments being extremely ſpacious, and decorated in a ſtyle of regal magnificence. To this favourite ſpot the Empreſs uſually repairs an hour or two every day, and on a Thurſday evening gives a private ball and ſupper to the principal perſons who form her court; ambaſſadors and foreigners being ſeldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is baniſhed, as far as is conſiſtent with the reſpect due to a great Sovereign. The attendance of ſervants being excluded, the ſupper and various refreſhments are preſented on ſmall tables, which riſe and fall through trap-doors. Many directions for the regulation of this ſelect ſociety are diſpoſed in the various apartments; and their general tendency was to encourage freedom, baniſh etiquette, and invite the moſt unreſtrained eaſe. One written in the French language I comprehended, and retained. "*Aſſeyez vous où vous voulez, et quand il vous plaira, ſans qu'on le repete mille fois* *."

* Sit down where you chuſe, and when you pleaſe, without its being repeated to you a thouſand times.

A winter

A winter and ſummer garden, compriſed within the ſite of the building, are ſingular curioſities, and ſuch as do not perhaps occur in any other palace in Europe. The ſummer garden, in the true Aſiatic ſtyle, occupies the whole level roof of the edifice; but at this ſeaſon of the year was buried under the ſnow. The winter garden is roofed and ſurrounded with glaſs frames; it is a high and ſpacious hot houſe, laid out in gravel walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange trees, and other ſhrubs, and peopled with ſeveral birds of ſundry ſorts and various climates, which flitted from tree to tree. The whole exhibited a pleaſing effect, and was more delightful as being contraſted with the dreary ſeaſon of the year.

A magnificent range of buildings has been recently added to the Imperial palace; it joins the Hermitage, and is ſo extenſive that it may be called another palace. A ſuperb ſuite of apartments, chiefly occupied by the Empreſs, contains the cabinet of pictures, principally compoſed of the following collections:

1. The celebrated collection of Crozat, at Paris, which vied with that of the Duke of Orleans; it conſiſted of more than three hundred and ſeventy pieces, including various ſketches.

2. The ſmall but well choſen collection of counſellor Tronchin, of Geneva; in which may be noticed ſeveral by Teniers, and a Chriſt bearing the croſs, by Ludovico Caracci, half length, of the natural ſize; the countenance expreſſive of that meek dignity by which the founder of the Bologneſe ſchool peculiarly characteriſed the Saviour of mankind.

3. The collection of Count Bruhl, remarkable for twelve Woverman's; a Holy Family, by Watteau; an Ecce Homo, by Caravagio; a painter who ſucceeded in delineating ſimple nature and low life, but was extremely deficient in treating dignified ſubjects.

4. Part of the collection of the Chevalier Bardouin, purchaſed at Paris; the poſſeſſor reſerving to himſelf ſeveral landſcapes by the Dutch maſters, and Vernet. Among the pictures which came to the Empreſs, I obſerved ſome excellent paintings by Rubens and Vandyke, particularly an ineſtimable head of Henry the Fourth, by Rubens, a Study after Nature, for the Luxemburgh gallery, greatly expreſſive of that vivacity and *bon-hommie* which characteriſed that amiable monarch; two, by Ferdinand Bol; ſeveral, by Rembrandt, in his ſtrong but uncouth manner, and two lovely groupes of children's heads, in the characters of angels, by the inimitable Corregio.

5. The collection of Houghton-houſe, the loſs of which all lovers of the arts muſt ſincerely regret, and upon which I need not enlarge, as the pictures are well known, from the catalogue publiſhed by Horace Walpole, and from the engravings by Boydel.

6. A collection from Venice, containing ſeveral, by old Palma, Titian, Paul Veroneſe, and the Baſſans; many of which are, perhaps, not originals.

Of the Roman ſchool the Empreſs poſſeſſes three capital pictures, by Raphael, which belonged to the cabinet of Crozat: a Holy Family, in that great maſter's beſt manner, and in the higheſt preſervation; a Portrait of Cardinal Pole, alſo in his beſt manner; and a St. George, of which there is an engraving by Voſterman. I muſt not omit an old and excellent copy of the School of Athens, of which the original freſco painting in the Vatican, for compoſition, correctneſs of deſign, and juſt delineation of character, is unrivalled.

Several fine landſcapes by Claude Lorraine, the painter of nature, and two by Gaſpar Pouſſin, in which that poetical painter, ſo remarkable for his pictureſque pencil, has delineated towers and battlements,

"Boſom'd high in tufted trees;"

and

and realizes the beautiful imagery in the Penſeroſo of Milton:

"And when the ſun begins to ſling
His flaming beams, me, goddeſs bring
To arched walks of twilight groves,
And ſhadows brown that Sylvan loves
Of pine, or monumental oak,
Where the rude axe with heaved ſtroke
Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,
Or fright them from their hallow'd haunt."

By Salvator Roſa, the well-known picture of the Prodigal Son from the Houghton collection, Democritus and Protagoras, not leſs celebrated, and ſeveral fine landſcapes.

Of the Bologneſe ſchool, two Guercinos, and ſeveral invaluable pieces by Guido. Beſides the celebrated picture of the doctors conſulting on the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, from the Houghton collection, I could not ſufficiently admire that delightful painting, known by the name of Les Couſeuſes, from the Crozat collection. This charming picture repreſents an aged governeſs ſuperintending ſeveral young women at work, who are models of perfect beauty, unaffected grace, and ſerene innocence. Theſe two paintings are ſufficient to exculpate Guido from the cenſures of thoſe connoiſſeurs, who, judging haſtily from a few ſpecimens, indiſcriminately accuſe him of always ſacrificing too much to the graces, and of introducing affected attitudes.

The cabinet contains alſo a few pictures by Battoni and Mengs, with whom the genius of the Roman ſchool ſeems to have expired. Of Battoni, Thetis approaching Charon with her infant Achilles aſleep is not without merit.

Three pictures by Mengs deſerve notice: Perſeus and Andromeda, in which the painter has erred againſt *coſtume*, by repreſenting the hero naked, and Andromeda half clothed. The Judgment of Paris, a fine picture. and St. John preaching in the wilderneſs, a ſingle figure; the air and motion are dignified.

The ordinary diſtribution of the Empreſs's time at Peterſburgh, as it concerns ſo great a Princeſs, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

Catherine uſually riſes at ſix, and is engaged till eight or nine in public buſineſs with her ſecretary. At ten ſhe generally begins her toilet, and while her hair is dreſſing, the miniſters of ſtate and aid-de-camps in waiting, receive their orders. Being dreſſed about eleven, ſhe ſends for her grand-children the young Princes Alexander and Conſtantine, or viſits them in their own apartment. Before dinner ſhe receives the Great Duke and Ducheſs, and ſits down to table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, uſually nine perſons, conſiſting of the generals and lords in waiting, a lady of the bed-chamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Ruſſian nobles, whom ſhe invites. Their Imperial Highneſſes dine with her three times in the week, on which days the party is increaſed to eighteen. The Lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, who ſits oppoſite to the Empreſs, carves one diſh and preſents it to her; a ceremony, which having once politely accepted, ſhe afterwards diſpenſes with. Her Majeſty is remarkably temperate, and is ſeldom at table more than an hour. From thence ſhe retires to her own apartment, and at three frequently repairs to her library in the Hermitage. At five ſhe viſits the theatre *, or a private concert; and when there is no court in the evening,

* An Italian opera, a company of Ruſſian and another of French players were, in 1778, maintained at Her Majeſty's expence, at which the ſpectators were admitted gratis.

has a ſmall party at cards. She ſeldom ſups; generally retires at half paſt ten, and is uſually in bed before eleven *.

The Great Duke is extremely fond of the manage; and two or three times in the week takes the diverſion of a tournament, which is thus deſcribed in my friend Colonel Floyd's Journal: "Count Orlof having obtained the Great Duke's permiſſion for me to attend the manage of the court, I went this morning to ſee a tournament. His Imperial Highneſs and eleven of his nobles, dreſſed in uniforms of buff and gold, and armed with lances, ſwords, and piſtols, were aſſembled by nine o'clock, although it was yet duſk. The Great Duke drew them up by pairs; and on the ſound of the trumpet, himſelf and the knights mounted their horſes, and retired in due order without the rails. Two rings were ſuſpended on oppoſite ſides of the walls on each ſide of the manage; at each corner was a moor's head of paſte-board, or an apple fixed upon a pole, and between them two heads with a ſquib in the mouths. Theſe were all placed upon ſtands almoſt as high as a man on horſeback, and at ſome paces from the wall; at each end was alſo an helmet of paſteboard raiſed upon a ſtand about a foot from the ground, and about four from the wall. The two judges, with Lord Herbert and myſelf, who were the only ſpectators, took our ſtation on the outſide of the rail. Upon a ſecond ſignal from the trumpet, two knights entered at oppoſite ends of the manage. A band of muſic played a quick air, while each knight, galloping his horſe to the right, and making a volt ſaluted with their lances at the ſame time, then continuing their courſe round the manage, each ran with his lance, firſt at the rings ſuſpended from the walls, and next at the moor's head; after which they delivered their lances, as they went on, to their ſervants on foot. The knights then drew their piſtols, and each making a ſecond volt round the other heads, diſcharged them in order to ſet fire to the ſquib; then purſuing their courſe round the manage, drew their ſwords, and making a third volt round the apple, endeavoured to ſtrike it to the ground. They finiſhed their career by ſtooping down, and as they galloped by, thruſting their ſwords through the helmets; then poiſing them in the air, they met in the middle, and riding towards the judge, ſaluted him, related the attempts in which they had ſucceeded, and demanded their prizes: the prize was about four ſhillings for each achievement, and an equal fine was paid for every failure. The whole was performed on a continued gallop, and always to the right. In running at the ring, the head, or the helmet, it is eſteemed honourable to put the

* Catharine was as fortunate in her death as ſhe was in her life, having reached her ſixty-ninth year, and the thirty-ſixth of her reign, without experiencing the infirmities of age. A few days before her demiſe ſhe complained ſlightly of an occaſional giddineſs; her phyſician recommended bleeding; ſhe replied, I will reſerve that remedy for a ſerious illneſs.

In the evening which preceded her death, ſhe was unuſually cheerful. ſlept well, roſe early as uſual, drank coffee, wrote till half paſt nine, and ſent a note to Prince Zuboff, ordering him to bring at noon the ſubſidiary treaty with Great Britain againſt France, for her ſignature. The meſſenger on returning, did not find the Empreſs either in her cabinet, or in any of the apartments.

After waiting ſome time, he opened the door which led from her apartments to that of the bedchamber-woman, and found the Empreſs half leaning with her head and back againſt the wall, near the water cloſet, and quite ſpeechleſs. She had not made the leaſt exclamation, for the door of one of the apartments occupied by her female attendants was open, and the lady who was warming herſelf by the fire, heard nothing.

The Empreſs was immediately blooded and bliſtered, but continued ſpeechleſs, though breathing, for twenty-four hours, and expired the next morning.

An expreſs being ſent by the firſt miniſter Prince Beſborodko, the Great Duke came from Gatchina about nine in the evening, and ſucceeded with great tranquility. In a few hours the imperial palace exhibited a wonderful metamorphoſis, and was transformed from an elegant magnificent place of reſidence to the appearance of a garriſon; numerous centinels were ſtationed at all the avenues, and in all the paſſages, and the new Sovereign, with the officers of his houſehold and his ſervants, appeared in jack-boots and keven-huller hats.

horſe

horſe into full career, which increaſes the difficulty. The judge having beſtowed the rewards, or taken the forfeits, ordered the two knights to retire. The trumpets again ſounding, two others made their appearance, and performed the ſame manœuvres. This exerciſe was repeated twice by each pair of knights. The whole troop then entered at the ſame time, marched, charged, formed, drew and returned their ſwords, and diſmounted by word of command from the Great Duke. At the concluſion they adjourned to the fire; chocolate was brought in, and after a ſhort converſation, the Great Duke bowed and retired."

The nobles of Peterſburgh are no leſs than thoſe of Moſcow diſtinguiſhed for hoſpitality to foreigners. We were no ſooner preſented to a perſon of rank and fortune, than we were regarded as domeſtic viſitants. Many of the nobility keep an open table, to which the firſt invitation was conſidered as a ſtanding paſſport of admiſſion. The only form neceſſary on this occaſion, was to make inquiry in the morning if the maſter of the houſe dined at home; and if he did, we preſented ourſelves at his table without further ceremony. The oftner we appeared at theſe hoſpitable boards, the more acceptable gueſts we were eſteemed, and we always ſeemed to confer inſtead of receiving a favour.

The tables are ſerved with great profuſion and taſte. Though the Ruſſians have adopted the delicacies of French cookery, yet they neither affect to deſpiſe their native diſhes, nor ſqueamiſhly reject the ſolid joints which characterize an Engliſh repaſt. The plaineſt, as well as the choiceſt viands, are collected from the moſt diſtant quarters: I have frequently ſeen at the ſame table ſterlet from the Volga, veal from Archangel, mutton from Aſtrachan, beef from the Ukraine, and pheaſants from Hungary and Bohemia. The common wines are claret, Burgundy, and Champagne; and I never taſted Engliſh beer and porter in greater perfection and abundance. Before dinner, even in the houſes of perſons of the firſt diſtinction, a ſmall table is ſpread in the corner of the drawing room, covered with plates of caviare, dried and pickled herrings, ſmoked ham or tongue, bread, butter, and cheeſe, together with bottles of different *liqueurs;* and few of the company of either ſex omitted a prelude of this kind to the main entertainment.

This practice has induced many travellers to relate, that the Ruſſians ſwallow bowls of brandy before dinner. What are the uſages of the vulgar in this particular I cannot determine; but among the nobility I never obſerved the leaſt violation of extreme ſobriety; and this cuſtom of taking liquor before dinner, conſidering the extreme ſmallneſs of the glaſſes, is an innocent refreſhment, and will not convey the faineſt idea of exceſs. Indeed, the Ruſſians in nowiſe differ from the French in this inſtance, than in taſting a glaſs of *liqueur* before their repaſt, which the French defer till after dinner. The uſual hour of dining is at three; and the entertainments are moſtly regulated according to the French ceremonial; the wine is circulated during meals, and the diſhes are no ſooner removed than the company retire into another room, and are ſerved with coffee. Nor do the gentlemen, as in England, continue wedded to the bottle while the ladies withdraw into a ſeparate apartment.

Several of the nobility alſo receive company every evening in the moſt eaſy manner: the parties uſually meet at ſeven, ſome ſit down to whiſt, macao, loo, and other games, ſome converſe, others dance. Amid the refreſhments tea is handed round no leſs frequently than in England. At ten ſupper is brought in, and the party generally break up between eleven and twelve. It is no exaggeration to ſay, that during our continuance in this city, not one evening paſſed but we had it in our power to attend an aſſembly of this ſort; and had we always frequented the ſame, we ſhould always have found

the greateſt cordiality of reception. From theſe circumſtances, perhaps no metropolis in Europe, excepting Vienna, is rendered more agreeable to foreigners than Peterſburgh.

The houſes of the nobility are furniſhed with great elegance; and the ſuite of apartments in which they receive company is uncommonly ſplendid. They are fitted up in the ſtyle of London and Paris, and the new faſhions make their appearance as ſoon as in thoſe two capitals.

Having, on a former occaſion, deſcribed the modes of ſalutation practiſed by the peaſants and common people; I ſhall here mention thoſe which I obſerved in uſe among perſons of higher rank. The gentlemen bow very low, and the ladies incline their heads inſtead of curtſying. Sometimes the gentlemen kiſs the ladies' hands as a mark of reſpect, which is uſual in many countries: if the parties are well acquainted, or of equal condition, or if the lady means to pay a compliment, ſhe ſalutes his cheek while he is kiſſing her hand. Frequently, while ſhe ſtoops to touch his cheek, he takes that opportunity of ſaluting her. I have often obſerved this ceremony performed and repeated, as well in the drawing-room at court, as at the different aſſemblies. If the gentleman is a perſon of high rank, the lady offers firſt to kiſs his hand, which he prevents by ſaluting her cheek. The men, and particularly relations, exchange ſalutes in this manner, each kiſſing the other's hand at the ſame inſtant, and afterwards their cheeks.

The Ruſſians, in the uſual mode of addreſs, never prefix any title or appellation of reſpect to their names; but perſons of all ranks, even thoſe of the firſt diſtinction, call each other by their chriſtian names, to which they add a patronymic. Theſe patronymics are formed in ſome caſes by adding Vitch * to the chriſtian name of the father, in others by Of or Ef; the former applied only to perſons of condition, the latter to thoſe of inferior rank. Thus,

Ivan Ivanovitch Ivan Ivanof	} is Ivan the ſon of Ivan.
Peter Alexievitch Peter Alexeof	} Peter the ſon of Alexèy.

The female patronymic is Efna or Ofna, as Sophia Alexefna, or Sophia the daughter of Alexèy; Maria Ivanofna, or Maria the daughter of Ivan.

Great families are alſo in general diſtinguiſhed by a ſurname, as thoſe of Romanof, Galitzin, and Sheremetof.

Travellers who have experienced the great politeneſs and taſte, which diſtinguiſh the Ruſſian nobility, both in their entertainments and aſſemblies, muſt be ſurprized to find, that ſcarcely ſixty years ago Peter the Great † thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh the following regulations by authority:

Regulations for Aſſemblies at Peterſburg in 1719.

"Aſſembly is a French term, which cannot be rendered in Ruſſian in one word: It ſignifies a number of perſons meeting together, either for diverſion, or to talk about their own affairs. Friends may ſee each other on that occaſion to confer together on buſineſs or other ſubjects, to enquire after domeſtic and foreign news, and ſo to paſs

* Vitch is the ſame as our Fitz, as Fitzherbert, or the ſon of Herbert.
† Perry's State of Ruſſia, vol. i. p. 186.

their time. After what manner we will have thoſe aſſemblies kept, may be learned from what follows:

" 1. The perſon at whoſe houſe the aſſembly is to be in the evening, is to hang out a bill or other ſign, to give notice to all perſons of either ſex. — 2. The aſſembly ſhall not begin ſooner than four or five in the afternoon, nor continue later than ten at night.— 3. The maſter of the houſe is not obliged to go and meet his gueſts, to conduct them out, or to entertain them; but though himſelf is exempt from waiting on them, he ought to find chairs, candles, drink, and all the neceſſaries aſked for, as alſo to provide for all ſorts of gaming, and what belongs thereto. — 4. No certain hour is fixed for any body's coming or going; it is ſufficient if one makes his appearance in the aſſembly.— 5. It is left to every one's liberty to ſit, walk, or play, juſt as he likes; nor ſhall any body hinder him, or take exception at what he does, on pain of emptying the Great Eagle (a bowl filled with wine or brandy). As for the reſt, it is enough to ſalute at coming and going. — 6. Perſons of rank, as for inſtance, noblemen, ſuperior officers, likewiſe merchants of note, and head-maſters, (by which are underſtood ſhip-builders,) perſons employed in the Chancery, and their wives and children, ſhall have liberty of frequenting the aſſemblies. — 7. A particular place ſhall be aſſigned to the footmen, (thoſe of the houſe excepted,) that there may be ſufficient room in the apartments deſigned for the aſſembly."

The Engliſh merchants live in a ſocial and even ſplendid manner. Beſides conſtant meetings at their reſpective houſes, they have once a fortnight a regular aſſembly to which they obligingly invite all their countrymen who happen to be at Peterſburgh, and occaſionally ſome Ruſſian ladies. There is a ball, cards, and ſupper; twelve or fourteen couple uſually dance at theſe meetings, which are perfectly cheerful and agreeable.

A traveller who frequents the houſes of the Ruſſian nobility will be ſtruck with the variety of complexions and faces which are obſervable among the retainers and ſervants; Ruſſians, Fins, Lapſanders, Georgians, Circaſſians, Poles, Tartars, and Calmues. He will be no leſs ſurpriſed on being informed, that many of the ſervants, who belong to the Engliſh and other foreigners, are Mahometans, of whom numerous colonies are ſtill reſident in this vaſt empire.

Fortreſs of Peterſburgh.—Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul.—Tomb of Peter the Great, and the ſucceeding Sovereigns.—Mint.—Hiſtory of the Boat called The Little Grandſire, which gave riſe to the Ruſſian Navy on the Black Sea.

THE origin of the fortreſs, which occaſioned the foundation of this capital, has been related in the general deſcription of Peterſburgh. Maſſive walls of brick, faced with hewn granite, and ſtrengthened with five baſtions, encircle a ſmall iſland not more than half a mile in circumference, formed by the Great and Little Neva. Within the Governor's houſe are barracks for a ſmall garriſon, ſeveral wards uſed as a common jail, and dungeons for the confinement of ſtate priſoners.

In the centre ſtands the cathedral of St. Peter and Paul, in a different ſtyle of architecture from that uſually employed in the conſtruction of churches for the ſervice of the Greek religion. Inſtead of domes, it is ſurmounted with a ſpire of copper gilt, two hundred and forty feet in height. The interior decorations are more elegant and leſs gaudy than thoſe in the churches of Novogorod and Moſcow, and the paintings are executed in the modern ſtyle of the Italian ſchool.

In

In this cathedral are depoſited the remains of Peter the Great, and of all the ſucceſſive ſovereigns, excepting thoſe of Peter II. buried at Moſcow, and of the late unfortunate Peter III.* interred in the convent of St. Alexander Nevſki. The tombs are of marble, in the ſhape of a ſquare coffin; and one excepted, have inſcriptions in the Ruſſian tongue: when I ſaw them, they were covered with gold brocade, bordered with ſilver lace and ermine.

I viewed, not without peculiar veneration and awe, the ſepulchre which contains the body of Peter I.; the ſternneſs, or rather the ferocity of whoſe diſpoſition, neither ſpared age nor ſex, nor the deareſt connections; and who yet, with a ſtrong degree of compunction, was accuſtomed to ſay, "I can reform my people, but I cannot reform myſelf." A † royal hiſtorian has juſtly obſerved of Peter, that he redeemed the cruelties of a tyrant by the virtues of a legiſlator. We muſt readily allow that he conſiderably reformed and civilized his ſubjects; that he created a navy, and new-modelled his army; that he encouraged the arts and ſciences, promoted agriculture and commerce, and laid the foundation of Ruſſian grandeur. But, inſtead of exclaiming in the language of panegyric,

Erubeſce, ars! Hic vir maximus tibi nihil debuit:
Exulta, natura! Hoc ſtupendium tuum eſt ‡:

we may, on the contrary, venture to regret that he was not *taught* the leſſons of humanity; that his ſublime but unruly genius was not controuled and improved by proper *culture*; nor his ſavage nature corrected and ſoftened by the refinements of *art*. And if Peter failed in enlightening the maſs of his ſubjects equal to his wiſhes, the failure was occaſioned by his own precipitate temper, by the chimerical idea of introducing the arts and ſciences by force, and of performing in a moment what can only be the gradual work of time; by violating the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of his people, and in contradiction to the dictates of ſound policy, requiring an immediate ſacrifice of prejudices ſanctified by ages. In a word, his failure was the failure of a ſuperior genius wandering without a guide; and the greateſt eulogium we can juſtly offer to his extraordinary character, is to allow that his virtues were his own, and his defects thoſe of education and country. Peter the Great was born at Moſcow on the 30th of May, 1672, and died at Peterſburgh on the 28th of January, 1725, in the fifty-third of his age, and in the forty-fourth of a glorious reign.

I obſerved near the tomb of Peter ſome Turkiſh colours: they were taken in the naval engagement of Tcheſme, diſplayed during a ſolemn proceſſion, and placed by the hand of the Empreſs, at the tomb of the Sovereign who founded the Ruſſian navy.

* Catherine the Second was interred in this cathedral. On the acceſſion of Paul, the remains of his father Peter the Third were removed from the church of the monaſtery, and after lying in ſtate, interred with regal pomp in the cathedral, in the ſame ſepulchre as the body of Catharine the Second. By order of the new Emperor, Count Alexèy Orlof, and Prince Baratynſki, to whom the death of Peter the Third was attributed, were ſtationed on each ſide of the body while it lay in ſtate, and compelled to follow the funeral proceſſion.

† Pierre I. mourut dans ces circonſtances, laiſſant dans le monde plûtôt la reputation d'un homme extraordinaire, que d'un grand homme, & *couvrant les cruautes d'un Tiran des vertus d'un legiſlateur.* Hiſt. de la Maiſon de Brandebourg.

‡ Bluſh art! this hero owed thee nothing.
Exult nature! for this prodigy is all thy own.
See Gordon's Life of Peter. Vol. II.

Near the aſhes of Peter are depoſited thoſe of his ſecond wife and ſucceſſor Catharine I., the beautiful Livonian, who, by a train of ſingular events, was exalted from a cottage to unbounded ſovereignty *.

In the vault of this church, but without tomb or inſcription, lies Alexèy, ſon of Peter I., who fell a ſacrifice to the arts of the deſigning Mentchikof, and to the reſentment of an inhuman, though perhaps juſtly offended father. The recollection of his fate makes a ſtrong impreſſion on a feeling mind, and muſt ſtill more forcibly ſtrike a ſubject of the Britiſh empire; where will is not law, where the heir apparent is as ſecure as the ſovereign himſelf, and where the right of ſucceſſion ſtands irrevocable, not to be altered by the caprice or jealouſy of a reigning monarch. The ſpeculative theoriſt may indeed argue for Peter, that a power ought to be veſted in the ſovereign to exclude an unworthy ſucceſſor. But, in effect, this is rendering the fate of a whole empire dependent upon the will of one perſon, who, during his life, may change his heir as often as he changes his opinion; or who, like Peter, may expire without nominating his ſucceſſor, and leave the throne open to every claimant who can ſecure the concurrence of the army. The excluſion of Alexèy, the decree † ſubſequent to his death, and the unſettled ideas concerning the right of ſucceſſion introduced by that fatal mandate, occaſioned frequent revolutions in the government; and the diſpoſal of the ſceptre has depended on the regiments of guards ſtationed in the capital. The re-eſtabliſhment of hereditary right, therefore, may be juſtly claſſed among the foremoſt of thoſe excellent regulations which diſtinguiſh the reign of Catharine the Second.

In the ſame vault, which contains the body of the unfortunate Alexèy, is placed that of Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia, Princeſs of Brunſwick, his no leſs unfortunate wife, whoſe fate is more afflicting, becauſe ſhe deſerved it leſs. She was born in 1694; married the Tzarovitch in 1711, and died on the firſt of November, 1715, partly of a broken heart occaſioned by her huſband's ill-treatment, and partly by the conſequences of her delivery of Peter II. ‡

Among the imperial ſepulchres is that of Anne of Holſtein, eldeſt daughter of Peter and Catharine, who, though far more deſerving of notice, is leſs known than her ſiſter the Empreſs Elizabeth, becauſe her virtues were not ennobled by a diadem. Anne is deſcribed as a Princeſs of majeſtic form and expreſſive features, of an excellent and improved underſtanding, and of irreproachable morals. While ſhe was very young, Count Apraxin, a Ruſſian nobleman, paid his addreſſes to her, but was rejected with ſcorn. Not daunted with this repulſe, he continued his courtſhip, and finding her one day alone, threw himſelf at her feet, offered his ſword, and entreated her to put an end to his life and miſery. "Give me the ſword," ſaid the Princeſs, ſtretching out her hand, "you ſhall ſee that the daughter of your Emperor has ſtrength and ſpirit ſufficient to rid herſelf of a wretch that inſults her." The Count, apprehenſive that ſhe might execute her threat, withdrew the ſword, and demanded inſtant pardon; and, as the Princeſs told the ſtory with great humour, became the deriſion of the court §.

* See an account of Catharine I. in chap. viii. of this book.

† "In the month of February, 1722, a proclamation was made by the ſound of trumpet, requiring every natural-born ſubject of the Ruſſian empire, and all foreigners then reſiding there, to ſwear and ſign an oath, 'that they will acknowledge, as ſucceſſor to the empire, the perſon whom His Majeſty ſhall nominate for their ſovereign, after his death.' This order ſtruck a damp on the ſpirits of every body, when they reflected on the undoubted title of the young Prince Peter, His Majeſty's grandſon, and only remaining heir of the imperial family." Bruce's Memoirs, p. 226.

‡ See an account of this Princeſs in chap. viii. of this book. § Baſſewitz, 371.

Anne

Anne eſpouſed, in 1725, Charles Frederick, Duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, to whom ſhe had been long betrothed. Bred up with the expectation of two crowns *, ſhe was diſappointed of both; nominated by her mother, Catharine I., one of the council of regency during the minority of Peter II.; excluded from that council after once taking her ſeat, by the deſpotiſm of Prince Mentchikof, whom ſhe herſelf had promoted with all her influence; driven from Ruſſia by the mandate of that arrogant miniſter, ſhe retired with her huſband to Kiel, where ſhe died in 1728, in the twenty-ſecond year of her age, leaving one ſon, the unfortunate Peter III.

Her couſin, the Empreſs Anne, ſecond daughter of Ivan Alexievitch, is interred in the ſame cathedral. She was widow of the Duke of Courland, and reſided at Mittau, when ſhe was unexpectedly called to take poſſeſſion of the empire. On the death of Peter II. without iſſue, the ſceptre, according to Catharine's will, ought to have reverted to her grandſon, afterwards Peter III., ſon of Anne of Holſtein; but as hereditary right was aboliſhed by Peter's decree, and no ſucceſſor appointed by Peter II., a privy council of ſeven nobles, in whom the regal power was veſted at the deceaſe of the Emperor, formed a plan for limiting the prerogative of the crown, leaving the title and pomp of royalty to the reigning monarch, but reſerving to themſelves the ſupreme authority. Having drawn up certain conditions for the ratification of the future ſovereign, they choſe the Princeſs Anne, in preference to the family of Peter the Great, and to her eldeſt ſiſter Catharine of Mecklenburgh, becauſe having no legal claim, ſhe would more readily agree to the terms which might ſecure her the ſucceſſion. Anne ſigned the articles without heſitation, only for the purpoſe of breaking them, and had ſcarcely arrived at Moſcow before ſhe was enabled, by the aſſiſtance of the guards, to annul the act of renunciation, to diſſolve the privy council itſelf, and to re-aſſume the imperial

* Thoſe of Sweden and Ruſſia; the former by marriage, and the latter by her father's nomination.

With reſpect to the crown of Sweden, her huſband, the only ſon of Hedwige, eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. was undoubted heir of the Swediſh crown, but was ſet aſide by the Swedes, who preferred Ulrica Eleonora, Charles's youngeſt ſiſter. See Genealogical table of the Houſe of Vaſa, and the chapter on the death of Charles XII., both in the fourth volume.

As to her expectations of the Ruſſian crown, Baſſevitz, her huſband's miniſter, poſitively aſſerts, that Peter I. had formed the reſolution of raiſing her to the throne. "C'étoit dans les mains de cette Princeſſe, que Pierre le Grand ſouhaitoit de voir paſſer ſon ſceptre." Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. ix. p. 371.

A ſhort time before his laſt illneſs, he explained to her and the Duke of Holſtein the ſyſtem he had purſued during his reign, and inſtructed them in the details of government. While he lay upon his death-bed, having recovered his underſtanding by a momentary intermiſſion of the delirium, (ſee chap. viii. on Catharine I.) he called for Anne to dictate his laſt ſentiments, but upon her arrival he relapſed into his former ſtate of inſenſibility. Ibid. p. 372.

It alſo appears, from Sir Luke Schaube's diſpatches, in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke, that Peter had even taken ſome ſteps towards ſettling the crown upon his daughter Anne.

"Le Cardinal [Dubois] ne paroit guere touché de l'injuſtice qui ſeroit faite au fils du Czarowitz; et il dit, que ſi le Czar *regleroit la ſucceſſion en faveur de ſa fille*, il faudroit bien que ceux qui voudroient ſe lier avec lui de ſon vivant, promiſſent de la maintenir après ſa mort, après laquelle toutefois il arriveroit vrayſemblablement de cette diſpoſition comme ſi elle n'avoit jamais exiſté." Sir Luke Schaube to Lord Carteret, Paris, Jan. 20, 1722.

"Ce que les miniſtres Moſcovites diſoient au Monſ. de Campredon que le Czar voulut ſe procurer une garantie pour la *ſucceſſion à ſes etats de la maniere qu'il ſe propoſe de l'etablir*, paroit fort ſingulier, &c. Par rapport a *l'excluſion de ſon petits-fils en faveur de ſa fille*, ſans marquer en même temps à quel Prince il la deſtine." Lord Carteret to Cardinal Dubois, Paris, Jan. 1721-2.

The decree which he iſſued in February 1722, ſeemed a prelude to this appointment, which was probably prevented by the ſuddenneſs of his death.

Catharine I. was no leſs inclined to appoint Anne her ſucceſſor, and a ſtrong party was formed in her favour; but that Empreſs was prevented from following her inclinations in this inſtance by the ſhortneſs of her reign, and the danger of excluding Peter Alexievitch; who, as the grandſon of Peter the Great, was ſupported by a ſtill more powerful party.

authority in as unlimited a form, as had ever been enjoyed by any of her predeceſſors. This Empreſs reſigned herſelf implicitly to the direction of Biren, a native of Courland, who roſe from the loweſt extraction, and regulated all her councils with the moſt arbitrary ſway. Anne has generally been cenſured for her ſeverity, and is ſaid to have ruled the Ruſſians with the knoot in her hand; but the cruelties which tarniſhed her reign, muſt be attributed to the brutal temper of Biren. The Empreſs herſelf was of a humane diſpoſition: ſhe frequently oppoſed the ſanguinary meaſures of her favourite, and in vain endeavoured to ſoften his mercileſs diſpoſition, by ſubmitting to intreaties, and interceding even with tears, for the unfortunate objects of his reſentment *. But, in effect, the ſovereign who permits cruelties is, and ought to be, equally guilty in the eyes of the world with the ſovereign who commands them; and poſterity juſtly imputes to the miſtreſs the vices of the ſervant, who is uncontrouled in his abuſe of power. Anne died on the 17th of October 1740, after nominating for her ſucceſſor her nephew Ivan, then an infant; with a view of prolonging the reign of Biren, whom ſhe appointed regent during the minority.

Viewing the tomb of Elizabeth, I recollected the motley character of that indolent and voluptuous Empreſs, who, by the revolution of 1741, renewed in her perſon the line of Peter the Great upon the throne of Ruſſia. Elizabeth was born in 1709, and, when arrived at years of maturity, was extremely admired for her perſonal attractions.

Her beauty, as well as rank and large dowry, occaſioned ſeveral offers, none of which were accepted, and ſhe died ſingle. During the reign of her father, a negociation had commenced for her marriage with Louis XV. By the will of Catharine, Elizabeth was betrothed to Charles Auguſtus, biſhop of Lubeck, and brother of Adolphus Frederic, King of Sweden; but he died before the completion of the ceremony. In the reign of Peter II., ſhe was demanded by Charles, Margrave of Anſpach; in 1741, by the Perſian tyrant Kouli Khan; and at the time of the revolution, the regent Anne endeavoured to force her to eſpouſe Prince Louis of Brunſwick †. From the period of her acceſſion ſhe renounced all thoughts of the connubial ſtate, and adopted her nephew Peter. Her diſlike to marriage, however, did not proceed from any diſinclination to man; for ſhe freely owned to her confidents, that ſhe was never happy but when in love ‡, if we may dignify by that name a capricious paſſion ever changing its object. The ſame characteriſtic warmth of temper hurried her no leſs to the extremes of devotion: ſhe was ſcrupulouſly exact in her annual confeſſions of the wanderings of her heart, in expreſſing the utmoſt contrition, and in punctually adhering to the minuteſt ceremonies and ordinances of the church.

With reſpect to her diſpoſition, ſhe is generally ſtyled the humane Elizabeth, as ſhe made a vow never to inflict any capital puniſhments § during her reign; and is

* "J'ai été preſent," writes Count Munic. "lorſque l'impératrice pleuroit à chaudes larmes ſur ce que Biron fulminoit & menacoit de ne vouloir plus ſervir ſi l'impératrice ne ſacrifioit Volinſki & ainſi des autres." Ebauche, &c. p. 119.

Mrs. Vigor ſays of her, "I have often ſeen her melt into tears at a melancholy ſtory, and ſhe ſhews ſuch unaffected horror at any mark of cruelty, that her mind to me ſeems to be compoſed of the moſt amiable qualities that I have ever obſerved in any one perſon; which ſeems a particular mark of the goodneſs of Providence, as ſhe is poſſeſſed of ſuch power." Letters from Ruſſia, p. 89.

† See Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 25. 285. 309.

‡ "Elle étoit voluptueuſe à l'excès, née de ſang voluptueux, & elle diſoit ſouvent à ſes confidentes, qu'elle n'étoit contente que tant qu'elle étoit amoureuſe; mais elle étoit avec cela fort inconſtante & changeoit ſouvent de favoris." Ebauche, p. 170.

§ See Remarks on her celebrated edict, which aboliſhed capital puniſhments, in the chapter on the Penal Laws of Ruſſia, in a ſubſequent paſſage.

reported to have ſhed tears upon the news of victories gained by her troops, from the reflection that they were not obtained without great bloodſhed. But although no criminal was executed in public, yet the ſtate priſons were filled with wretched ſufferers, many of whom, unheard of and unknown, periſhed in damp and unwholeſome dungeons: the ſtate inquiſition, or ſecret committee, appointed to judge perſons ſuſpected of high treaſon, had conſtant occupation during her reign; many upon the ſlighteſt ſurmiſes were tortured in ſecret; many underwent the knoot, and expired under the infliction. But the tranſaction which reflects the higheſt diſgrace on her reign, was the public puniſhment of two ladies of faſhion, counteſſes Beſtuchef and Lapookin: each received fifty ſtrokes of the knoot in the open ſquare of Peterſburgh; their tongues were cut out, and they were baniſhed into Siberia. One of theſe ladies, Madame Lapookin, eſteemed the handſomeſt woman in Ruſſia, was accuſed of holding ſecret correſpondence with the French ambaſſador; but her real crime was having commented too freely on the Empreſs's amours. Even the mere relation of ſuch an affecting ſcene, as that of a woman of great beauty and high rank publicly ſcourged by the common executioner, muſt excite the ſtrongeſt emotions of horror, and forbid us to venerate the memory of a princeſs, who, with ſuch little regard to her own ſex, could iſſue thoſe barbarous commands. But let us lament the inconſiſtency of human nature; and in conſidering the character of Elizabeth, let us not deny that her heart, perhaps naturally benevolent, was occaſionally corrupted by power, and ſteeled with ſuſpicion; that although mercy might predominate whenever it did not interfere with her paſſions and prejudices, yet ſhe by no means deſerves the appellation of humane, the moſt noble * attribute of a ſovereign, when it interpoſes to temper the ſeverity of juſtice. Elizabeth died in 1761, in the twenty-firſt year of her reign, and in the fifty-third of her age: ſhe expired in December, the ſame month in which ſhe was born, and in which ſhe acceded to the throne.

In the fortreſs is a ſmall arſenal, which among other military ſtores, contains ſome cannon, caſt in the middle of the ſixteenth century, under the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. I had occaſion to mention in a former chapter, that the art of caſting cannon was introduced into Ruſſia under Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. by Ariſtotle of Bologna. Ivan II. did not fail to imitate the example of his grandfather in procuring, by means of foreign artiſts, the beſt artillery; and to this judicious policy both monarchs were chiefly indebted for their ſucceſſes in war, and for the conqueſt of ſeveral provinces, which they annexed to their hereditary dominions.

In a ſeparate building of the fortreſs is the mint. The gold and ſilver are ſent from the mines of Siberia, and the metals are refined in this laboratory. We ſurveyed the whole proceſs from the firſt melting of the ore to the coining. Among the ſilver we obſerved a large quantity of Dutch dollars, which were melting to be recoined in roubles. Peter I. wanting ſilver for the new coinage, iſſued a decree, that all the cuſtoms ſhould be paid in Dutch dollars: at preſent half the duties are ſtill diſcharged in that money by all foreign merchants, excepting the Engliſh, who are exempted by treaty. But as the gold and ſilver obtained from the mines of Siberia, with the addition of the dollars, are by no means ſufficient for the circulation, a conſiderable quantity of both metals is annually imported. The coinage, in its preſent debaſed

* I was informed from undoubted authority, that it was impoſſible to obtain Elizabeth's conſent for the execution of a felon who had even committed the moſt horrid ſpecies of premeditated murder, and that the maſter of the police uſed ſecretly to order the executioner to knoot to death thoſe delinquents who were found guilty of the moſt atrocious crimes. It is a pity ſhe did not reſerve her humanity, which in this inſtance was cruelty to her people, for more reſpectable objects.

ſtate,

ſtate, muſt be very advantageous, as in the gold there is ſo much alloy, that a profit of 48 *per cent.* is gained, and in the ſilver of 37 *. This ſtate of the coinage renders uſeleſs the prohibition againſt the exportation, and produces the miſchievous effect of promoting the contraband introduction of falſe coin from foreign countries.

Among the remarkable objects in the mint, the machine for ſtamping the coin deſerves to be mentioned; becauſe it was invented by Her preſent Majeſty, and is eſteemed an ingenious and ſimple piece of mechaniſm.

Within the fortreſs is a four-oared boat, ſecured with great veneration, in a brick building, and preſerved as a memorial to future ages, of its being the origin of the Ruſſian fleet. Peter I. uſed to call it the *Little Grandſire*, and, in the latter part of his reign, ordered it to be tranſported to Peterſburgh: it was conducted in ſolemn proceſſion, to excite the admiration of the people, and expoſed to view that they might compare the former condition of the marine, with the improved ſtate in which he left it. The hiſtory of this little boat is worthy of notice; not only as it comprehends the firſt riſe of the navy, but becauſe, during the courſe of the narrative, I ſhall be enabled to point out ſundry errors advanced by ſeveral hiſtorians of Peter the Great.

There is not the leaſt foundation for the report that Peter was naturally afraid of the water, and had the utmoſt difficulty in ſurmounting this averſion: on the contrary, he always expreſſed a ſtrong attachment to that element. The boat, which has given riſe to this detail, was conſtructed during the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, by Karſtens Brandt, a Dutch ſhipwright, whom Alexèy Michaelovitch invited into Ruſſia. Peter, about the year 1691, accidentally ſeeing this boat at a village near Moſcow, inquired of Timmerman, who taught him fortification, why it was built in a different manner from other veſſels? Timmerman replied, it was a veſſel contrived to ſail againſt the wind. Peter's curioſity was rouſed by this intelligence, and Brandt being inſtantly ſummoned, repaired it without delay, provided a maſt and rigging, and, having launched it upon the Yauſa, ſailed in it, to the ſurprize and aſtoniſhment of the young Tzar, who immediately embarked, and, under the direction of Brandt, ſoon learned the management of the veſſel.

Having repeated theſe experiments upon the Yauſa, as well as upon a neighbouring lake, he ordered Brandt to build a yatcht † upon the banks of the Moſkva, which was launched in 1691; and in which Peter ſailed as far as Columna. Animated with the ſucceſs of this expedition, he commanded the ſame ſhipwright to conſtruct, upon the lake of Periſlaf, ſeveral ſmall veſſels carrying guns; in which the Tzar ſailed on the 8th of February, the 3d of March, and the 5th of April, of the following year. On the firſt of May another veſſel was launched, and on the 9th Peter returned to Moſcow. The death of Brandt ſeems to have interrupted the increaſe of this little fleet; but did not prevent Peter from continuing his expeditions on the lake. Some extracts, from General Gordon's ‡ Journal, will ſhow the eagerneſs with which the young monarch purſued

* See Eſſai ſur le commerce de Ruſſie, c. x. where the reader will find an accurate ſtate of the Ruſſian coinage, in which the difference of the preſent money from that of the former reigns is laid down, as I was informed from good authority, with great exactneſs, p. 254, 255.

† From hence I follow implicitly Muller's Extracts from General Gordon's Journal.

‡ General Gordon, a native of Scotland, was born in 1635: having ſerved with glory in the Swediſh and Poliſh armies, he entered into the Ruſſian ſervice in 1661, in which he continued to the end of his life. His journal, in the Engliſh tongue, is now in the archives at Moſcow, and has never been printed. Muller, who made great uſe of it in ſeveral of his works, propoſed to extract and publiſh all the circumſtances relating to Ruſſia; but, to the great regret of all lovers of hiſtory, has been prevented by other occupations from carrying his deſign into execution. I find, from Bachmeiſter's Ruſſ. Bibl. for

purſued his new occupation: when ſuch trifling incidents as weighing anchor, and ſailing acroſs a lake, are circumſtantially recorded.

"Gordon went on the 11th of Auguſt to Pereſlaf; and on the 14th was entertained in due form and ceremony on board of the Admiral's * ſhip. On the 18th," he adds, "we ſailed from one ſide of the lake to the oppoſite bank; on the 21ſt we got under weigh, and ſailed to the other ſide, where we again came to an anchor; on the 24th Gordon attended the Tzar on ſhip-board; on the 28th we departed from Pereſlaf, and on the 31ſt reached Alexeyſk." But as the limits of a lake were too confined for the riſing ambition of the Tzar, he hurried to Archangel, where he arrived in the month of June, 1693. "On the 17th," ſays Gordon, "the poſt brought the news that the Tzar had been upon the White Sea, and was happily arrived into port, and on the 11th of October he came back to Moſcow. In the beginning of May, 1694, he returned to Archangel, and continued in thoſe parts until September; during which time he made frequent expeditions upon the ſea, and improved his knowledge of navigation."

Theſe little adventures, which ſeemed mere youthful amuſements, were productive of the moſt glorious event that diſtinguiſhed his reign. Peter, in the campaign of 1695 againſt the Turks, beſieging Azof, found it impoſſible to take the town without blocking up the harbour; and as he did not poſſeſs one ſhip, was compelled to raiſe the ſiege.

His ſpirit excited, rather than damped, by this diſappointment, he gave orders for the immediate conſtruction of ſeveral veſſels: ſome were framed at Occa, and tranſported over land to the Don; but the greater part were built at Veronetz. In leſs than a year he renewed the ſiege of Azof, and brought before it, to the ſurprize of the Turks, two men of war, twenty-three gallies, two galleots, and four fire-ſhips †. With this little ſquadron, which ſailed down the Don into the Black Sea, he blockaded the harbour, gained a victory over the Turkiſh gallies, and took Azof. He ſignalized this wonderful event by a triumphal entry into Moſcow, and by a medal repreſenting the capture of Azof, with a motto in Ruſſian, "Victor by thunder and the waves." This ſucceſs was the prelude to ſtill greater atchievements; and as the ſecurity of his new conqueſts upon the Black Sea depended upon a powerful navy, he collected from all quarters the moſt expert ſhip-builders, and ſuperinteded the neceſſary preparations at Voronetz, Azof, and Taganroc. In 1699, ſoon after his return from his firſt expedition into foreign parts, he was preſent at a naval review upon the Black Sea, in which ten frigates were engaged, the largeſt carrying fifty, the ſmalleſt twenty-ſix guns ‡; and the Ruſſian navy, in the harbours of the Euxine, conſtructed and upon the ſtocks, is deſcribed as conſiſting of nine ſhips of ſixty guns, ten of fifty, ten of

for 1782, that a German tranſlation of it is given in Part iv. of the Journal of St. Peterſburgh for 1782, which I have not yet ſeen.

Gordon died in 1699, much regretted by the Tzar, and, to uſe the words of his relation, "His Majeſty viſited him five times during his illneſs, was preſent the moment he expired, and ſhut his eyes with his own hand." The ſame author alſo ſays of him, greatly to his honour, "General Gordon was a ſober man, in a country where drinking is much in faſhion; and though he uſed to be much in the Tzar's company, His Majeſty, knowing his inclinations, would never allow him to be urged. He was ever mindful of his buſineſs, and did great ſervice to the Ruſſian nation." Gordon's Hiſt. of Peter the Great, vol. i. p. 137, 138.

* Muller conjectures that Le Fort was the admiral of this little ſquadron.

† S. R. G. vol ii. p. 226. ‡ Ib. p. 184.

forty-eight, two of forty-two, fourteen of thirty-four, two of thirty-two, three of thirty, one of twenty-six, one of twenty-four, four of eighteen, three of fourteen, and four of eight guns; beſide eighteen triremes, one hundred brigantines, and three hundred boats in the Dnieper. This ſtupendous account would be incredible were it not recorded by the ſecretary * to the Auſtrian embaſſy, then reſident at Moſcow; it is ſcarcely paralleled by the naval exertions of the Romans in the firſt Punic war. The rapidity with which Peter created his fleet for the Black Sea, was equalled by ſimilar exertions upon the Baltic, after the acquiſition of Cronſtadt and the foundation of Peterſburgh.

But to return to the boat which occaſioned this digreſſion, and which gave riſe to the Ruſſian navy. In 1723, at the cloſe of the Perſian expedition, it was tranſported from Moſcow to the new metropolis, and Peter gave a public entertainment, which was called the *Conſecration of the Little Grandſire*. Twenty-ſeven men of war, being ranged at Cronſtadt in the form of a creſcent, the Emperor embarked in this boat, himſelf ſteering, while three Admirals and Prince Mentchikof performed the office of rowers: being then towed by two ſloops, it made a ſmall circuit in the Gulf: and, returning by the fleet, the ſhips ſtruck their flags, and ſaluted with all their guns; while the *Little Grandſire* returned each ſalute by a diſcharge of three ſmall pieces. It was then brought into the harbour, and ſurrounded by the men of war. A few days afterwards the *Little Grandſire* was conveyed to St. Peterſburgh, and its arrival ſolemnized by a maſquerade upon the water †. This memorable boat, freighted with the Emperor, proceeded to the fortreſs, and was conducted, under the diſcharge of all the artillery, to the place where it now remains enſhrined as a memorial to poſterity.

From the fortreſs we took water, and landed at an adjacent ſpot in the iſland of Peterſburgh, near a wooden hovel, remarkable as the habitation of Peter the Great, while the fortreſs was conſtructing. It ſtill remains in its original ſtate, and ſtands under a brick building, erected to preſerve it from deſtruction. The houſe is a ground floor, with only three rooms, which I had the curioſity to meaſure. They are but eight feet in height; the apartment for the reception of company is fifteen feet ſquare; the dining-room fifteen by twelve, and the bed-chamber ten. Near this houſe is another four-oared boat, the work of Peter's own hands, which has been erroneouſly called the *Little Grandſire*.

CHAP. VI.—*Congelation of Quickſilver.—Dr. Guthrie's Experiments to aſcertain the freezing Point of Mercury, and to prove that the Purity or Impurity of the Mercury, by no means affects the Congelation.*

AS the curious experiment of freezing quickſilver was firſt made at Peterſburgh by Profeſſor Braun, I was deſirous of witneſſing the repetition of the ſame proceſs; particularly as many doubts were entertained by ſeveral philoſophers, concerning the real congelation of *pure* quickſilver, and I had frequent opportunities of ſeeing this phænomenon during a ſeries of experiments by Dr. Guthrie, phyſician to the Imperial Corps of Cadets.

* Korb Diarium. The reader will find, in p. 236, a catalogue of the names of all theſe veſſels, together with the breadth, length, depth, number of guns, and complement of men. See alſo Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. i. p. 62.

† Conſett's preſent State of Ruſſia, p. 218.

Having

Having inſerted a tube containing quickſilver in a mixture of ſnow and ſpirit of nitre, he took it out in ten minutes, placed it in a ſecond mixture, and in five minutes the quickſilver was congealed. The tube being broken, the quickſilver appeared in a ſolid maſs like a ball of ſilver, and being ſtruck with a hammer was flattened into twice its extenſion before it liquified.

But the hammer being much warmer than the frozen quickſilver, melted the parts which it touched, ſeeming to have the ſame effect upon the mercury as a warm iron upon wax; I deſired, therefore, Dr. Guthrie to place the hammer alſo in the freezing mixture, ſo as to acquire the ſame degree of cold as the frozen quickſilver. Another portion of quickſilver being congealed by the ſame proceſs, I took out the hammer, and ſtruck the ſolid maſs of quickſilver; it reſiſted the ſtroke, and yielded a dead ſound like lead; I ſtruck it again, and made a ſmall dent, a third time, and made a larger dent, until it gradually extended and flattened under the hammer, ſeparated like an amalgama of the conſiſtence of cheeſe, and ſoon liquefied.

To me the congelation of quickſilver was a matter of mere curioſity; yet the doctor's experiments tended not only to prove its abſolute congelation, but likewiſe to aſcertain the freezing point; and ſhew that the purity or impurity of the mercury did not affect the ſucceſs of the experiment.

As the ſubject is extremely curious, and rendered ſtill more intereſting by the able treatiſe publiſhed by Sir Charles Blagden, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, I ſhall inſert a ſummary account of the experiments and obſervations communicated by Dr. Guthrie, and ſhall only add that I was witneſs to moſt of the experiments.

"Mr. Joſeph Adam Braun, Profeſſor of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Peterſburgh, diſcovered, in December 1759, that mercury might be rendered ſolid by means of artificial cold, and it has been ſince congealed in ſevere winters by the cold of the atmoſphere in the northern countries of both the old and new continent.

"This congelation of mercury by the natural cold, renders the knowledge of its freezing point a matter of great importance to the natural hiſtory of the earth as well as of man; as by determining the degree of cold neceſſary to effect this phænomenon, we ſhall be able to eſtimate the real degree of cold in the countries near the poles, and conſequently the power inherent in living animals to reſiſt it. Until lately our ideas on this ſubject were confuſed and erroneous. The experiments and obſervations of the moſt able naturaliſts in Europe and America were only of partial uſe to natural hiſtory and phyſics, by placing mercury amongſt the malleable metals, and by demonſtrating that there is nothing eſſentially fluid in its nature, but that it is a metal which melts with a leſs degree of heat than the others.

"Still the philoſopher was not informed what reliance he could place on the mercurial thermometer towards determining the cold of climates; as the motions of the quickſilver appeared by thoſe very experiments extremely irregular in the lower parts of the ſcale, falling many degrees in an inſtant, and after deſcending below a certain point, ſinking ſuddenly into the bulb, and thereby ſeeming to indicate that the animals of the northern countries could reſiſt the action of cold ſome hundred degrees below the freezing point of water. This ſuppoſition ſtaggered the faith of many philoſophers, and made them anxious that the matter ſhould be more fully inveſtigated. Accordingly the Royal Society of London deſired its members reſiding in cold countries, to turn their attention towards determining the point of congelation of mercury, and remark the deſcent of the mercury in the thermometer during the proceſs from the freezing point of water to that of mercury, in order to form a juſter notion of its real contraction. But new light

was lately thrown upon the ſubject, by a courſe of experiments made at the deſire of the Royal Society, by Mr. Hutchins, Governor of Hudſon's Bay, who received excellent inſtructions from Mr. Cavendiſh, and Dr. Black, profeſſor of chymiſtry in the univerſity of Edinburgh. Theſe directions, and an apparatus made in London, enabled the Governor to perceive, that the ſudden and conſiderable deſcent which takes place in the lower parts of the thermometer, when expoſed to great cold, happens from the contraction of the metal in its frozen ſtate, and does not affect the regularity and juſtneſs of its contraction whilſt it remains fluid. This great point was principally aſcertained by means of a ſpirit thermometer, which was found not to freeze as ſoon as the mercury, and thereby indicated the degree of cold produced by his frigorific mixture, when the mercurial thermometer ceaſed to meaſure it on account of its contraction on becoming ſolid.

"To prove that the deſcent of the mercury in the thermometer was derived from this new-diſcovered principle, namely, the contraction of the metal in freezing, and to try whether pure mercury required a greater degree of cold to freeze it than adulterated mercury, I made theſe experiments with various ſorts of mercury:

"1. I procured from Winterberger, a famous chymiſt of St. Peterſburgh, the pureſt mercury known to chymiſts, viz. revivified from calomel by filings of iron. 2. From Dr. Pallas, native mercury, collected in a mine where no other metal is found but a little iron. 3. Common barometer mercury, furniſhed by Morgan, an Engliſh optician at Peterſburgh, as he received it from England for filling his inſtruments. 4. Six drachms of common mercury, which I adulterated by diſſolving in it a quarter of a grain of tin foil.

"I procured alſo ſome thermometers made with great care and accuracy by Morgan, filled with the ſame purified mercury, No. 1. for the expreſs purpoſe of theſe experiments; alſo one with highly rectified ſpirits of wine, diſtilled by Winterberger.

"Adjoining is a drawing of the apparatus I employed in theſe experiments, which was ſuggeſted to me by my learned friend Dr. Black; it differs from that employed by Mr. Hutchins in being more ſimple, and conſequently the mercury was more eaſily examined during the proceſs of congelation.

"December the 22d, 1784. In a calm clear evening, Reaumur's thermometer at 17 degrees below 0, after expoſing the apparatus on a table in my court-yard (where I made my experiments) for two hours, to acquire the temperature of the atmoſphere, I poured a little of the purified mercury, No. 1, into the glaſs tube, and having inſerted a thermometer filled with the ſame purified mercury, ſo that its bulb was covered with the mercury in the tube, I placed them in the water-glaſs, filled with the freezing mixture, and in ſix minutes tranſported them into a ſecond, with ſimilar contents; the mercury in four minutes more became ſolid, and when I drew out the thermometer, with the frozen mercury ſurrounding its bulb in the form of a ſolid cylinder, it ſtood at 32½ degrees below 0. Perceiving, however, a little fluid mercury ſtill remaining in the tube, I replaced the thermometer with the mercury adhering to its bulb, and in a few minutes the mercury roſe about half a degree; drawing it up a ſecond time, I found the mercury melted, and the bulb quite free. From this experiment it proves, that the freezing point of pure mercury is at 32½ degrees below 0 on this thermometer; for as there remained a little mercury ſtill fluid in the tube, there ſeems to have been only produced ſufficient cold to freeze it, and as on its riſing half a degree the mercury became fluid, the point of congelation is accurately determined."

"Second experiment.—On the 9th January, 1785, between ſix and half paſt ſeven in the evening, I made the following experiments in preſence of Mr. Epinus, Mr. Coxe,

and other gentlemen. I inſerted the mercurial thermometer uſed in the laſt experiment in a portion of the purified mercury, N° 1, and placed them in the cold mixture: the thermometer fell ſlowly to twenty-two and a half degrees, and was ſtationary ſome time, whilſt we perceived the mercury in the tube freezing round the ſides, ſo as to produce a coating like tin foil in the Leyden phial; on tranſporting it to a ſecond glaſs of cold mixture, the thermometer fell in five minutes to thirty-ſix degrees, where it remained ſtationary during the time of its continuance in the mixture. What was remarkable in this experiment, the mercury in the thermometer was ſtill fluid, although its bulb was frozen into that contained in the tube; for on reverſing the inſtrument, the mercury ran out of the bulb into the ſtem. Now, here is a proof that mercury may be cooled three and a half degrees below its freezing point without becoming ſolid.

"Third experiment with native mercury.—It having been aſſerted, that a thermometer, filled with highly rectified ſpirits of wine, is better calculated to determine the freezing point of mercury, than one filled with the ſame metal, becauſe it reſiſts congelation longer, I plunged the ſpirit thermometer into the tube containing the native mercury. Having placed the apparatus in the glaſs with the refrigerant mixture for five minutes, and tranſported it into a ſecond glaſs, the ſpirit falling in the thermometer to thirty-two, we examined the mercury, and found it frozen, although the ſpirits of wine remained fluid, and the thermometer ſtood at the ſame degree, (not only while the apparatus remained in the cold mixture, but even after I tranſported it into a warm room) and kept it at the ſame point, until a large part of the bulb of the thermometer was uncovered by the melting of the frozen mercury, drop by drop, into a glaſs.

"Fourth experiment on common barometer mercury.—The mercurial thermometer uſed in the firſt experiment was plunged into this mercury, and placed in the glaſs of cold mixture, and after remaining five minutes, was tranſported into a ſecond glaſs, where in four minutes the thermometer ſunk to thirty-eight, and remained ſtationary. The ſame ſingular phænomenon preſented itſelf that appeared in the ſecond experiment, with ſome additions; viz. the mercury ſubſided to five and a half degrees below its freezing point on this thermometer, without becoming ſolid.

"Fifth experiment with the ſame mercury.—I froze a little of this mercury, without inſerting a thermometer, in order to try its malleability and ſpecific gravity; it flattened under the hammer, and of courſe is malleable, and ſunk in fluid mercury, which ſhews that it contracts conſiderably in freezing, differing in this circumſtance from common ice, which expands and ſwims in water.

"Sixth experiment on mercury adulterated with tin.—The ſpirit thermometer being plunged into this mercury, ſtood at thirty-two when the mercury was frozen round its bulb.

"Seventh experiment on purified mercury, was on the 10th of January 1785 (a repetition of a former one) in the preſence of Profeſſors Pallas and Ferber, and other gentlemen. I plunged the ſpirit thermometer into a portion of Winterberger's vivified mercury, and it fell to 32 degrees below 0, whilſt the mercury was freezing, and remained there after it became ſolid ſo long as it ſtood in the frigorific mixture. I then drew the thermometer out of the tube with its bulb froze into the mercury, and hung it on a nail in the open air; the metal melted ſlowly in drops, and the ſpirit ſtill kept at the ſame point until the greater part was thawed. We finiſhed theſe experiments by trying with the ſpirit thermometer, what degree of cold was produced by a freſh frigorific mixture, which appeared to be juſt 35 degrees below 0.

"From the whole of theſe experiments, I am diſpoſed to conclude, that the freezing point of mercury is at 32 degrees below 0 on Reaumur's thermometer, or 40 of Fahrenheit,

Fahrenheit, and that common mercury does not freeze with a leſs degree of cold than pure mercury.

"Eighth experiment.—February 1, 1785, a favourable cold of 15 degrees offering this evening, we placed in the mixture ſome revivified mercury, twice diſtilled with fixed alkali by Winterberger, a preparation which has been ſaid to reſiſt a greater degree of cold than the others; but it froze in two and a half minutes, exactly at 32 degrees of Reamur's mercurial thermometer, in the firſt glaſs of cold mixture, and differed no wiſe from all the other ſorts except the following.

"Ninth experiment.—Mercury purified with antimony froze in two different experiments at 30 degrees with a ſpirit thermometer, and in one with a mercurial thermometer at 32 degrees, ſo that there appears a diſpoſition in this preparation to freeze with a leſs degree of cold than the others; but it muſt be remarked, that it has a blackiſh dull colour and ſluggiſh motion.

"Tenth experiment.—Mr. Coxe being curious to try the malleability of mercury diſtilled with alkali, which has a bright and fluid appearance, I froze ſome of it in a tube, at the ſame time cooling the hammer in the refrigerant mixture, ſo as to acquire the ſame temperature as the frozen mercury, defending the iron from the action of the nitrous acid by means of a glaſs cylinder. This mercury bore ſeveral ſtrokes of the cold hammer, flattening like a leaden bullet.

"Eleventh experiment.—I laſtly froze ſix drachms of common mercury, containing twelve times as much tin foil as in experiment the ſixth; but even this quantity of alloy which rendered it almoſt an amalgama, did not diſpoſe it to freeze with leſs than 32 degrees of Reamur.

"February 16, O. S.—A cold of 24 degrees offering moſt unexpectedly this morning, ſo late in the ſeaſon, and another experiment being ſuggeſted to me by an ingenious friend, Mr. Romme, to put the point of congelation of pure mercury ſtill in a clearer light, I tried it about mid-day, when the cold was diminiſhed 4 degrees in the ſhade.

"Mr. Romme remarked, that mercury takes up much more biſmuth than tin without loſing its fluidity or colour, and as biſmuth is a metal oftener uſed to adulterate it, and difficult to be ſeparated, he thought a mixture of them was a proper ſubject of experiment to decide the queſtion. I accordingly prepared an amalgama ſo thick, that it ſilvered glaſs like a mirror by merely running over it, and adhered ſo faſt as not to be removed without ſcraping. But the freezing point of this very impure mercury was the ſame as the others; viz. 32 degrees of Reaumur, by the mercurial thermometer. The ſpirit thermometer being employed to try the cold of the frigorific mixture, to my ſurprize fell no lower than the other thermometer inſerted in the mercury contained as uſual in a tube.

"Thus ended my experiments this ſeaſon; and I may venture to draw the following inferences:

"The point of congelation of mercury is at 32 degrees below 0 on Reaumur.

"There appears no difference in the point of congelation of purified and common mercury, except one preparation with antimony, which ſeems to congeal with a leſs degree of cold than all the others.

"In ſome circumſtances mercury may be cooled below its freezing point, without loſing its fluidity, even as far as 5½ degrees, whilſt the portion in which the bulb of the thermometer is plunged, becomes ſolid.

"Theſe experiments do not affect the credit of the mercurial thermometer, as an accurate inſtrument for meaſuring the degrees of heat from the point of boiling water to that of the congelation of mercury; but no concluſions can be drawn from its motions below this point, as they depend on the contraction of the metal in a ſolid ſtate

which

which ought to be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the contraction which takes place whilſt it preſerves its fluidity; therefore the ideas we have formed of the cold obtaining in the habited countries near the poles, and the aſtoniſhing power of animals to reſiſt it, muſt be erroneous *, as they have been taken from the extraordinary deſcent of the mercury in the thermometer, which we now know is derived from the contraction of the mercury when frozen, and not from ſuch an extraordinary degree of cold, which if it had taken place, muſt have deſtroyed the whole ſyſtem of organized bodies.

"We cannot, according to our preſent knowledge of the ſubject, aſſert, that a much greater degree of cold exiſts than the point of the congelation of mercury; no other inſtrument having been employed to aſcertain it than the mercurial thermometer, which is now proved of no authority below 32 degrees of Reaumur.

"But it appears, that a thermometer filled with highly rectified ſpirits of wine preſerves its fluidity in a cold of 32 degrees of Reaumur, or 47 of Fahrenheit, and probably in a greater, which may therefore be employed in northern climates with more advantage than one filled with mercury.

"The ſurpriſing coincidence in the freezing of mercury congealed in Siberia by natural cold, with that effected by means of artificial cold, merits attention, as they both fix the freezing point of mercury at 32 of Reaumur; profeſſor Laxman, particularly in a late paper to the Imperial Academy, declares, that he found common mercury conſtantly become ſolid at 210 of De Liſle (32 of Reaumur), and that in 1782, it continued ſolid for two months together. Dr. Pallas alſo, in the third volume of his Travels, mentions the ſame phænomenon taking place about the ſame part of the ſcale."

In addition to Dr. Guthrie's remarks, I ſhall offer a few obſervations.

From a careful review of Mr. Hutchins's experiments, and a compariſon of the thermometers which he employed on that occaſion, Mr. Cavendiſh † concludes, that the true point at which quickſilver froze on Mr. Hutchins's thermometer, graduated according to the ſcale Fahrenheit, was 40; and a thermometer adjuſted in the manner recommended by the Committee of the Royal Society, freezes in $38\frac{2}{3}$, or, in whole numbers, 39 below freezing point, or $31\frac{1}{2}$ of Reaumur which anſwers to the concluſion drawn by Dr. Guthrie from his experiments, eſtimating the point of mercurial congelation at 32 of Reaumur, or 40 below 0 of Fahrenheit.

As the degree of artificial cold requiſite to congeal quickſilver was greatly miſconceived and exaggerated, a ſimilar miſconception alſo prevailed with reſpect to the degree of natural cold neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the experiment.

Dr. Guthrie however proves, that the congelation ſucceeded in a cold not exceeding 0 of Fahrenheit; and ſubſequent experiments made at Oxford by Mr. Walker ſhew, that a very ſmall degree of natural cold is ſufficient to obtain for the frigorific mixture the degree of cold neceſſary to congeal quickſilver. Mr. Walker froze quickſilver in a mixture of equal parts of vitriolic acid and ſtrong fuming nitrous acid with ſnow, the temperature of the atmoſphere being only at 30, or 2 degrees below freezing point. He has alſo ſhewn, that it may be even frozen in ſummer, in the hotteſt climates, by a particular combination of the frigorific mixtures, without the uſe of ice ‡.

* Sir Charles Blagden ingeniouſly infers, from a compariſon of natural cold, during a ſeries of years, at Albany Fort, meaſured by a ſpirit thermometer, and of artificial cold produced by freezing mixtures that the extreme artificial cold produced by ſnow and nitrous acid correſponds pretty exactly with the extreme of natural cold in the moſt rigorous climates, which can be well inhabited; and does not exceed 46° of a ſtandard mercurial thermometer of Fahrenheit. Phil. Tranſac. vol. lxxiii p. 387.

† Phil. Tranſac. vol. lxxiii. part 2. page 321.

‡ Walker's Experiments on the Production of Artificial Cold, Phil. Tranſac. vol. lxxviii. p. 395.—Alſo Walker's Experiments on the Congelation of Quickſilver in England, Phil. Tranſac. for 1789, vol. lxxix. part 2. p. 199.

I ſhall cloſe this chapter with ſome curious experiments made in Siberia by Dr. Pallas, for aſcertaining the difference of the heat in animals during their torpid and natural ſtates.

Pallas having made an inciſion into the abdomen of a hedge-hog, during its torpid ſtate, and placed Fahrenheit's thermometer in the belly, the mercury roſe only to 39½, and the animal gave no more ſigns of feeling than if actually dead, as well whilſt the inciſion was making, as when the wound was ſewing up; the animal being conveyed immediately into a warm room, gradually recovered from its lethargy, and walked about the chamber with as much inſenſibility as if no operation had been performed.

Pallas kept this hedge-hog in his houſe from December to the end of March; and although the heat of the apartment was ſeldom under 60 degrees, yet it eat no food, and was never out of its torpid ſtate, except once or twice, when it was placed behind the ſtove, in a heat from 77 to 80. Roufed by that expedient, it was awakened from its lethargy, took a few turns about the room, and eat a few morſels; but ſoon lay down again, and paſſed its torpid months as nature ordains.

Probably the bodies of theſe animials, which ſleep during winter, are gradually prepared for the torpid ſtate by a deficiency of food, and a conſequent diminution of natural heat; for a thermometer plunged in the bellies of marmots and hedge-hogs in their natural ſtate, roſe to 76, 79, 81, 86, 88, 99, 99½, namely, from 36½ degrees to 50 higher than it roſe when plunged into the belly of the hedge-hog in its torpid ſtate.

The following fact alſo ſeems to illuſtrate the conjecture, that a certain ſtate of body prediſpoſes to a torpid ſtate. A tame marmot, which had become extremely fat during ſummer in the profeſſor's houſe, continued awake during the whole winter, although expoſed to the ſame cold which threw the whole ſpecies into their torpid ſtate in that part of Siberia; nor was the doctor able to render it torpid, even with the aſſiſtance of the ice-cellar, wherein he ſometimes confined it during ſeveral days.

By comparing this experiment with the ſleeping hedge-hog, which Pallas was not able to rouſe during the whole winter, except for very ſhort intervals, though expoſed to a heat of between 77 and 80 degrees; it ſeems to follow, that a certain ſtate of body is neceſſary to aſſiſt nature in laying aſleep ſome animals, to which they are gradually brought by a deficiency of nouriſhment at the beginning of winter, when they ſhut up their holes, and retire to reſt from inſtinct; and that the impulſe of the circulation and animal ſpirits, ariſing from heat or nutrition, ſuperſedes the neceſſity of the torpid ſtate, and prevents their falling aſleep.

It is alſo a curious circumſtance in the œconomy of nature, that Pallas found the heat of birds more conſiderable than that of quadrupeds; namely, from 103 to 111 degrees; a wiſe arrangement of Providence, in proportioning the heat of the winged tribe to the ſuperior cold obtaining in that part of the atmoſphere where they range.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.—*Palace and Gardens of Tzarſkoe-Zelo.—Oranienbaum.—Hiſtory of Prince Mentchikof.—Fortreſs.—Apartments of Peter III.—Palace and Gardens of Peterhof.—Dutch Houſe built by Peter the Great.—Schluſſelburgh.—Origin, Hiſtory, and Deſcription of the Fortreſs.*

THE ſeaſon of the year being far advanced on our arrival at Peterſburgh, we had no time or opportunity to viſit many places in the neighbourhood of that capital, yet we contrived, before the approach of winter, to make excurſions to Tzarſkoe-Zelo, Oranienbaum, Peterhof, and Schluſſelburgh.

Tzarſkoe-Zelo, an imperial palace, fifteen miles from Peterſburgh, is the favourite ſummer reſidence of the Empreſs, where ſhe lives in a more retired manner than at Peterhof. This palace, built by Elizabeth, is a brick edifice ſtuccoed white, of diſproportionate length, and in a heavy ſtyle of architecture. The capitals of the outſide pillars, as alſo many of the other exterior ornaments, together with the wooden ſtatutes which ſupport the cornice and adorn the roof, are all gilded, and exhibit a tawdry appearance. The apartments are large and magnificent: ſome fitted up in the old ſtyle of gaudy profuſion; others in a leſs ſplendid but more elegant taſte, by the preſent Empreſs. One room is much admired, being richly incruſted with amber, a preſent from the King of Pruſſia.

Having viewed the palace, we walked round the gardens, which are laid out in the Engliſh taſte, and agreeably diverſified with lawn, wood, and water. Among ſeveral bridges, we were particularly ſtruck with one, built after the model of Lord Pembroke's Palladian bridge at Wilton. It is exactly of the ſame ſize, but more magnificent, the lower part being of granite, and the colonade of marble. The marble was hewn and worked in Siberia by an Italian artiſt, who employed nine years in completing it: from Siberia it was tranſported by water to Peterſburgh, and from the capital to Tzarſkoe-Zelo by land. It was a pleaſing ſatisfaction to obſerve our works of taſte introduced into theſe diſtant and formerly inhoſpitable regions. Several buildings were ſcattered about the gardens, raiſed in honour of thoſe perſons who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the imperial ſervice. Among theſe I remarked a triumphal arch to Prince Orlof, for checking the progreſs of the plague at Moſcow; a building to Count Alexèy Orlof, in memory of the naval victory at Tcheſme; and an obeliſk to Marſhal Romantzof, for his ſucceſſes againſt the Turks.

Our next excurſion was to Peterhof, Oranienbaum, and Cronſtadt *.

The road lay at a ſmall diſtance from the Gulf of Finland, at firſt through a flat diſtrict, chiefly marſhy, producing paſture and little corn. On our left extended a ridge of low hills, which once formed the boundary of the Gulf, when it ſpread over a larger ſpace than it covers at preſent. We aſcended this ridge; obſerved on our left the convent of St. Sergius, and on our right the palace of Strelna, begun by Elizabeth, but never finiſhed. About four miles further we paſſed by Peterhof; and proceeded to Oranienbaum, through a country covered with foreſt.

The palace of Oranienbaum, near the Gulf of Finland, at the diſtance of twenty-ſeven miles from Peterſburgh, was erected by Prince Mentchikof, in the meridian of a power to which ſcarcely any ſubject but himſelf has ever arrived. The riſe of this extraordinary man is variouſly related by different authors. Some aſſert that he was apprentice

* Cronſtadt will be deſcribed in the chapter which treats of the Ruſſian navy

to a paſtry-cook, and ſold pies in the ſtreets of Moſcow; that Peter ſtopping to converſe with him, was ſtruck with his ready-wit and quick repartees, took him into his ſervice, and advanced him, by rapid promotions, to the height of favour which he afterwards enjoyed: others declare, that he was the ſon of a groom belonging to the court, and was caſually placed about the perſon of the Emperor *. Both theſe accounts, however contradictory to each other, ſufficiently ſhow the uncertainty of his origin; and indeed it is no wonder that the genealogy of an upſtart favourite ſhould not be exactly traced. The earlieſt account upon record concerning him is, that, in 1687, he was one of the youths † whom Peter formed into a corps, and diſciplined after the European manner. The young Tzar was only fifteen years old, and Mentchikof, then known by the name of *Alexaſca*, or Little Alexander, of the ſame age; and being remarkably active in his exerciſe, was obſerved by Le Fort, and recommended to Peter. Several perſons of this company were afterwards promoted very high in the Ruſſian ſervice, and many circumſtances concurred to forward the advancement of Mentchikof. He rendered himſelf remarkably uſeful to the Tzar in his plans of reformation; he paid particular attention to foreigners, whom Peter was continually drawing into his ſervice; he ſtudied his maſter's character and temper, and knew how to ſubmit to the groſſeſt inſults. "The Tzar," ſays Gordon, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs, "often kicked him publicly, and beat him like a dog; ſo that the by-ſtanders concluded him undone; but always next morning the peace was made up, which people believed could not proceed but from ſome preternatural cauſe ‡."

One inſtance of his implicit obedience to the commands of the Tzar, and dexterity in performing them, is recorded by Korb, ſecretary to the Auſtrian embaſſy. Peter was accuſtomed to aſſiſt at the examination of the priſoners who were accuſed of high treaſon, and was preſent at the tortures inflicted to force confeſſion; he frequently attended at their execution; ſometimes performed the office of executioner §, and occaſionally conſigned that taſk to his favourites and principal nobles. Soon after the inſurrection of the Strelitz in 1698, Peter ſcornfully reproached many of the nobles who trembled at being compelled to behead ſome rebels; adding in a ſtrain of ſanguinary juſtice, "No victim is more acceptable to the Deity than a wicked man." *Mentchikof*, however, did not labour under ſuch delicate feelings; for as a prelude to the execution of one hundred and fifty Strelitz, he drove through the ſtreets of Moſcow in a ſledge, brandiſhing a naked ſword ‖, and boaſted of his adroitneſs in cutting off twenty heads. He did not, however acquire the confidence of Peter merely by acts of buffoonery and cruelty, but by his ſuperior abilities both as a ſtateſman and a ſoldier ¶. Being choſen by the Emperor for the companion of his travels, he was created Prince of the German empire, and rapidly elevated to the higheſt employments both in the civil and military line. On particular occaſions he was even permitted to perſonate his Sovereign, by

* The former opinion, that he was a paſtry-cook's boy, ſeems to be the moſt probable, as it is preferred by Weber, Manſtein, Bruce.

† Muller's Nachricht von der Urſprunge des Preobaſchenkiſchen, &c. in Journal of St. Peterſburgh for March, 1778, p. 173. Furſt Menzikow war einer den erſten Poteſchnii. See alſo Manſtein, p. 11.

‡ Gordon's Life of Peter, vol. ii. p. 278. Korb alſo ſays. "Alexaſcam verò favoritam ſuum, gladio accinctum inter tripudia deprehendens, deponendi gladii morem inflicto colapho docuit; cujus impetum ſanguis ex naribus abundè defluus ſatis, teſtatus eſt," p. 84.

§ "Quinque rebellium capita *à nobiliſſimâ Moſcoviæ manu* ſecuri eſſe amputata." Korb Diarium, p. 170.

‖ *Oſtendit ad huc eo veſperè ſæpe dictus Alexander, carpento per omnia urbis compitia vectus, creberrimâ nudi enſis oſtentatione, quam ſanguinolentam craſſini diei tragœdiam expectaret. Crudelior Alexaſca de viginti decuſſis capiſſibus gloriabatur.* Korb. p. 330.

¶ At the battle of Pultawa he had three horſes ſhot under him.

giving public audience to foreign ambaſſadors; while Peter, averſe to the pomp of royalty, appeared as a private perſon in his ſuite. So great indeed was the aſcendency which this favourite acquired over the Emperor, as to occaſion a report among the Ruſſians, that he faſcinated by witchcraft the mind of his maſter.

On the death of Peter the power of Mentchikof was ſtill more unbounded. Catharine, chiefly indebted to his aſſiſtance for her elevation to the throne, gratefully reſigned to him the ſole adminiſtration of affairs; his authority continued undiminiſhed to the moment of her deceaſe, and the clauſe in her will *, by which ſhe ordered her ſucceſſor Peter II. to eſpouſe the Prince's daughter, was at once a proof of his aſcendency and her gratitude.

His intrigues and power, his ambition and arrogance, his diſreſpectful behaviour to Peter II. †, and the peculiar circumſtances of his diſgrace are related in the Memoirs of Manſtein ‡. Being arreſted, in September, 1727, he was impriſoned at Bereſof, a ſmall town upon the river Oby, in a wooden hovel incloſed with palliſadoes, where he ended his days. He ſupported his diſgrace with firmneſs and reſignation §: he received a daily allowance of ten roubles, from which he even ſaved a ſufficiency to build a wooden church, and amuſed himſelf by aſſiſting the workmen in the conſtruction. He ſurvived his fall two years and five months, dying in November, 1729, of an apoplexy ‖.

The wife of Prince Mentchikof, affected with her huſband's diſgrace, became blind with weeping, and expired on the road to Bereſof. One of his daughters died before her father in priſon; and his ſurviving ſon and daughter were releaſed at the acceſſion of the Empreſs Anne. The daughter was married to Guſtavus Biren, brother to the Duke of Courland, and the ſon promoted in the army. A grandſon of Prince Mentchikof is now living: he is an officer in the Ruſſian army, and inherits the name, but neither the riches or power of his grandfather.

Soon after the fall of Mentchikof, the palace of Oranienbaum was converted into an hoſpital for ſailors; but was afterwards choſen by Peter the Third for his favourite reſidence. The body of the edifice was built by Mentchikof, and conſiſts of two ſtories, containing a range of ſmall apartments; the wings, which are long buildings of one ſtory, were added by the Emperor.

Paſſing from the palace to the fortreſs, we obſerved a miniature model of a citadel, made by order of Peter III. when he firſt contracted a fondneſs for military ſtudies, for the purpoſe of learning practical fortification. The fortreſs, which is ſurrounded with a ditch and rampart, and ſtrengthened with baſtions, was raiſed by Peter when Great Duke, and contains a building called the governor's houſe, which he generally inhabited himſelf, and into which he admitted only his officers and favourites, while his court reſided in the palace. Near it were barracks for a ſmall garriſon, ſome wooden houſes for the principal officers, and a ſmall Lutheran chapel, where the Holſtein ſoldiers aſſembled for divine ſervice. The governor's houſe is a brick building ſtuccoed, with four windows in front, and contains eight ſmall rooms. It remains exactly in the ſame ſtate as during the life-time of the Emperor, neither the furniture, nor the bed, in which

* Gordon ſuppoſes that this will was forged by Prince Mentchikof; a ſuppoſition for which there is not the leaſt proof. We muſt diſtinguiſh between thoſe parts of Gordon's hiſtory, which relate to events while he was in Ruſſia, and the others which he wrote after he quitted that country in 1711. He ſpeaks worſe of Prince Mentchikof than he ſeems to deſerve, and particularly arraigns his courage.

† Munic gives, amongſt others, the following inſtances of his arrogance, "Lorſqu'il écrivoit au jeune Empereur il le traitoit de fils et ſous-ſignoit la lettre; Votre Pere Menſchikow. Aux egliſes il ſe mettoit à la tribune de l'Empereur," &c. Ebauche, &c. p. 67.

‡ P. 2. to p. 13. § Manſtein, p. 10. ‖ See Schmidt Materialien, p. 248.

he ſlept the night preceding his depoſition, being removed. The bedſtead was furniſhed with curtains of pink and ſilver brocade, ornamented with plumes of red and white feathers, and the coverlet was of white ſatin. Adjoining is a neat cabinet, hung with light brown ſilk, upon which were ſeveral figures worked by the Empreſs.

From the fortreſs we were conducted to a large gallery of pictures, collected by the Emperor. Among ſeveral portraits of that unfortunate Prince, one was pointed out to to us as a ſtriking reſemblance; he is painted in his Holſtein uniform, the complexion is fair, and the hair light; there is no expreſſion in the features, and the countenance is effeminate.

In the garden is an elegant pavilion, conſtructed by order of the Empreſs when Great Ducheſs; it contains eighteen apartments, each furniſhed in the ſtyle of different countries, and is ſituated in the midſt of a thick plantation. The approaches being circular, we had not the leaſt glimpſe of the building until we arrived; and as it generally cauſes an emotion of ſurprize, it has, for that reaſon, received the appellation of *Ha!*

In the gardens of Oranienbaum is an extraordinary building, denominated the Mountain for ſledges, called alſo by ſome travellers the Flying Mountain. It ſtands in the middle of an oblong area, encloſed by an open colonade half a mile in circumference, ſupporting a flat roof, which is raiſed for the accommodation of ſpectators. The flying mountain is a long wooden ſtructure, ſupported on brick walls, repreſenting an undulating ſurface of ground, or a mountain compoſed of three principal declivities, gradually diminiſhing in height, with intermediate ſpaces reſembling vallies: from the ſummit of the ſtructure to the further extremity is a floored way, in which three parallel groves are formed. A ſmall carriage, containing one perſon, being placed in the centre groove upon the higheſt point, ruſhes with great rapidity down the firſt declivity; the velocity acquired in the deſcent carries it up the ſecond and third, and it glides ſwiftly to the extremity of the area; it is then placed in one of the ſide grooves, and drawn up to the ſummit by means of a windlaſs. To a perſon unacquainted with the mechaniſm of this ſingular ſtructure, this entertainment would appear tremendous; but as the grooves always keep the carriage in a due equilibrium, there is not the leaſt danger of being overturned. At the top of the flying mountain are handſome apartments for the accommodation of the court and principal nobility, and there is alſo room for many thouſand ſpectators within the colonade and upon the roof. Near the flying mountain * is a ſpacious amphitheatre, in which tournaments are uſually exhibited.

Peterhof is ſeven miles from Oranienbaum, and twenty from the capital: the palace was begun by Peter the Great, and finiſhed by Elizabeth. It is ſeated upon an eminence, and commands a ſuperb view of Cronſtadt, Peterſburgh, the intervening gulf, and the oppoſite coaſt of Carelia; it is magnificently furniſhed, and the ſuite of apartments is princely. The preſence-chamber is ornamented with the portraits of the ſovereigns who governed Ruſſia ſince 1613. The moſt conſpicuous is a whole length of Catharine the Second, making her triumphant entry into Peterſburgh, the evening of the revolution which placed her upon the throne. She is repreſented dreſſed in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn ſword in her hand, and mounted on a white ſteed.

The gardens of Peterhof have been celebrated for taſte and elegance; and from the number of jet d'eaus, fountains, baſons, caſcades, and parterres, have been compared to thoſe of Verſailles. Theſe gardens, which at the time of their formation, were greatly

* Dr. King, in his Eſſay on the Effects of Cold, has deſcribed another kind of Flying Mountain, which was erected at Tzarſkoe Zelo; it was taken down when I ſaw the place.

admired in this country, though not congenial to the taſte of the Empreſs, are ſuffered to remain in their preſent ſtate; as during ſummer Her Majeſty principally reſides at Tzarſkoe-Zelo, where the grounds are diſpoſed in a more modern and pleaſing manner. I ſhall not detain the reader with a deſcription of ſilver dolphins and gilded ſtatues, which are ſcattered in great profuſion; but I cannot omit a childiſh conceit of two gladiators placed in a baſon of water; they are repreſented, not with the antient weapons, the ſword and buckler, but with the more modern inſtruments of war, a brace of piſtols, which they level at each other in hoſtile attitudes, and the water ruſhes impetuouſly from the barrels.

Part of the garden lies between the palace and the gulf, and contains, among other buildings, a houſe ſituated on the margin of the water, which is worthy of particular obſervation, becauſe it was the favourite retreat of Peter I. As the houſe and furniture have been preſerved with religious veneration in their original ſtate, we can form ſome idea of the plain and frugal ſimplicity in which that great monarch was accuſtomed to live. This houſe being built ſoon after his return from Holland, and fitted up in the taſte of that country, was known by the appellation of the Dutch houſe: he uſed alſo to call it *Monplaiſir*, the name by which it is now diſtinguiſhed. Being ſubject to fevers, he imagined the ſea air * beneficial to his conſtitution, and for that reaſon cauſed this ſmall houſe to be placed cloſe to the Gulf of Finland. It is of brick, of one ſtory, and roofed with iron, the windows reach from the ground to the top, which, added to the length and lowneſs of the building, give it the appearance of a green-houſe. The habitable part conſiſts of a hall and ſix ſmall rooms, which are furniſhed in the neateſt and plaineſt manner. The mantle-pieces are ornamented with curious old porcelain, which he greatly prized as being brought into Ruſſia when the communication was firſt opened with China. The bed-room is ſmall, white-waſhed, and the floor covered with a coloured ſail-cloth. It contains a barrack bedſtead without curtains, and I obſerved that the ſheets were remarkably fine. The galleries on each ſide, and two ſmall rooms, are hung with pictures of the Dutch and Flemiſh ſchools; among theſe were ſeveral portraits of himſelf under the character of maſter Peter, when he worked at Sardam; and one of his favourite miſtreſs, the beautiful Dutch girl.

Being anxious to viſit every remarkable place in the neighbourhood of this city, I went to Schluſſelburgh; a fortreſs often mentioned in the Ruſſian hiſtory, and celebrated for the number and rank of the ſtate priſoners who have been there confined.

Schluſſelburgh is forty miles from Peterſburgh; the road runs the whole way by the ſide of the Neva, which flows with a full ſtream in a broad and winding channel; the banks, which are ſteep and high, are ſtudded with villages, and country houſes impending over the water. The village of Schluſſelburgh, which is ſituated on each ſide of the Neva, contains three hundred wooden houſes, and two thouſand eight hundred inhabitants.

The fortreſs is built upon a ſmall iſland of the Neva, at the point where it iſſues from the lake Ladoga. The breadth of the ſtream is three quarters of a mile, and the current remarkably rapid.

* "Le czar prit à Riga une forte attaque de fiévre chaude. Pour s'en rémettre, il ſe logea une huitaine de jours dans un vaiſſeau. A ſon avis, l'air des eaux reſtaurait la ſanté. Peu de journées paſſées ſans le reſpirer. Se lévant au point du jour, et dinant à onze heures du matin, il avait coutûme de faire un ſommeil après le répas. Un lit de répos pour cet uſage était dreſſé dans la frégatte, et il y allait en toute ſaiſon. Même lorſqu'il ſejournait en été a Peterſhoff, l'air des vaſtes jardins de ce palais lui ſemblait étouffé, et il couchait à *Monplaiſir*, maiſon, dont les flots de la mer lavent un coté, et dont l'autre confine au grand parc de Peterſhoff. C'était ſa rétraite favorite. Il l'avait meublée de tableaux flamans, repréſentant des ſcénes champétres et maritimes, plaiſantes pour la plûpart." Baſſevitz, in B. H. M. IX. p. 339.

According

According to the Ruſſian hiſtorians, George Danilovitch, Great-Duke of Moſcow, during an expedition againſt Wiburgh in 1324, built a ſmall fortreſs in the middle of this iſland, which was then called, from its oblong ſhape, Orekôſiki Oſtrof, or Nut Iſland; from this appellation the fortreſs took its name of Orekovetch, which was corrupted into Oreſhek. Being beſieged and taken by Magnus King of Sweden, the Swedes tranſlated the name into their own language, and called it Noteborg. It again came into the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians, who retained it until 1614, when Guſtavus Adolphus forced the garriſon to capitulate. Since this period the Swedes encircled the whole iſland with a wall and battlements.

In 1702 Peter advanced to the frontiers of Sweden with a conſiderable army, and, after ſeveral ineffectual attempts againſt Noteborg, ſent Prince Galitzin, Colonel of the Guards, at the head of a ſelect corps, to take it by ſtorm. The troops being landed by means of rafts, cloſe to the fortifications, which advance almoſt to the edge of the water, were expoſed to ſo dreadful a carnage, that Peter, conceiving the aſſault impracticable, ſent orders for the Ruſſians to retire. Galitzin refuſed to obey. "Tell my ſovereign," he added, "that I am no longer his ſubject; having thrown myſelf under the protection of a power far ſuperior to him." Then, turning to his troops, he animated them by his voice and example, and, leading them to the attack, ſcaled the walls, and took the fortreſs. Peter, ſtruck with this exploit, ſaid to him, "Aſk what you chuſe, except Moſcow and Catharine." The Prince, with a magnanimity which reflects high honour on his character, requeſted the pardon of his ancient rival Prince Repnin, who had been degraded by Peter from the rank of Marſhal to that of a common ſoldier; he obtained his requeſt, the confidence of his ſovereign, the eſteem of Repnin, and the applauſe of the public*.

Peter changed the name of the fortreſs into Schluſſelburgh, becauſe, from the importance of the ſituation, he conſidered it as the key † of his conqueſts. From this period it has continued in the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians; but has been chiefly uſed for a ſtate priſon.

The iſland, which lies midway between the banks of the Neva, is of an oblong ſhape, ſcarcely more than ſix hundred yards in length, and two hundred and ſixty in its greateſt breadth. The walls, which ſkirt almoſt the whole circumference, are built with ſtone and brick, about fifty feet high, from eleven to twenty thick, and ſtrengthened with battlements and round towers. We paſſed over a draw-bridge into the fortreſs, which we examined, but without being permitted to enter any of the wards where the priſoners are confined. A range of corridors encloſes a large area, and contains ſeveral dungeons for the priſoners. We obſerved the windows of theſe dungeons cloſed with brick, leaving towards their top a vacant ſpace of a few inches ſquare, which admits ſo little light, that the unfortunate inhabitants have only a kind of twilight gloom. In the middle of the area is the governor's houſe, and a ſmall wooden cottage, wherein a ſtate priſoner was confined. Further on we entered through a portcullis into the interior fortreſs, built by George Danilovitch; it is one hundred and forty feet ſquare, open at top, with ſtone walls remarkably high. Within is the ſhell of a brick houſe of one ſtory, which reaches from one ſide to the other, and contains eleven rooms, each ſeventeen feet by twelve. This houſe was built by order of Peter III. with ſuch expedition, that it was begun and brought to its preſent ſtate in leſs than ſix weeks; but his

* I received this anecdote from a deſcendant of Prince Galitzin, and the truth was confirmed by many Ruſſian noblemen.

† Schluſſel in German ſignifies a key; and Peter affected to give many places a German appellation.

depoſition

depoſition put an immediate ſtop to its progreſs. The conſtruction of ſo large a building in ſo ſecure a place, and in ſuch a ſmall ſpace of time, has always been deemed a myſtery; but there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that he intended it for his conſort, whom he determined to divorce and impriſon. A few weeks before his depoſition, Peter viſited Schluſſelburgh, and ſaw Ivan; he examined this houſe with great attention, and ſeemed ſatisfied with the expedition of the workmen *.

Several ſtate priſoners of high rank have been confined in this fortreſs; among the moſt remarkable are Maria †, ſiſter, and Eudocia ‡, firſt wife of Peter the Great, who was *here* impriſoned in one of the moſt gloomy cells. Count Piper, miniſter to Charles XII. who was taken at the battle of Pultava, died *here* after a lingering captivity. Biren Duke of Courland, and Regent of Ruſſia, *here* exchanged the pomp of palaces for a loathſome dungeon, and the ill-fated Ivan, after an impriſonment of twenty-three years, *here* ſuffered an untimely death §.

Theſe melancholy ideas, heightened by the dreadful gloom, dead ſilence, and awful appearance of a few ſolitary centinels, communicated ſuch an impreſſion as will not eaſily be obliterated; and even at this diſtance of time and place, I ſhudder at the recollection of a Ruſſian ſtate-priſon.

* Buſching ſuppoſes that Peter conſtructed a houſe for Prince Ivan in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh. This can mean no other houſe than that deſcribed in the text, which I am convinced was deſigned for the Empreſs; but Buſching probably did not know that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June. Buſching, vol. vi. p. 531.

See the account of Prince Ivan in book v. chap ii. in the next volume. Several authors who have written ſince the death of the Empreſs, have advanced the ſame opinion, though without the ſmalleſt foundation. In ſuch myſterious tranſactions as theſe, difference of opinion muſt occur.

† Maria was impriſoned on ſuſpicion of being concerned with Alexéy, was again releaſed, and died at Peterſburgh in 1723.

‡ Eudocia was eſpouſed in 1689 to Peter the Great, and was delivered of Alexéy in 1690. Her oppoſition to Peter's plans of reformation and remonſtrances againſt his incontinence, occaſioned her divorce, which took place in 1696; when ſhe was compelled to aſſume the veil, and confined in a convent at Suſdal. During her reſidence in that convent, ſhe is reported to have formed a connection with General Glebof, and even to have entered into a contract of marriage by exchanging rings. Encouraged by the predictions of the Archbiſhop of Roſtof, who, from a dream, announced to her the death of Peter, and her immediate return to court, under the reign of her ſon Alexéy, ſhe re-aſſumed, it was ſaid, her ſecular dreſs, and was publicly prayed for in the church of the convent under the name of the Empreſs Eudocia. Being conveyed to Moſcow in 1718, and examined, ſhe was, by order of her inhuman huſband, ſcourged by two nuns, and impriſoned in a ſmall cell in the convent of New Ladoga, without being ſuffered to ſee any one but the perſons who brought her food, which ſhe dreſſed herſelf. From thence ſhe was removed to the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh. Being releaſed on the acceſſion of her grandſon Peter III. ſhe repaired to Moſcow, was preſent at his coronation, as well as that of the Empreſs Anne, and expired in the Devitchei nunnery, where ſhe held her court, in 1731, in the 59th year of her age ‖.

This Princeſs, though certainly a weak woman, perhaps was not ſo guilty as ſhe was repreſented by Peter. Mrs. Vigor, who ſaw and converſed with her at Moſcow in 1731, aſſures us, that Glebof "underwent ſuch repeated tortures, as it was thought no creature could have borne, with great conſtancy, perſiſting in his own and her innocence during his torments. At laſt the Tzar himſelf came to him, and offered him pardon if he would confeſs. He ſpit in the Tzar's face, and told him, he ſhould diſdain to ſpeak to him, but he thought himſelf obliged to clear his miſtreſs, who was as virtuous a woman as any in the world," &c. Letters from a Lady in Ruſſia, p. 44, 46. Alſo Voltaire, Schmidt, &c.

§ For an account of his death ſee book v. chap. ii.

‖ Schmidt. Gen. Tab. in his Ruſſ. Geſ.

CHAP. VIII.—*Divine Service in the Sclavonian and Greek Tongue, performed by the Archbiſhop of Moſcow.—Bleſſing of the Waters.—Public Feaſt given to the Populace.—Deſcription of the vapour Baths.*

THE reader in the preſent chapter, will meet with various ceremonies and national cuſtoms, which will follow each other in an unconnected detail, but which were too curious to be omitted.

During our ſtay at Peterſburgh, one Sunday morning, at nine o'clock, we, in company with Sir James Harris, had the honour of attending Prince Potemkin to the Archbiſhop of Moſcow, in order to be preſent at a Sclavonian and Greek ſervice. This learned Prelate, whoſe name is Plato, received us with great politeneſs, and, at the cloſe of a ſhort converſation, conducted us into the church. On his entrance the choriſters began a ſhort hymn *, which they finiſhed as he approached the ſhrine; having then ſaid a ſhort prayer, he placed himſelf upon a raiſed ſeat in the middle of the church †; and taking off his mandyas, or common garment, the attendant prieſts kiſſed his hand, while they delivered to him the different parts of the coſtly pontifical veſtments, which, in receiving, he raiſed to his lips ‡, before he inveſted himſelf with them. He alſo placed on his head a crown richly ornamented with pearls and precious ſtones. We were informed, that this dreſs is ſimilar to the imperial robe, formerly worn by the Greek Emperors of Conſtantinople, which they permitted the ſupreme dignitaries of the church to put on at the time of ſervice; and the ſame attire ſtill continues to diſtinguiſh the hierarchy of the Greek church eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia from the lower orders.

The Archbiſhop being robed, repaired to the ſhrine within the great folding-doors, and ſoon afterwards began the celebration of divine worſhip. Part of the ſervice was performed in the Sclavonian tongue by the different prieſts, and part by the archbiſhop in the Greek language, which he pronounced according to the accent of the modern Greeks. In conformity to the rules of the church, no organ, or any other muſical inſtrument, was introduced; but the vocal harmony, which conſiſted in hymns, was exceedingly pleaſing. Lighted tapers and incenſe ſeemed no leſs eſſential parts of their worſhip than among the Roman Catholics.

Towards the concluſion of the prayers, the archbiſhop and clergy retired into the ſhrine, to receive the communion. The folding-doors were immediately ſhut, and none of the laity § at that time partook of this rite; but we, as ſtrangers, were allowed to view what paſſed through a ſide door that was left open for that purpoſe. The communicants ſtood during the ceremony; and the wine was, according to uſual cuſtom, mixed with warm water; the bread, which was cut into ſmall pieces, was put into the wine; and the elements of both kinds were given at the ſame time in a ſpoon.

The whole ſervice laſted about an hour. The Archbiſhop, having pronounced the final benediction, again ſeated himſelf in the middle of the church, diveſted himſelf of his pontifical garments, and clothed himſelf in his common robe. We then followed

* "The Lord's name is praiſed from the riſing of the ſun to the going down of the ſame." Pſalm cxiii. 3.

† The Biſhops alone have the privilege of robing themſelves in the middle of the church; the common prieſts put on their eccleſiaſtical veſtments in the ſhrine

‡ In order to kiſs the croſs, which is embroidered upon each part of the dreſs.

§ The laity generally receive the ſacrament once or twice in the year.

him

him to his houſe, where we found a collation, conſiſting of an eel pye, a ſterlet, red and pickled herrings, and various ſorts of *liqueurs* and wines. After enjoying for ſome time the intelligent and entertaining converſation of the Archbiſhop, who ſpoke fluently the French tongue, we made our acknowledgments, and retired.

Before our departure from the metropolis, we had an opportunity of being preſent at another religious rite of a more public nature, the bleſſing of the Waters; which was performed on the 6th of January, O. S. January 17th, N. S. though not with its ancient pomp and magnificence. This ceremony uſed to be held upon the Neva; on which occaſion the Sovereign attended in perſon upon the ice, and all the regiments of guards were drawn out in great ſolemnity. Its pomp, though ſtill ſplendid, is now much diminiſhed.

On the frozen ſurface of a ſmall canal, between the admiralty and the palace, was erected an octagon pavilion of wood, painted green, and ornamented with boughs of fir: it was open at the ſides, and crowned by a dome, ſupported by eight pillars. On the top was the figure of St. John with the croſs, and four paintings, repreſenting ſome miracles of our Saviour; in the inſide a carved image of the Holy Spirit, under the emblem of a dove, was ſuſpended, as is uſual in the ſanctuaries of the Greek churches. The floor of this edifice was carpeted, excepting a ſquare vacancy in the middle, in which an opening was cut in the ice, and a ladder let down into the water. The pavilion was encloſed by palliſadoes, adorned with boughs of fir, and the intermediate ſpace alſo covered with carpets. From one of the windows of the palace a ſcaffolding was erected, ornamented with red cloth, which reached to the extremity of the canal.

At the time appointed, the Empreſs appeared at the window of the palace, and the Archbiſhop, who was to perform the benediction, paſſed at the head of a numerous proceſſion along the ſcaffolding into the octagon, round which were drawn up a few ſoldiers of each regiment quartered at Peterſburgh. After having pronounced a few prayers *, he deſcended the ladder, plunged a croſs into the water, and then ſprinkled the colours of each regiment. At the concluſion of this ceremony the Archbiſhop retired, and the people ruſhed in crowds into the octagon †, drank with eagerneſs the water, ſprinkled it upon their clothes, and carried ſome of it away for the purpoſe of purifying their houſes.

On the 6th of December we were witneſs to a very ſingular entertainment given to the public by a Ruſſian, who had acquired a large fortune by farming, during four years only, the right of vending ſpirituous liquors. On ſurrendering his contract, he gave, as a proof of his gratitude to the loweſt claſs of people, by whom he had enriched himſelf, a feaſt near the garden of the ſummer-palace, which was announced by handbills diſtributed throughout the city. As ſtrangers, curious of obſerving the national manners, we did not fail to be preſent at this carouſal, which commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon. A large ſemi-circular table was covered with all kinds of proviſion, piled in different ſhapes, and in the greateſt profuſion. Large pieces of bread and cakes in the form of viare, dried ſturgeon, carp, and other fiſh, were ranged a great height. In different-houſes and pyramids, and garniſhed with craw-fiſh, onions, and parſley. In different parts of the grounds were rows of caſks full of ſpirituous liquors, and other veſſels of wine, beer, and quaſs. Among the decorations I obſerved the repreſentation

* The reader will find the ceremonies and prayers uſed on this occaſion, in Dr. King's Rites of the Greek Church, p. 386.

† I was informed that ſome of the populace plunged into the water, and that others dipped their children into it; but as I was not myſelf witneſs to theſe circumſtances, I cannot vouch for their truth.

of an immenſe whale in paſteboard, covered with cloth and gold or ſilver brocade, and filled in the inſide with bread, dried fiſh, and other proviſions.

All ſorts of games and diverſions were exhibited for the amuſement of the populace. At the extremity of the grounds was a large ſquare of ice well ſwept for the ſcaiters; near which were two machines like the ſwinging-vehicles at Bartholomew Fair. One of theſe machines conſiſted of two croſs-beams fixed horizontally to a pole in the centre by means of a pivot; from the ends of the beams hung four ſledges, in which the people ſeated themſelves, and were turned round with great velocity; the other had four wooden horſes ſuſpended from the beams, and the riders were whirled round in the like manner as their rivals in the ſledges. Beyond theſe were two ice-hills, ſimilar to thoſe which I have deſcribed on a former occaſion *, and for the ſame diverſion. Two poles, above twenty-feet in height, were alſo erected, with colours flying; and at the top of each were placed a piece of money, as a prize for thoſe who could ſwarm up and ſeize it. The poles, being rubbed with oil, ſoon froze in this ſevere climate; many and tedious were the attempts of the various competitors in this ſlippery aſcent to fame. The ſcene was lively and gay; for above forty thouſand perſons of both ſexes were aſſembled on the occaſion.

Having thus far ſatisfied our curioſity, we found our way, not without great difficulty, through the crowd to a pavilion in the garden; where the maſter of the feaſt and ſeveral of the nobility were aſſembled, and were regaled with a cold collation, and various ſorts of wine.

It was preconcerted that on firing a rocket, the people were to drink a glaſs of ſpirituous liquor, and, on the diſcharge of a ſecond, to begin the repaſt. But the impatience of the populace anticipated the neceſſity of the ſecond ſignal; and the whole multitude was ſoon and at once in motion. The whale was the chief object of contention; within the ſpace of a few minutes he was entirely diveſted of his gaudy trappings, which became the ſpoils of his ſucceſsful invaders. They had no ſooner ſtead off his drapery, and ſecured the fragments of rich brocade, than they rent him into pieces, to ſeize the proviſions with which his inſide was ſtored. The [illegible] thouſand who were too numerous to be all engaged in contending about [illegible] aining people, ployed in uncovering the pent-houſes, and pulling down [illegible] he whale, were em- with one hand provender to their mouths, and wit[illegible] e pyramids; in conveying crowded round the caſks and hogſheads; [illegible] other to their pockets. Others fantly wine, beer, and ſpirits. The confuſ[illegible] great wooden ladles lapped inceſ- conceived than deſcribed; and we th[illegible] nd riot, which ſoon ſucceeded, is better cloſed with a ſuperb illumination o[illegible] it expedient to retire. The evening was

But the conſequences of this [illegible] gardens, and magnificent fire-works. creaſed with ſuch violence [illegible] were indeed dreadful. The cold had ſuddenly in- 4, ſunk towards the clo[illegible] Fahrenheit's thermometer, which at mid-day ſtood only perſons were froze[illegible] the evening to 15 below freezing point. Many intoxicated were robbed [illegible] death: not a few fell a ſacrifice to drunken quarrels; and others late to th[illegible] murdered in the more retired parts of the city, as they were returning [illegible] omes. From a compariſon of the various reports, we had reaſon to [illegible]ude, that at leaſt four hundred perſons loſt their lives upon this melancholy [illegible]caſion †.

* See vol. ii. book ix. chap. 3.

† The following day I counted myſelf no leſs than forty bodies, collected in two ſheds near the place of entertainment.

The Ruſſian baths have been deſcribed by every traveller who has given to the public any relation of this country. Inſtead of tranſcribing from the accounts of others, I ſhall relate what fell under my own immediate notice.

In one of the Ruſſian villages we entered a bathing-houſe, and examined it with as much attention as the extreme heat would permit. It was a wooden building of one room, with ſmall windows like thoſe of the common cottages. Within an old woman was employed in preparing the bath; and as the violent ſmoke and heat rendered it ſcarcely poſſible for us to ſtay in the room for the ſpace of a minute, we took our ſtation at the door, and obſerved the proceſs. She firſt made a fire under an arch of large granite ſtones four feet in height; and when they were ſufficiently heated, ſhe ſprinkled them at different intervals with water, which flew off in vapour. She then took from the fire, by means of two ſticks, ſeveral ſmall red-hot pebbles, and put them into pails and troughs of water, which acquired different degrees of warmth. In half an hour three men entered the bath; and, taking off their clothes, remained within, while the old woman continued to throw water upon the arch of ſtones, which heated the room to a prodigious degree. They then lay down upon a ſort of table, and having lathered their bodies with ſoap, ſhe rubbed them lightly with a bundle of twigs in full foliage. On account of the exceſſive heat, we were driven from the door; and ſoon afterwards the men, their bodies ſuffuſed with a deep crimſon from the effects of the vapour, ruſhed out, plunged themſelves into the river, and re-entered the bath.

Another bath which we entered near the convent of Yurief at Novogorod, being larger and more commodious, we were able to remain ſome time ſpectators of the whole proceſs. It was a large wooden building, containing, like that juſt deſcribed, only one room, and was provided with ranges of broad benches, placed like ſteps one above the other, almoſt to the height of the ceiling. Within were about twenty perſons undreſſed; ſome were lying upon the benches; ſome were ſitting; others ſtanding; ſome were waſhing their bodies with ſoap; others rubbing themſelves with ſmall branches of oak-leaves tied together like a rod; ſome were pouring hot water upon their heads, others cold water; a few, almoſt exhauſted by the heat, were ſtanding in the open air, or repeatedly plunging into the Volkof *.

I ſhall add on this ſubject the following account communicated to me by an Engliſh gentleman at Peterſburgh, who was ordered to bathe for his health. "The bathing-room was ſmall and low, and contained a heap of large ſtones piled over a fire, and two broad benches, one near the ground, and the other near the ceiling. Small buckets of water being occaſionally thrown upon the heated ſtones, filled the room with a hot and ſuffocating vapour; which, from its tendency to aſcend, rendered the upper part much

* Travellers are too apt not to diſtinguiſh between the cuſtoms of the common people and thoſe of the nobles; often imputing to the latter what is true only of the former. The Abbé de Chappe, in his account of his Journey through Siberia, has in many inſtances been guilty of this abſurdity; and the reader is led to conclude from his narrative, that the nobles bathe promiſcuouſly with the public like the common people; that they are equally addicted to ſpirituous liquors; and that they are as inelegant in their entertainments and behaviour; the very reverſe of which is the fact. The author of the Antidote to his Travels has not failed, with a glow of national patriotiſm, to cenſure ſuch indiſcriminate accounts. In no one inſtance has the Abbé been more erroneous than in his deſcription of the baths. Almoſt every one of them, he adds, "Theſe baths are in uſe all over Ruſſia; every inhabitant of this extenſive tract of land, from the Sovereign to the meaneſt ſubject, bathes twice a week, and in the ſame manner. Every individual, even of the ſmalleſt fortune, has a private bath in his own houſe, in which the father, mother, and children ſometimes bathe all together." And again, "The baths of the rich differ only from thoſe of the poor people in being more clean." But ſuch ſhameful miſrepreſentations ſcarcely deſerve to be mentioned, but it not to expoſe their falſity.

hotter than the lower. Having taken off my clothes, I laid myſelf down upon the higheſt bench; while the bathing woman was preparing tubs of hot and cold water, and continued to increaſe the vapour in the manner above mentioned. Having dipped a bunch of twigs into the hot water, ſhe repeatedly ſprinkled, and then rubbed with it my whole body. In about half an hour I removed to the lower bench, which I found much cooler; when the bathing-woman lathered me from head to foot with ſoap, ſcrubbed me with flannel for the ſpace of ten minutes; and throwing ſeveral buckets of warm water over me, till the ſoap was entirely waſhed off, ſhe finally dried me with napkins. As I put on my clothes in a room without a fire, I had an opportunity of remarking, that the cold air had little effect on my body, though in ſo heated a ſtate; for while I was dreſſing, I felt a glow of warmth which continued during the whole night. This circumſtance convinced me, that when the natives ruſh from the vapour-baths into the river, or even roll in the ſnow, their ſenſations are in no reſpect diſagreeable, nor the effects in any degree unwholeſome."

Though the hardineſs of the Ruſſians has, with reaſon, been generally attributed to the ſudden extremes of heat and cold, which they experience on theſe occaſions; yet other cauſes are not wanting that may concur to this effect. The peaſants change their dreſs without the leaſt attention to the variation of the ſeaſons; on the ſame day they wear only their coarſe ſhirts and drawers, or are clad in the warmeſt clothing. They are totally unacquainted with the luxury of beds; ſleeping either upon the tops of their ſtoves, or on the bare floor, ſometimes in their clothes, and at other times almoſt naked. Their cottages alſo are rendered exceedingly hot, from the number of perſons crowded into a ſmall ſpace, and from the ſtoves, which are almoſt always heated, even in the midſt of ſummer; ſo that when they go out, it is like iſſuing from a warm bath into the open air. The children are not tenderly nurtured, but are equally inured from their earlieſt infancy to the moſt oppoſite extremes. We ſeldom, indeed, paſſed through a village, in which we did not obſerve ſeveral running about the ſtreets; and others, who were ſcarcely able to crawl, ſtanding or lying near the doors of the cottages, with no other covering than their ſhirts, even in rainy or froſty weather. Thus the natives [illegible] uſed to ſudden changes of heat and cold, and accuſtomed from their infancy to [illegible] are the hardieſt kind of life.

CHAP. IX.—*Journey from Peterſburgh to Riga.—Hiſtory of Livonia.—Narva.—Dorpt.—Riga.—Anecdotes of General Brown.*

AN excurſion through Livonia and Courland will form the ſubject of this and the following chapter.

May 8, 1785. Quitting St. Petersburgh, we purſued our journey through Eſthonia, and Livonia, conquered from the Swedes by Peter the Great.

As theſe provinces border upon Ruſſia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally poſſeſſed by thoſe three powers, were, during a period of more than two centuries, a conſtant ſource of the moſt bloody wars, it may not be unneceſſary to ſtate briefly their hiſtory, and [illegible] the cauſes which rendered them objects of contention.

In [illegible] ne merchants of Bremen, bound to Wiſby, in the iſle of Gothland *, driven by [illegible] reſs of weather, landed at the mouth of the Duna, trafficked with the natives, and gradually eſtabliſhed a ſettlement. A German monk of the Auguſtine order,

* Nachrichter von Liefland, S. R. G. v. 9. p. 263.

who

who accompanied the new coloniſts, acquired the language of the country, converted ſeveral of the natives to chriſtianity, and perſuaded them to be baptized. According to the cuſtom of that barbarous æra, an order of knighthood, firſt called the Knights of Chriſt, and afterwards with more propriety the Knights of the Sword, was inſtituted for the propagation of Chriſtianity by force of arms. Thoſe military miſſionaries, equally fanatic and ſanguinary, gradually over-ran the country, and reducing the ancient inhabitants, rendered them at the ſame time Chriſtians and ſlaves.

In 1231 theſe knights, being incorporated in the Teutonic order, ſtyled themſelves Knights and Lords of the Croſs, and purchaſed Eſthonia, in 1521, from the King of Denmark. Walter Plettenburgh, chief or general, having obtained from the Grand Maſter of the Teutonic order the juriſdiction of Livonia, was conſidered as independent, and admitted by Charles the Fifth among the Princes of the empire. The knights continued in poſſeſſion of Eſthonia and Livonia, until the impolitic conduct of their maſters, and civil diſſenſions, incited the ambition of the neighbouring powers, and involved the country in a ſeries of bloody wars.

In 1556, the Archbiſhop of Riga being impriſoned by Walter Furſtenburgh, general of the order, implored the aſſiſtance of his uncle, Sigiſmond Auguſtus, King of Poland. Sigiſmond immediately armed in favor of his nephew, invaded Livonia, and compelled Walter Furſtenburg to releaſe the Archbiſhop to liberty, and to conclude a treaty, by which he acknowledged himſelf and the province of Livonia dependent on the crown of Poland.

But Ivan Vaſſilievitch, whoſe anceſtors poſſeſſed Dorpt, and other neighbouring towns in Livonia and Eſthonia, laid claim to theſe provinces, and entering Livonia with a formidable army, reſolved to annex them to the Ruſſian empire. In this imminent danger, the city of Revel, and the inhabitants of Eſthonia, threw themſelves under the protection of the King of Sweden, who, in taking poſſeſſion of that province, claimed Livonia as an annexed dependency. At the ſame time the Ruſſians, entering Livonia, met with little reſiſtance, took Furſtenberg, the Grand Maſter, priſoner, and over-ran the country.

Gothard Ketler, who was appointed Grand Maſter in the place of Furſtenberg, unable to reſiſt the Ruſſian arms, haſtily concluded a treaty with Sigiſmond Auguſtus, ceded Livonia to the crown of Poland, on condition of reſerving to himſelf and heirs male the duchies of Courland and Semigallia as fiefs of Poland. At the concluſion of this treaty, Livonia, the object of contention, thus ceded to Poland, was partly poſſeſſed by the Poles, partly by the Swedes, and partly over-run by the Ruſſians.

In this ſituation of affairs, Ivan Vaſſilievitch conferred on Magnus, Prince of Denmark, who, in the capacity of biſhop of Pilten in Courland, had ſome pretenſions to Livonia, the nominal ſovereignty of that province. Having already related * the account of that tranſaction, together with the erection and extinction of the ſhort-lived kingdom of Livonia, I ſhall only add, that Ivan Vaſſilievitch, being worſted by Stephen Bathori, King of Poland, in ſeveral engagements, purchaſed a peace, by ceding, in 1582, to the crown of Poland, all that part of Livonia which he had occupied; but the King of Sweden continued in poſſeſſion of Eſthonia; and, by the fourth article of the peace of Oliva, obtained poſſeſſion of all Livonia. Theſe important provinces, containing all the northern diſtrict between the Gulf of Finland, the Narova, the Peipus lake, and the Duna, and ſtretching to the boundaries of the preſent government of Polotſk, were wreſted from

* Book III. chap. vi.

the

the Swedes by Peter the Great, and confirmed to the Ruſſians by the peace of Ryſtadt, in 1721.

The reformation was firſt introduced into Livonia and Eſthonia in 1522, and ſoon embraced by all ranks of people. The Lutheran religion is the moſt prevalent; but all other ſects are tolerated.

Narva and its ſuburbs, according to a geographical diviſion, are ſituated partly in Ingria, and partly in Eſthonia, as the river Narova divides thoſe two provinces; but, in the diviſion of governments eſtabliſhed by the Empreſs, is compriſed in Ingria, or the government of St. Peterſburgh.

Narva ſtands on the Narova, near one hundred miles from Peterſburgh, twenty-four from the point where that river iſſues from the lake, and eight miles from its mouth, where it falls into the Gulf of Finland. The houſes are built of brick ſtuccoed white, and it has more the appearance of a German than of a Ruſſian town. In the ſuburbs, called Ivangorod, the coloſſal remains of an ancient fortreſs, built by Ivan Vaſſilievitch the Great, impend in a picturesque manner over the ſteep banks of the Narova.

The principal exports are hemp, flax, timber, and corn; the imports, ſalt, tobacco, wine, ſalted herrings, ſpices, tea, ſugar, and other grocery wares.

I did not omit viſiting the two falls of the river Narova, which have been pompouſly deſcribed by ſeveral travellers, but appear trifling and unintereſting to thoſe who have ſeen the fall of the Rhine at Schaffhauſen, of the Dahl, near Geſle, in Sweden, and the ſtupendous cataracts of Trolhætta. The breadth of the river is two hundred feet, and the perpendicular height of the falls ſcarcely exceeds twenty. The ſteep and chalky banks of the river, its rapid and turbid ſtream, and a rocky iſland which ſeparates the two falls, form a rugged and picturesque ſcene, much heightened by the foam and roaring of the cataract.

Near Narva is the ſpot celebrated for the victory which Charles the Twelfth, in the nineteenth year of his age, gained over the Ruſſian army (1700). Authors prone to exaggeration, and willing to render more marvellous the exploits of the Swediſh hero, have diminiſhed his army to three thouſand, and increaſed the Ruſſians to one hundred thouſand. The fact ſeems to be, that Charles headed, on that memorable day, at leaſt nine thouſand men, and the Ruſſians did not exceed thirty-two thouſand *. And it is no wonder that the veteran troops of Sweden, led on by their undaunted monarch, ſhould triumph over a raw undiſciplined army, commanded by generals at variance with each other. Six thouſand Ruſſians, including thoſe drowned in attempting to paſs the Narova, fell in this engagement; but the conſequences were ſtill more fatal to the Ruſſian arms, as the whole artillery was loſt, and the greater part of the infantry ſurrendered to the conqueror. The number of priſoners was ſo great, that the officers were only detained; the reſt were driven, like a flock of ſheep, to the diſtance of a league from Narva, and diſmiſſed.

Peter the Great, not diſcomfited with this loſs, exclaimed, "I expected that the Swedes would beat my troops; but in time they will teach us to conquer them." Nor was this prediction long before it was verified. In leſs than five years from the defeat at Narva, he revenged the diſhonour of his arms on that unfortunate day, by taking the town by aſſault; and gave a ſingular proof of his humanity. He traverſed the ſtreets on horſeback, with his drawn ſword in his hand, reſtrained his troops from pillage, killed two who refuſed to deſiſt, placed guards at the doors of the principal houſes and before

* See L'Eveſque's Hiſt. de Ruſſie, vol. iv. p. 169.

the

the churches, repaired to the Hotel de Ville, where the magiſtrates and citizens had taken refuge, and throwing his ſword upon the table, exclaimed; "It is not ſtained with the blood of the natives, but with that of my own ſoldiers, whom I killed in order to ſave your lives *."

Dorpt, one hundred and ſeventy-four verſts, or one hundred and ſixteen miles, from Narva, bears evident marks of the dreadful devaſtation which it ſuffered in the wars between the Swedes and Ruſſians in the beginning of this century; and particularly in the ruins of the cathedral, which form a pictureſque object on an adjacent hill. In addition to theſe devaſtations, the town ſuffered a few years ago from a violent conflagration; but is now rebuilding, and will riſe more beautiful from its ruins, as the Empreſs has contributed with her uſual munificence. A wooden bridge over the Empac was likewiſe burnt down, but has been ſupplied by a magnificent ſtone bridge, on which I remarked this arrogant inſcription:

† Siſte impetus hic flumen,
Catharina II. jubet;
Cujus munificentia hæc moles
In publicum commodum
Extructa, Livoniaque primo
Lapideo ponte adornata.
1783.

In purſuing our route from Narva to Dorpt, we coaſted the lake Peipus, a large but unintereſting piece of water, the banks flat, and the environs moſtly ſandy.

Dorpt ſtands in the moſt fertile part of Livonia, called, from the abundance of grain, the Granary of the North; and this fertile diſtrict continued till we came within a few miles of Riga, which is inveſted, as Wraxall juſtly obſerves, "on every ſide with deep barren ſands. Its ſituation in ſo barren a ſpot was choſen by commerce, the genius of which ſtill protects and enriches it ‡."

Riga, the capital of Livonia, contains within the fortifications nine thouſand inhabitants, and in the ſuburbs fifteen thouſand, excluſive of a garriſon of one thouſand ſoldiers §. It derives its conſequence from its ſituation on the Duna, a river which, being navigable from the frontiers of the government of Polotſk, brings the productions of the north eaſtern parts of Poland, and the weſtern provinces of Ruſſia, and is ſufficiently deep to receive cloſe to its walls, ſhips of burthen, which ſail to and from the Baltic.

Next to St. Peterſburgh it is the moſt commercial town in the Ruſſian empire. The trade is chiefly carried on by foreign merchants, who are reſident in the town. The Engliſh factory enjoy the greateſt ſhare of the commerce, and live in a hoſpitable and ſplendid manner. The principal exports are corn, hemp, flax, iron, timber, maſts, leather, tallow; the imports, ſalt, cloth, ſilks, wine, grocery, pot-aſh, and ſalted herrings.

The maſt trade is peculiarly beneficial to the town: the burghers of Riga ſend perſons, who are called maſt-brokers, into the Ruſſian provinces, to mark the trees, which

* L'Eveſque, p. 201.

† Here, O river, ſtop your impetuous courſe, Catharine the ſecond commands; by whoſe munificence this mound was raiſed, and Livonia adorned with this firſt ſtone bridge.

‡ Wraxall's Northern Tour, p. 281.

§ According to Heym, in the town and ſuburbs, fourteen thouſand two hundred and eighty males, and thirteen thouſand five hundred and ſixteen females.

are

are purchaſed ſtanding. They grow moſtly on the diſtricts which border on the Dnieper, are ſent up that river to a landing-place, tranſported thirty verſts to the Duna, are then formed into floats of from fifty to two hundred pieces, and deſcend the ſtream to Riga. The tree which produces the largeſt maſts is the Scotch fir. Thoſe pieces which are from eighteen to twenty-five inches in diameter are called maſts; under thoſe dimenſions, ſpars, or in England, Norway maſts; becauſe Norway exports no trees more than eighteen inches in diameter.

The Engliſh merchants, who contract with government, buy the maſts from the burghers of Riga; and great ſkill is required in diſtinguiſhing thoſe that are ſound throughout from thoſe which are in the leaſt internally decayed. They are uſually from ſeventy to eighty feet in length.

The hemp is brought from the Ukraine and Poland, and requires two years in its paſſage to Riga. The barks in which it is conveyed, are from two hundred and fifty to three hundred tons burthen, are covered with mats, ſloping like a penthouſe roof, and have a falſe bottom. They aſcend the Dnieper and the Duna; but on account of numerous ſhoals can only paſs the Duna in the ſpring, or about three weeks after the ſnow begins to melt, and if they miſs that time, are delayed till autumn. The hemp exported from Riga, is generally more eſteemed, and 30 per cent. dearer, than that exported from Peterſburgh *; the former comes from the Ukraine, the provinces of Mohilef and Polotſk, and the neighbouring parts of Poland; the other from the governments of Tver and Novogorod. The Riga hemp is chiefly uſed for ſhrouds and ſtays of men of war, and procured by contract for the Engliſh admiralty and Eaſt India company †.

The inhabitants of Riga carry on alſo a conſiderable commerce in ſalt. They import it from Spain, and ſend it up the Duna to ſupply the diſtricts bordering on that river; and by land into Courland, and into the neighbouring provinces of Poland.

We paid our reſpects to General Brown, governor of Riga, and had the honour of dining with that gallant veteran, who, with a pleaſing garrulity natural to old age, related a variety of intereſting adventures, that had befallen him in the courſe of a long and active life. He is a native of Ireland, and was born in the beginning of this century. Being a Roman catholic, he was compelled to ſeek his fortune in foreign courts, which he would willingly have dedicated to his own. He firſt entered the Auſtrian, and finally into the Ruſſian ſervice. In the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, he ſerved under Count Munich againſt the Turks, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Otchakof. Being ſent with a corps of troops into Hungary, he was taken priſoner by the Turks, ſold as a

* Lately the Ukraine hemp has found its way to Peterſburgh.

† In caſe of neceſſity, the *Urtican Cannabina*, or hemp-nettle, might be ſubſtituted in the place of hemp. It is a native of South-eaſtern Siberia, on the other ſide of the Oby, and is chiefly found in the vallies between rocky mountains, and on the banks of the rivers. It comes out early in the ſpring, and affords good ſhoots, which are eaten by the natives as vegetables. It flowers in June or July; and in good ſoils ſhoots from ten to fifteen feet high. In Siberia the ſeeds ripen in September, about the time of the firſt froſt. It is perennial, and multiplies by running. The cords made from this ſpecies are ſtronger even than thoſe twiſted from hemp. The Mongol Tartars uſe them for cords to their bows, and for nets to catch animals in the woods. In ſome parts of Germany the natives employ them for ropes. This plant is deſcribed in Amman's *Stirpium Rariorum in Imperio Rutheno Icones et Deſcriptiones*, p. 173. No. 249. plate 25. *Urtica foliis profunde laciniatis*; alſo in Gmelin's Flora Siberica. It will be deſcribed in the third volume of Pallas' Flora Ruſſica.

The common nettle, the *urtica urens* of Linnæus, ſupplies the natives of Kamſchatka *, and of the Kuril iſles, with cords for fiſhing-nets.

* See Cook's laſt voyage, vol. iii. p. 339.—Pallas Nord. Beytr. vol. iv. p. 117.

ſlave, and transferred to four different maſters. At one time he was bound back to back with another priſoner for eight and forty hours, and expoſed almoſt naked at the various places where ſlaves are brought for ſale. He then bore the rank of colonel in the Ruſſian ſervice, but to leſſen the price of his ranſom, aſſerted that he was only a captain. Being accidentally met by a gentleman, to whom he was perſonally known, he ſent an account of his ſituation to the French Ambaſſador, who found means to purchaſe him for 300 ducats. But his Turkiſh maſter diſcovering his rank, reclaimed his priſoner, and threatened to recover him by force. The French Ambaſſador, however, applied to the Grand Vizir, who decided in his favour: Count Brown recovered his liberty, and returned to Ruſſia, in which ſervice he was gradually promoted, and has been lately appointed governor of Riga, a place of the greateſt truſt.

Over the Duna, at Riga, is a floating wooden bridge, forty feet in breadth, and two thouſand ſix hundred in length. A row of piles extends from one ſhore to the other; each pile is from twenty-five to forty feet long, according to the depth of the river, and appears about four feet above the level of the water. To theſe piles the parts of the bridge are looſely faſtened, by means of iron chains fixed to the tranſverſe beams. The bridge riſes and falls with the river, and under the wheels of heavy laden carriages, plays as if actuated by a ſpring. It is the faſhionable walk, and is an agreeable buſy ſcene, when crowded with people, and lined on each ſide with ſhips taking in or unloading their cargoes. In the beginning of winter, when the froſt ſets in, the bridge is removed; the piles remaining in the water are forced up by the ice, and conveyed to land, and the whole is again laid down in ſpring.

The importance of the trade of Riga will appear from the following tables:

Number of Veſſels which arrived at Riga, 1782 and 1783.	1782.	1783.
Daniſh,	125	145
French,	—	8
From St. Peterſburgh,	43	38
Engliſh,	94	200
Dutch,	6	122
Swediſh,	298	422
Pruſſian,	153	123
From Oſtend,	123	66
Portugueſe,	7	7
American,	—	1
From Bremen,	16	34
Dantzic,	5	10
Lubec,	29	26
Roſtoc,	23	3
Hamburgh,	5	5
Pernau,	4	6
From Riga,	30	38
Total,	961	1,254

Veſſels which arrived and ſailed from Riga in 1784; ſpecifying thoſe which wintered there.	Wintered.	Arrived.	Departed.
Daniſh,	—	160	160
French,	—	10	10
From St. Peterſburgh,	14	32	36
Engliſh,	3	175	174
Portugueſe,	—	4	4
Pruſſian,	2	77	77
Swediſh,	4	311	311
Dutch,	—	170	170
From Oſtend,	—	33	33
Genoa,	—	1	1
Hamburgh,	—	12	12
Lubec,	4	27	27
Bremen,	1	25	24
Dantzic,	—	3	3
Roſtoc,	—	11	11
Pernau and Revel,	—	4	4
Riga,	15	30	20
Total,	43	1,085	1,077

Value of the Cargoes of the Veſſels which ſailed from Riga in 1784.

	Roubles.	Copecs.	
For Denmark,	735,335	78	—
France,	270,886	68	—
The Dominions of the Emperor,	51,209	45	—
England,	1,288,284	58	—
Spain,	388,843	1	—
Portugal,	302,213	93	—
Pruſſia,	64,775	75	—
Sweden,	1,182,907	79	—
Holland,	1,470,320	93	—
Italy,	135,097	8	—
Hamburgh and Bremen,	209,840	7	—
The Baltic,	292,707	39	—
Total of Exports,	6,392,422	44	—
Value of the Imports,	1,422,717	87	12
Exceſs of Exports,	4,969,704	56	12

Coin Imported.

	Value in Roubles.	
Ducats 448,739,	1,207,741	10
New rix dollars 1,780,744¼	2,368,389	85¼
Old rix-dollars 138,976¾	1,182,058	84¼
Sum total of Coin imported,	4,758,189	79½

CHAP. X.—*Mittau.—Duchy of Courland.—Hiſtory.—Succeſſion.—Anecdotes of Erneſt John Biron.—Conſtitution.—Feodal Dependance on Poland.—Prerogatives of the Duke.—Diet.—Nobles.—Religion.—Language.—Memmel.—Journey to Koningſburgh.—Sketch of the Hiſtory of Pruſſia.*

QUITTING Riga we croſſed the Duna, paſſed through a flat ſandy country, thinly inhabited, to the Ruſſian frontiers, about ſixteen Engliſh miles diſtant from Riga, and entered the Duchy of Courland. Our baggage was ſtrictly ſearched by a Ruſſian cuſtom-houſe-officer, who even opened our portfolios, and examined the ſmalleſt pieces of paper. This ſtrict ſearch is made to prevent foreigners from exporting Ruſſian money; but conſidering the debaſed ſtate of the coinage, is an uſeleſs precaution.

Mittau, which ſtands in the midſt of a fertile and agreeable country, is a long town, containing a mixture of brick houſes ſtuccoed white, and wooden buildings. The palace *, built by the late Duke, is a great pile of buildings, with a large and handſome ſuite of apartments, but almoſt totally unfurniſhed. Its magnificence and extent almoſt

* Great part of this palace was demoliſhed by the late Emperor Paul. It has been lately diſtinguiſhed as the temporary reſidence of Louis XVIII.

the witticiſm of a traveller, who eſtimating the country not from its ſize, but from its trivial conſequence in the ſcale of the north, affirmed that the palace was larger than the dukedom. The academy, inſtituted by the preſent Duke at a conſiderable expence, contained, in May 1685, eight profeſſors, and only twenty ſtudents.

The duchy of Courland and Semigallia is bounded on the north by the Baltic, on the eaſt by Livonia, and by Poland on the ſouth and weſt. It ſtretches in length two hundred and fifty miles, and the average breadth may be eſtimated at forty.

Gothard Ketler, grand-maſter of the Livonian knights, having ceded Livonia to Poland, at Wilna, received, in 1561, the inveſtiture of Courland and Semigallia, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Poland. Dying in 1587, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Frederic; and in 1589, it was enacted by the diet of Poland, that, on the extinction of the heirs male of the line of Ketler, the duchies of Courland and Semigallia ſhould be united to Poland.

Frederick William, Duke of Courland, dying in 1711, without iſſue, the right of ſucceſſion devolved on his great uncle Ferdinand, the only ſurviving branch of the Ketler line; but Peter the Great took poſſeſſion of Mittau and great part of Courland, under pretence of ſecuring the dowry for his niece Anne, widow of Frederick William. Ferdinand, who was abſent, and at variance with his nobility, was unable to enforce his right, and Courland, during ſeveral years, was governed by the Ruſſian court, under the name of the Ducheſs Anne. The country was in a ſtate of civil confuſion, and ſeveral ineffectual attempts were made to raiſe, firſt, a Prince of the houſe of Saxony, and afterwards Frederick William, Margrave of Schvedt, to the ducal throne.

At length, in 1726, the infirmities and abſence of Ferdinand afforded a pretext; a party of nobles determined to appoint a ſucceſſor, and Auguſtus the Second, King of Poland, ſecretly influenced the diet to nominate his natural ſon Maurice, afterwards well known under the title of Marſhal Saxe. This appointment was conteſted by the republic of Poland, and by Catharine Empreſs of Ruſſia.

The Poliſh diet, which aſſembled at Grodno, denied the right of the nobles to appoint a duke, declared that duchy a vacant fief belonging to the republic, annulled the election of the Count of Saxe, and propoſed, on the death of Ferdinand, to incorporate the duchies of Courland and Semigallia with the crown, according to the edict in 1589.

Catharine the First, conſidering Courland almoſt as a province of the Ruſſian empire, equally oppoſed the election of Maurice, and the incorporation of Courland; and Prince Mentchikof, who on her death aſpired to the ducal throne, diſpatched a corps of Ruſſian troops to Mittau, and drove Maurice from Courland. The fall of Mentchikof prevented his nomination; but the Ruſſians, under Peter the Second, and Anne, maintained their influence in Courland, and promiſed to ſupport the ſtates in their right to elect a Sovereign on the deceaſe of Ferdinand.

The death of Auguſtus the Second annihilated the hopes of Maurice; and on the demiſe of Ferdinand in 1737, the Empreſs Anne forced the ſtates to nominate her favourite Biron, and ſupported his election in oppoſition to the claims and remonſtrances of Poland. At length, deputies from the Empreſs and the new Duke on one ſide, and from the King and the republic of Poland on the other, arranged the convention called *Pacta Subjectionis*, or Acts of Vaſſalage, which regulated the conſtitution of Courland according to former acts of vaſſalage, and eſtabliſhed the ſucceſſion in the male line of Biron. In 1739, the Chancellor of Courland did homage in the name of the Duke to Auguſtus the Third. But, in 1743, Biron being arreſted and impriſoned, the ſtates declared the ducal throne vacant, and elected, at the recommendation of the regent Anne, Louis Erneſt, Prince of Brunſwick, and brother of her huſband Anthony Ulric.

The revolution of 1741, which placed Elizabeth on the throne of Ruſſia, prevented the ratification of this election; and from that period, till 1759, the adminiſtration was nominally veſted in the council of ſtate; but the whole power centered in the court of Ruſſia.

In 1758, the nobles diſguſted with their rulers, choſe Charles Chriſtian, ſon of Auguſtus the Third, who received the inveſtiture of the two duchies from his father, made his entry into Mittau, and repairing to Peterſburgh, obtained from the Empreſs Elizabeth the reſtitution of the ducal eſtates and revenues, and her renunciation of all right and title to thoſe two duchies. But the death of Elizabeth, in 1761, rendered this reſtitution ineffectual. Peter recalled Biron from exile, and Catharine reſtored him to his former dignity.

Erneſt John Biron * was deſcended from a family of mean extraction. His grandfather, whoſe name was Buren, or Bieren, was head groom to James the Third, Duke of Courland, and obtained from his maſter the gift of a ſmall eſtate. His ſon accompanied Prince Alexander, youngeſt ſon of the Duke of Courland, in a campaign againſt the Turks, in quality of groom of his horſe, and with the rank of lieutenant. Prince Alexander being killed before Buda, in 1686, Biron returned into Courland, and was appointed maſter huntſman to the Duke.

Erneſt John, his ſecond ſon, was born in 1687, received the early part of his education in Courland, and was ſent to the univerſity of Koningſburgh in Pruſſia, where he continued until ſome youthful imprudences compelled him to retire. In 1714, he made his appearance at St. Peterſburgh, and ſolicited the place of page to the Princeſs Charlotte, wife of the Tzarovitch Alexèy, but being rejected as a perſon of mean extraction, retired to Mittau, and ingratiated himſelf with Count Beſtuchef, maſter of the houſehold to Anne, widow of Frederick William Duke of Courland. Having through his means obtained the office of gentleman of the chamber to the Ducheſs, and being of a handſome figure and polite addreſs, he ſoon became her chief favourite, and the firſt uſe he made of his favour was to obtain the diſgrace of his benefactor Beſtuchef. He gained an entire aſcendency over the affections of his miſtreſs, and the upſtart favourite offended, by his arrogance, the whole body of the nobility.

Having eſpouſed Mademoiſelle de Trenden, a lady of a noble family, and maid of honour to the Ducheſs, he endeavoured, by means of that alliance, and the favour of his miſtreſs, to be admitted into the body of nobles, but his ſolicitations were rejected with great contempt.

His aſcendency over the Ducheſs, his ſpirit of intrigue, and extreme arrogance, were ſo notorious, that when Anne was declared Sovereign of Ruſſia, one of the articles propoſed by the council of ſtate of Moſcow expreſsly ſtipulated, that ſhe ſhould not bring Biron into Ruſſia. She conſented, but inſtantly broke her word; for ſoon after her arrival at Moſcow, he made his appearance at her court. By his ſecret advice, the Empreſs formed a ſtrong party among the Ruſſian nobility, gained the guards, and planned the revolution, which reſtored to the crown deſpotic authority. But when the project was ripe for execution, Anne heſitated, and was alarmed, till Biron took her by the hand, and led her to the door of the apartment in which the council of ſtate, ſenate,

* For this account of Biron I have conſulted Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 42, 47, 62, 190, 262, 265, 268, 280. Letters from a Lady in Ruſſia, Let. xxviii. xxix.; Schmidt's Materialien fuer den Ruſſ. Geſch. p. 38, 44, 28, 321; Motifs de la Diſgrace d'Erneſt Jean de Biron, Duc de Courland, written by himſelf, in Buſching's Hiſt. Magazin. vol. ix. p. 383, 398; Antwort auf die Vergehende Schrift. von einem naechſten Verwandten des Grafen von Munich, ibid. p. 401, 414; Gouvernment de l'Empire de Ruſſie, by Marſhal Munich, paſſim.

and principal nobility were aſſembled, and ſhe was declared abſolute Sovereign. Within the ſpace of a few months, Biron was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber, knight of the order of St. Andrew, lord high-chamberlain, and, as Manſtein ſays, was omnipotent in the government.

On the death of Ferdinand Ketler,* in 1737, the Empreſs diſpatched General Biſmarck, governor of Riga, to Mittau, at the head of a conſiderable army. The nobles having aſſembled in the cathedral, Biſmarck ſurrounded the church with troops, and compelled them to elect for their Sovereign the ſame Biron whom they had refuſed to admit into their corps. But his new dignity did not prevent him from keeping his poſt of high chamberlain, and his wife that of the firſt lady of the bed-chamber. Biron ruled Courland with the ſame arbitrary ſpirit with which he governed Ruſſia, and the nobles who ventured to oppoſe his will, or to ſpeak with their uſual freedom, were privately ſeized by perſons in maſks, forced into Kibitkas, and conveyed to Siberia. The cruelties alſo which he exerciſed upon the moſt illuſtrious perſons of Ruſſia almoſt exceed belief; and Manſtein conjectures, that "during the ten years in which Biron's power continued, above twenty thouſand perſons were ſent to Siberia, of whom ſcarcely five thouſand were ever more heard of."

The arrogance of his temper often broke forth in a manner highly diſreſpectful to the Empreſs. Once in particular, while ſhe gave an audience to the Duke of Bevern, Biron burſt into the apartment, complained that he was tormented by her ſervants, threatened, with horrid imprecations, to retire into Courland, and again ruſhing out of the room, ſhut the door with great violence. The Empreſs, in the higheſt conſternation, lifted up her hands to heaven, then claſped them together, and being almoſt ready to faint, opened the window for air. While ſhe continued in this agitation, the Ducheſs of Courland, accompanied by her children, entered the room, kneeled down, and entreated the Empreſs to forgive the paſſionate behaviour of her huſband. Anne in this, as in every other inſtance, relented, and patiently endured his inſolence *. During the ſitting of the cabinet council, ſhe frequently repaired to an adjoining room, in which her favourite remained, to receive his advice, or rather his orders. She even kept no table, but dined with his family.

Acquainted only with the German and his native jargon, he governed the extenſive empire of Ruſſia without underſtanding the language. He even piqued himſelf on his ignorance, and declared, in the preſence of the Empreſs, that he would not learn the Ruſſian, becauſe he could not bear to read all the reports and memorials which were daily tranſmitted to him.

Biron was undoubtedly a man of great capacity; during his whole adminiſtration, the external ſplendour, and internal tranquillity of the Ruſſian empire, announced the vigour and wiſdom of his meaſures, and he ſhewed his judgment in employing ſuch a ſtateſman as Oſterman, and ſuch a general as Munich. He was a ſincere friend and an implacable enemy; and it was juſtly ſaid of him, that he ſeldom forgot a benefit, and always remembered an injury. He amaſſed an enormous fortune in money and jewels, and on public occaſions his magnificence † far exceeded that of the Empreſs.

* Buſching's Wochentliche Nachrichten, 1774, p. 316.

† In his viſit of ceremony to the Marquis de la Chetardie, the French Ambaſſador, he was preceded by the following proceſſion: 1. An officer of his court on horſeback. 2. Two ſervants on horſeback. 3. Three carriages drawn by ſix horſes, containing ſix cavaliers. 4. Twenty four ſervants on horſeback. 5. Six running footmen. 6. Two blacks. 7. Thirty lacquies on foot. 8. Twelve pages. 9. Nine heyducs. 10. His maſter of the horſe. Laſtly, the Duke himſelf in a ſplendid carriage drawn by ſix horſes; behind, two ſervants in Turkiſh dreſſes.

Having

Having long directed the affairs of a great empire, he could not brook retiring into Courland; he accordingly prevailed on the Empreſs, on her death-bed, to appoint her great nephew, Prince Ivan, her ſucceſſor, and himſelf regent, till the Prince attained the age of ſeventeen; and he managed this whole tranſaction with ſo much art, that he ſeemed only to accept the regency at the earneſt requeſt and recommendation of Marſhal Munich, the Chancellor Oſterman, and the principal Ruſſian nobility. Having thus ſecured the regency, to the excluſion of Anne, mother of the young Emperor, the firſt act of his adminiſtration was to obtain for himſelf an annual revenue of 500,000 * roubles, and the title of Imperial Highneſs.

But the power thus acquired by intrigue, he attempted to ſecure by perſecution and cruelty. Piquets were placed in the ſtreets to prevent commotions; numerous ſpies brought vague accounts of contemptuous expreſſions and ill-formed plots, and ſcarcely a day paſſed in which ſuſpected perſons were not impriſoned and tortured to force confeſſion. But inſtead of diſarming the envy and jealouſy of the natives, who were diſguſted with the government of a foreigner, he increaſed his unpopularity by the haughtineſs of his demeanour, and treated even the parents of his ſovereign with extreme brutality.

Prince Anthony Ulric and the Princeſs Anne, the father and mother of the infant Emperor, were diſaffected at their excluſion from the regency, and Anthony Ulric, who was a prince of great ſpirit, expreſſed his diſapprobation in the ſtrongeſt terms to the regent himſelf. Biron ſuſpecting that the Prince was cabaling againſt his government, called on him early one morning, without being announced; "Your Highneſs," he ſaid, "does not deal juſtly with me, for you promiſed to inform me of the cabals of diſaffected perſons, and you know that intrigues are carrying on againſt me in your own houſehold." "I know not," replied the Prince, "that any thing is in agitation which will be detrimental to the Emperor and the country." "I will take care," returned Biron, "to place this empire in ſuch a ſituation as no other perſon is capable of doing; for I am neither deficient in knowledge or power." "The nobles muſt aſſiſt you," ſaid the Prince, "and you muſt all be accountable to the Emperor." "Am I not regent," replied Biron, "with abſolute authority? Such aſſertions, ſir, may occaſion great commotions; and your Highneſs muſt know, that whenever factions ariſe, the Emperor and the country are in danger; and what muſt be the inevitable conſequence, ſhould you and I be at variance?" "A maſſacre!" returned the Prince with great warmth, putting at the ſame time his hand on his ſword.

After much altercation, the Prince accuſed Biron of forging the teſtament and ſignature of the Empreſs, and the Duke quitted the apartment with theſe words: "This affair, ſir, is of great importance, and muſt be laid before the principal nobility of the realm." Repairing inſtantly to his palace, he ſummoned the cabinet council, ſenate, and principal nobility, and acquainted them with the converſation. When the imperial miniſter, Count Keyſerling, endeavoured to juſtify the Prince, Biron called the Prince a liar; and turning to Keyſerling, ſaid, "We want here no advocates, and no lawyer's quirks;" then traverſing the apartment in extreme agitation, exclaimed, "Am I a poiſoner! or do I contend for the throne and ſceptre!"

To the Princeſs Anne, who, informed of the miſunderſtanding, now made her appearance, he recapitulated what had paſſed with great bitterneſs. Anne was exceedingly affected, and appeared to blame her huſband's conduct. At length, the Prince himſelf being ſummoned, was prevailed upon to attend. Being reprimanded by Biron, and by ſeveral who were preſent, in the groſſeſt terms, His Highneſs at length ſubmitted to

* 100,000l. according to the value of a rouble of that period.

demand

demand pardon, the tears ſtarting from his eyes from this neceſſary but degrading conceſſion.

Soon afterwards, Biron ſent a meſſage by Marſhal Munich ordering the Prince to reſign his military employments.

At variance with the parents of the Emperor, ſuſpicious of plots, and deteſted by the nation, the regent became agitated and uneaſy, felt the precarioufneſs of his ſituation, paid his court with great aſſiduity to the Princeſs Elizabeth, and ſeems even to have formed the deſign of marrying her to the Prince, his eldeſt ſon, and of raiſing her, or her nephew the Duke of Holſtein to the throne. He even declared publicly, that if the Princeſs or her huſband were refractory, he would ſend them both into Germany, and place the Duke of Holſtein on the throne.

While he was heſitating in regard to his future conduct, and laying plans to remove thoſe who gave him umbrage, his own ruin came from a quarter which he did not expect, and was not prepared to reſiſt. Marſhal Munich, ſecretly diſguſted with the regent, fomented the diſcontents, awakened the ſuſpicions of the Princeſs Anne, prevailed upon her to order the arreſt of the Duke of Courland, and ſucceeded in ſecuring his perſon on the 18th of December, only twenty days after his appointment to the regency. Manſtein, who was employed by Munich on this occaſion *, penetrated at the head of twenty men, into the palace inhabited by Biron, though guarded by forty ſoldiers, who were placed under the windows of his bed-chamber, and by numerous centinels poſted in the apartments. Being perſonally known to the centinels, they permitted him to paſs, thinking that he had an affair of conſequence to communicate to the regent. Having forced open the door, he approached the bed, in which the Duke and Ducheſs ſlept ſo ſoundly that the noiſe did not awaken them. On drawing the curtains, both ſtarted up in ſurpriſe, and the Duke inſtantly leaped from the bed with an intention to eſcape, but was prevented by Manſtein, who threw himſelf upon him, and held him till the ſoldiers came to his aſſiſtance. In this ſtruggle the Duke diſengaged himſelf from Manſtein, and endeavouring to burſt from the ſoldiers who laid hold of his arm, received ſeveral blows with the but-ends of their muſkets. Being at length thrown on the floor, his mouth gagged with a handkerchief, and his hands tied behind with an officer's ſaſh, he was led to the guard-room, covered with a ſoldier's cloak, and conveyed in a carriage to the winter palace in which the Princeſs Anne reſided. When he was led out, the Ducheſs ſprang out of bed, ran after him into the ſtreet, ſcreaming in an agony of deſpair, till forced away by the ſoldiers, ſhe ſunk down on the ſnow, and would have periſhed, had not the Captain of the guard furniſhed her with clothes, and re-conducted her to the palace.

The next day the Duke and his family were conveyed to the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh, and in June were removed to Pelim, a ſmall town in Siberia, where he was impriſoned in a wooden hovel under the ſtricteſt confinement. But he did not long remain in this dreary ſituation. The Empreſs Elizabeth recalled him from his impriſonment; and if his misfortunes had not ſoftened his vindictive ſpirit, he enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing his enemy, Marſhal Munich, occupy that hovel which he had juſt quitted.

Biron was tranſferred to a comfortable manſion at Yaroſlaf, where he received five roubles a day, and the permiſſion of hunting in the vicinity. In this ſituation, wretched when contraſted with his former ſtation as the omnipotent favourite of Anne, or as regent of Ruſſia, but a paradiſe when compared with his priſon at Pelim, he paſſed his

* Memoirs of Manſtein.

days

days during the whole reign of Elizabeth. On her demiſe, Peter the Third recalled Biron to Peterſburgh, but did not reinſtate him in the duchy of Courland. Biron had refuſed during his confinement, to reſign his right to that duchy, although he was offered his liberty, and a penſion of 100,000 roubles; nor could he be prevailed upon by Peter the Third to abdicate in favour of the Duke of Holſtein; nobly adding, that he would undergo a ſecond impriſonment rather than injure his family. Catharine reſtored him to his former dignity.

In 1768, Biron repaired to Mittau, twenty-eight years after his election, and for the firſt time ſince he had been raiſed to the ducal throne. Prince Charles of Saxony, although ſupported by a large party in Courland, yet receiving no aſſiſtance from his father Auguſtus the Third, was compelled to retire before the Ruſſian forces; and Biron received the oaths of allegiance from the whole nation. In 1764, he obtained from the King and republic of Poland the inveſtiture of Courland for his eldeſt ſon Peter, the preſent Duke; in 1769, abdicated in his favour, and in 1772, cloſed at Mittau, in the eighty-third year of his age, a life of unparalleled viciſſitude.

The conſtitution * of Courland is extremely complicated, and the rights of Poland, of the Duke, and of the diet are ſo interwoven, as to be diſcriminated with difficulty.

From the hiſtorical ſketch of the ſucceſſion to the ducal throne, it will appear that Courland is a male-fief, dependent on and conferred by the crown of Poland. The territorial ſuperiority of Poland is ſettled by the *Pacta Subjectionis*, or acts of vaſſalage, ratified by the King and Duke, on the receipt of the inveſtiture. The King inveſts each Duke with the duchies of Courland and Semigallia as fiefs of Poland; and receives his homage as from a vaſſal to his liege lord. If Poland is engaged in war, the Duke muſt furniſh two hundred horſe, or five hundred infantry; and the nobles are bound to ſupply two hundred horſe, or 30,000 dollars in the firſt year of the war, provided no Poliſh or enemy's troops are quartered in Courland, and 10,000 dollars in each of the ſucceeding years. The money bears on one ſide, the head of the King, or the arms of Poland and Lithuania, and is ſtruck on the ſame ſtandard as the coin of Poland. The Poliſh money paſſes current in Courland, and the Courlandiſh in Poland.

The King ſettles diſputes between the Duke and his ſubjects, receives remonſtrances againſt any infringement of privileges from the diet, and can order the redreſs of grievances.

The diet of Poland ratifies all laws which alter or new model the conſtitution, confirms the creation of nobles, and the *indigenat recht*, or right of naturalization, recommended by the Duke and diet of Courland. It is alſo the ſupreme court of judicature, to which any noble may appeal from the deciſion of the courts of juſtice in Courland. In all civil cauſes above the value of 500 Poliſh florins, and in all criminal caſes ſpecified in the ſtatutes, the final deciſion is left to the King and republic. The King in return binds himſelf to ſupport the conſtitution, the Duke in all his prerogatives, and the nobles and burghers in all their privileges.

The Duke and diet enjoy the ſupreme authority in all other circumſtances not contradictory to their feudal dependance, or which are not mentioned in the acts of ſubjection.

The Duke is inveſted with the executive power, and the general adminiſtration of affairs. He has a negative in all the proceedings of the diet, confers the principal charges, both civil and military, enjoys the right of pardoning criminals, judges in par-

* For the hiſtory and conſtitution of Courland, ſee Lengnich, Juſ. Publ. Reg. Poloni. lib. i. c. x. ſec. v. to vii. and Ziegennorn's Staats Recht der Hertzogthuemer Courland and Semegallen.

ticular

ticular caſes without appeal, in all civil cauſes below 500 Poliſh florins, and in delinquencies and crimes not ſpecified in the ſtatute law.

The Duke, ſtrictly ſpeaking, has the right to declare war, make peace, or contract alliances; but although ſome inſtances of his exerciſing theſe prerogatives have occurred, yet he uſually conſults the diet on theſe occaſions. His revenues are ample, and derived from the ducal demeſnes, which are ſuppoſed to form one-third of the duchy, from tolls and cuſtoms, manorial and feudal rights, fines, and confiſcations of goods, amounting to not leſs than 160,000l. per annum, which almoſt entirely belongs to his privy purſe, as the expences of his court are trifling, and he is not permitted to maintain more than five hundred troops. The prerogatives of the Duke are circumſcribed by his vaſſalage to Poland, by the diet of Courland, and the privileges of the nobles.

Diets are ordinary or extraordinary; both convoked by the Duke, either at his own pleaſure, or at the requeſt of the nobles. Extraordinary diets are ſummoned as occaſion requires. Ordinary diets are convoked every two years, ſix weeks before the meeting of the Poliſh diet. With the circular letters expedited to the pariſhes for the election of the deputies, the Duke ſends the propoſitions called Deliberations, which are to be laid before the diet, and muſt, at the ſame time, tranſmit any grievances complained of by the body of nobles, for the conſideration of that aſſembly.

The deputies muſt be noble, and are elected by the nobles in their reſpective pariſhes. Their number is uncertain, becauſe ſometimes one pariſh chuſes one or two deputies, and not unuſually three pariſhes join in appointing only one, but may be eſtimated at twenty-ſeven, the number of pariſhes.

The diet aſſembles generally at Mittau, and chuſes by a majority of votes a marſhal or preſident. The deputies then, headed by the marſhal, repair to the palace, are received by the Duke in ſtate, kiſs his hand, and are entertained at dinner.

The diet, conjointly with the Duke, impoſes taxes, and paſſes all laws and regulations which do not infringe on the feodal rights of Poland, or alter the conſtitution.

The diet firſt ſubmits all grievances to the Duke; and if he conſiders them nugatory, and refuſes to redreſs them, the deputies enjoy the privilege of laying their remonſtrances before the diet of Poland, as the ſupreme court of legiſlature.

All queſtions are carried or rejected by the majority, and each deputy muſt vote according to the inſtructions of his conſtituents; but in all inſtances wherein the conſtituents have not fully inſtructed the deputy, his vote is null, and the ſentiments of the majority prevail.

From this abſurd method of giving previous inſtructions, and the attempts of the deputies to elude them, many inſtances occur in the hiſtory of Courland, in which the minority have prevailed over the majority: this cuſtom has alſo given riſe to ſeveral attempts ſucceſsfully made for a ſingle deputy to aſſume the right of the *liberum veto* * as in Poland, though under another name, and to diſſolve the diet from his ſole oppoſition.

At the diſſolution of the diet, the deputies are bound to acquaint their conſtituents in perſon with the tranſactions; a circumſtance which gives riſe to factions, and has not unfrequently occaſioned civil commotions.

Many of the privileges enjoyed by the nobles are enormous, and inconſiſtent with every principle of ſound policy. A noble cannot be arreſted by order of the Duke, for the moſt flagrant act, except within twenty-four hours after the commiſſion of the crime; if he eſcapes during that time, he cannot be arreſted without an order from the

* See Book i. chap. 5.

King and republic of Poland; he cannot be impriſoned till found guilty, or executed, but by permiſſion of the King and republic.

The higheſt and moſt important officers of ſtate muſt be drawn from their body. Nobles are exempted from the payment of all taxes and impoſts; being only bound, according to their feodal tenure, to furniſh in time of war their quota of cavalry. Their power over their peaſants is, if poſſible, more unbounded than that of the Poliſh gentry. In judging delinquencies and crimes, a noble can form a ſummary court of juſtice, compoſed of himſelf, three or four friends, and an attorney, and, after a mock trial, may order corporeal puniſhment, or may inflict immediate execution.

The Duke is aſſiſted in the adminiſtration of affairs by a privy council, called the Supreme Council, compoſed of four high counſellors, and two civilians or doctors, all appointed by the Duke, but holding their places for life, unleſs proved guilty of malverſation, and removed by the King of Poland. The four high counſellors are, the high ſteward, the chancellor, the burgrave, and the marſhal. The province of this council is to adviſe the Duke in all concerns of ſtate, to preſerve the rights and privileges of the ſubject, and to remonſtrate againſt grievances.

The four high counſellors form alſo, in conjunction with the Duke, the criminal court of judicature for the nobles, to which an appeal lies from the inferior courts of juſtice; and which judges all crimes excepting premeditated murder, wilful burning of houſes, robbery, rapes, or open violence, which being capital, are referred to the King of Poland. The ſame four high counſellors are inveſted with the regency, during the minority, abſence, or ſickneſs of the Duke, or on a vacancy of the ducal throne. In theſe caſes, the two civilians, who are conſidered as the Duke's counſellors, are excluded, to the great detriment of the country, as they are uſually the moſt enlightened counſellors, and not being nobles, are more inclined to encourage manufactures and commerce, and are particularly attentive, that the privileges of the lower orders ſhould be preſerved.

The enormous privileges of the nobles have been the occaſion of exciting the civil commotions which have overwhelmed Courland for this laſt century. Its internal hiſtory is a continued ſeries of diſputes between the Duke and the nobles; the boaſted freedom of the country is a ſpirit of faction under the name of liberty, which, as in Poland, means an ariſtocratical licentiouſneſs, oppreſſing others, but free itſelf to commit all kinds of enormities.

In all countries, where the ſpirit of feodal deſpotiſm (the worſt ſpecies of tyranny) prevails, the peaſants are oppreſſed, and agriculture is in a declining ſtate; the merchants are deſpiſed, and commerce languiſhes; men of learning are neglected, and letters uncultivated; the nobles and gentry alone enjoy the right of being landholders, and centre in themſelves the whole power of government. Daily, however, this odious ſlavery loſes ground; the age becomes more enlightened; the citizen, the merchant, the manufacturer, and the peaſant, gain eſteem and conſequence; and the time perhaps is not diſtant when they will be permitted to enjoy the common rights of mankind.

Should the Duke die without iſſue, the right of appointing a ſucceſſor is veſted in the diet of Courland, with the approbation of the King and the republic of Poland. But as Courland is too ſmall a ſtate to act independently of the great neighbouring kingdoms, the nomination of the new Duke muſt depend on the will of that power which has moſt preponderance in the north, and conſequently moſt influence in Poland.

When Poland was the great preponderating power, Courland was ſubſervient to that republic; when Sweden, under Guſtavus Adolphus, and his immediate ſucceſſors, roſe ſuperior to Poland, it was over-run by the Swedes, and its ſovereign led into captivity.

tivity *. When the fortune of the houſe of Vaſa declined, and Ruſſia gained the aſcendancy, Courland became almoſt a province of Ruſſia; the Dukes were elected and depoſed by the influence of the court of Peterſburgh, and its dependence on Poland was a mere formality. But as Ruſſia has lately loſt her influence in Poland, the Duke of Courland has emancipated himſelf from his abſolute dependence on the court of Peterſburgh. Whether this emancipation is temporary or permanent muſt depend on the fate of the preſent war, and the iſſue of the pending negotiations †.

The prevailing religion is the Lutheran, but all other perſuaſions are tolerated; and the Roman catholics are capable of holding all military and civil offices, that of chancellor and a few others excepted.

The language is a dialect of the Livonian or Lettiſh, the ſame which is ſpoken, with a little variation, by the Livonians and Eſthonians, and is probably derived from the Finniſh. The nobles and gentry, being deſcended from German ſettlers, ſpeak German, and that tongue is always uſed in the debates of the diet.

From Mittau we traverſed the duchy of Courland, a country ſwelling into gentle hills, and fertile in corn, hemp, and flax. The inhabitants export thoſe commodities from the port of Libau on the Baltic, the only commercial town of Courland, and import in return coffee, tea, wines, cloth, ſalt, and other foreign merchandize, which ſupply the interior conſumption. The country is moſtly open; but in ſome parts clothed with foreſts of pine and fir, dotted with occaſional groves of fine oak, and ſprinkled with much under-wood. The villages are neat, the ſcattered cottages and gentlemen's ſeats prettily ſituated amid clumps of trees, and the inns provided with beds, a great luxury to travellers juſt come from Ruſſia. The roads are extremely indifferent, and in this ſeaſon of the year ſcarcely paſſable.

CHAP. XI.—*Of Catharine.—Her Origin and early Adventures.—Married to a Swediſh Dragoon.—Captured by the Ruſſians.—Becomes the Miſtreſs, Conſort, and Succeſſor of Peter the Great.—Hiſtory of her Elevation to the Throne.—Death and Character.*

MANY authors have expreſſed great ſurprize at the contradictory reports relative to the origin of Catharine I. But to expect that the hiſtory of a perſon of low extraction, who gradually roſe to the moſt exalted ſtation, ſhould contain no uncertain and diſcordant accounts, is to expect impoſſibilities. All that remains, therefore, is, without pre-

* James Duke of Courland, taken priſoner in 1458, by Charles X. King of Sweden.

† Courland is now a province of the Ruſſian empire. Soon after the conqueſt and final diviſion of Poland, Peter, Duke of Courland, repaired to Peterſburgh; he had an audience of Catharine the Second, on the 12th of March 1795, and was received with the higheſt honours. About the ſame time, the diet of Courland aſſembled, and after ſome trifling oppoſition, but much violent altercation, declared the two duchies of Courland and Semigallia ſeparated from their feudal dependance on Poland, and ſubmitted themſelves to the dominion of Ruſſia. (March 18, 1795.)

On the 28th, the Duke iſſued an act of renunciation, and Courland was erected into a government, divided into nine circles, under a Ruſſian governor, reſident at Mittau. The ſalaries were continued to the officers of ſtate, and perſons holding places under the former government; and the Duke himſelf was amply gratified for the reſignation of his dignity. He had been long at variance with his ſubjects, and ſcarcely ever reſided at Mittau; he had alſo foreſeen the loſs of his dominions, and had ſecured large ſums of money, with which he purchaſed the duchy of Sagau, and the counties of Wartenberg, Belin, and Goſchutz, in Sileſia, and eſtates in Brandenburgh. He ſtill retains the title of Duke of Courland and Semigallia. Peter was born in 1724, and has by his wife, Anne Charlotte Dorothea, daughter of John Frederick Count of Medem, ſeveral daughters. His brother Prince Charles was born in 1728, and has by the Princeſs Appolonia Poninſka ſeveral ſons.

judice or partiality, to compare the various hiſtories of Catharine I. and to collect from the whole the moſt probable narrative.

Catharine was the natural daughter * of a country girl, and was born at Ringen, a ſmall village upon the lake Virtcherve, near Dorpt, in Livonia. The year of her birth is

* I ſhall make a few remarks concerning the authors from whom I have principally extracted this account of Catharine I. The firſt and moſt authentic is Weber.

Weber was the Hanoverian reſident at Peterſburgh during part of the reign of Peter I. and took extraordinary pains to obtain the beſt information relative to the origin of Catharine. He learned the Ruſſian language of Wurmb, who was tutor to Gluck's children when Catharine was in that miniſter's houſe at Marienburgh: from him, therefore, he was able to obtain the moſt authentic intelligence. Weber may have been miſtaken in a few trifling incidents, but his narrative upon the whole is to be depended upon. See Verandertes Ruſsland, vol. iii. p. 7—10.

La Motraye, in his Travels, has given a ſhort account of her family, &c. Among other intelligence, he collected much information from a Livonian girl, who had been ſold by the Ruſſians to the Turks, and whom he bought of the Janizaries: this girl knew Catharine at Marienburg, and told him ſeveral particulars relating to her, which were afterwards confirmed to him in Livonia. The account of La Motraye correſponds with that of Weber in the principal events, differing only in a few trifling points.

Bruce has alſo given an account of her origin, which he relates as he heard it told by thoſe who knew her from her infancy. His narrative correſponds, upon the whole, with that of Weber in all eſſential circumſtances.

Theſe three perſons are the principal authors who were in Ruſſia towards the beginning of this century, and collected information on the ſpot: we may therefore rely on them with more ſafety than upon later writers; and they all agree in confirming the lowneſs of her birth, and her marriage with the Swediſh dragoon.

Voltaire, in his life of Peter I. has ſlightly paſſed over the early adventures of Catharine; he mentions nothing of her birth, her marriage with the Swediſh ſoldier; as circumſtances derogatory from the honour of the Empreſs Elizabeth, by whoſe deſire he wrote the life of Peter the Great. But willing to ennoble the family of Catharine I. he records a ſtrange ſtory, which has all the air of romance, concerning a brother of Catharine, named Scavronſki, who was found to be the ſon of a gentleman of Lithuania. Voltaire cites for his authority "le manuſcrit curieux d'un homme qui etait alors au ſervice du czar, & qui parle comme temoin;" but without mentioning his name.

From Voltaire many ſucceeding authors have advanced that Catharine was of the family of Scavronſki; and it is certain that the Empreſs Elizabeth acknowledged that family as her relations, and conferred honours upon its members.

This anecdote concerning Scavronſki is poſitively contradicted by a paſſage in Baſſevitz, who aſſiſted Mentchikof in raiſing Catharine to the throne, and who muſt have known if any brother of Catharine had been at Peterſburgh during the life of Peter. He aſſerts, that Catharine did not produce any of her relations during Peter's life; that after his death a perſon made his appearance at Peterſburgh as her brother, under the name of Count Hendrikof; that he lived in obſcurity during the reigns of Peter II. and Anne, and that Elizabeth made his ſon a chamberlain. Büſching, ix. p. 295.

Weber alſo upon this head relates, "that a near relation of Catharine came to Peterſburgh with his family, conſiſting of three ſons and two daughters. He was called Count Ikavoronſki (certainly the ſame as Scavronſki); the eldeſt daughter, Sophia, was appointed by the Empreſs maid of honour; the other children were educated by their father. The arrival of *theſe ſtrangers* gave riſe to many reports concerning the origin of Catharine; that her father, whoſe name was ſaid to be John Rabe, was a quarter-maſter in a Swediſh regiment; and that her mother was the daughter of a town-ſecretary of Riga. The widow, after her huſband's death, went to her relations at Riga; but ſoon dying, Gluck took the foundling into his family. Theſe reports, which began to circulate, occaſioned a public decree, forbidding all perſons, upon pain of death, from uttering diſreſpectful expreſſions againſt the late Emperor, or the reigning Empreſs and her family." Ver. Ruſſ. vol. iii. p. 76.

We may indeed take it for granted, that if Catharine's family had been nobly deſcended, the ſecret would have been diſcovered during the life of Peter, and have been favourably received by that Emperor, who was prevented, from the *obſcurity of her birth*, from carrying her with him to Paris, not being willing to expoſe her to inſult: "Il ne vouloit pas l'expoſer, dit on, aux rebuts qu'il craignait pour elle *vû l'obſcurité de ſa naiſſance*, de la délicateſſe Françaiſe." Baſſevitz in Buſ. Mag. ix. p. 316.

An Auſtrian envoy, who was at Peterſburgh in 1725, and wrote an account to his court of her acceſſion to the throne, ſays, "that ſhe was a natural daughter of a Livonian nobleman, whoſe name was Alvendhel; that her mother afterwards married a rich peaſant, by whom ſhe had a ſon and a daughter; that the former

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is uncertain; but according to her own account *, ſhe came into the world on the 5th of April, 1689. Her original name was Martha, which ſhe changed for Catharine when ſhe embraced the Greek religon. Count Roſen, a lieutenant-colonel in the Swediſh ſervice, who owned the village of Ringen, ſupported, according to the cuſtom of the country, both the mother and child, and was, for that reaſon ſuppoſed to be her father. She loſt her mother when ſhe was three years old, and Count Roſen dying about the ſame time, was left in ſo deſtitute a ſituation, that the clerk of the village received her into his houſe. Soon afterwards Gluck, Lutheran miniſter of Marienburgh, took her under his protection, brought her up in his family, and employed her in attending his children. In 1701 † ſhe eſpouſed a dragoon of the Swediſh garriſon of Marienburgh ‡. Many different accounts are given of this tranſaction; one author § of great credit affirms that the bride and bridegroom remained together eight days after their marriage; another ‖, of no leſs authority, aſſerts, that on the morning of the nuptials her huſband was ſent with a detachment for Riga, and the marriage was never conſummated. This much is certain, that the dragoon was abſent when Marienburgh ſurrendered to the Ruſſians, and Catharine, reſerved for a higher fortune, never ſaw him more.

General Bauer, on the capture of Marienburgh, ſaw Catharine among the priſoners; and, ſmitten with her beauty, took her to his houſe, where ſhe ſuperintended his do-

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was put to death by Peter, for openly declaring himſelf to be the brother of Catharine; and that the ſiſter received for ſome time a penſion of 300 roubles from the Empreſs, but was afterwards confined in a houſe of correction during the reign of Peter I. by Catharine's deſire." He adds, "Catharine was brought up in Gluck's houſe; ſhe became the miſtreſs of Tieſenhouſen, a captain of Swediſh horſe, by whom ſhe had a ſon; he afterwards gave her in marriage to a dragoon of his troop, with whom ſhe lived three years, until ſhe was taken priſoner at Narva by the Ruſſians." But this miniſter, who is well informed in what relates to the latter part of Catharine's life, and the means by which ſhe aſcended the throne, ſeems to have detailed many idle reports about her family and early hiſtory. Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. xi. p. 48.

Before I cloſe this note I muſt mention the opinion of Buſching, who, during his reſidence at Peterſburgh, collected much authentic information in reſpect to the various parts of the Ruſſian hiſtory: amongſt other articles, he has given anecdotes of Catharine I. which he opens by ſaying, "All the accounts which writers have hitherto given, or rather conjectured, of the birth and family of Catharine I. are falſe." Ibid. iii. p. 190. He ſays her family was from Lithuania, and her father's name Samuel; her brother was Count Charles Scavronſki; her ſiſter Chriſtina married Count Simon Hendrikof, and the other, whoſe name was Anne, Michael Yeſimoſki. He confirms her marriage with the Swediſh dragoon, but places the ſcene at Frauſtadt in Poland, and not at Marienburgh. He informs us, that he obtained this information from an old lady whoſe name he conceals, who died lately at Peterſburgh, and knew Catharine from her firſt appearance in Ruſſia, and was greatly in her favour. He adds alſo an account of an officer who brought Catharine's ſiſter Anne from Lithuania to Peterſburgh. With great deference, however, to ſo reſpectable an authority, we cannot, merely upon this hearſay evidence, ſet aſide the teſtimonies of Weber, La Motraye, and Bruce: this ſtory ſeems, in effect, the ſame flying report as that in Voltaire; and the lady who gave the intelligence to Buſching, might be willing to ratify the current report in Elizabeth's time, in honour of her friend and patroneſs Catharine. It appears, however, as well from this intelligence as from the information of Weber and Baſſevitz, that ſome real or pretended relations of Catharine made their appearance at Peterſburgh during her reign; that they were acknowledged and promoted by her, and afterwards by Elizabeth, not unwilling, perhaps, to believe, without inquiry, her mother's family to be nobly deſcended.

Schmidt, in his Materialen, &c has collected in one point of view great part of the intelligence which relates to Catharine and to him I am greatly obliged for abridging the trouble neceſſary in ſuch a complicated inquiry.

* Baſſevitz in Buſching, ix. p 375. Some ſay ſhe was born ſo early as 1583. Buſching, ix. p 481.

† Weber ſays in her eighteenth year; but if, according to her own account, ſhe was born in 1689, ſhe was only thirteen.

‡ Wurmb aſſured Weber, that during her reſidence at Marienburgh ſhe was a pattern of virtue and good behaviour; which contradicts the report, that ſhe had been a common woman in Livonia.

§ Weber. ‖ Bruce, p 74.

meſtic

meſtic affairs, and was ſuppoſed to be his miſtreſs. Soon afterwards ſhe was removed into the family of Prince Mentchikof, who was no leſs ſtruck with the attractions of the fair captive: with him ſhe lived until 1704, when, in the ſeventeenth year of her age, ſhe became the miſtreſs of Peter the Great, and won ſo much upon his affections, that he eſpouſed * her on the 29th of May, 1711. The ceremony was ſecretly performed at Jawerof in Poland, in the preſence of General Bruce, and on the 20th of February, 1712, was publicly ſolemnized at Peterſburgh.

Catharine, by the moſt unwearied aſſiduity and unremitted attention, by the ſoftneſs and complacency of her diſpoſition, but above all by an extraordinary livelineſs of temper, acquired a wonderful aſcendency over the mind of Peter. The Emperor was ſubject to occaſional horrors, which rendered him gloomy and ſuſpicious, and produced a temporary madneſs. In theſe dreadful moments Catharine was the only perſon who ventured to approach him: ſuch was the kind of faſcination † ſhe had acquired over his ſenſes, that her preſence had an inſtantaneous effect; the firſt ſound of her voice compoſed his mind and calmed his agonies. From theſe circumſtances ſhe ſeemed neceſſary, not only to his comfort, but even to his exiſtence; ſhe became his inſeparable companion during his journies into foreign countries, and accompanied him even in his military expeditions.

The peace of Pruth, by which the Ruſſian army was reſcued from certain deſtruction, has been wholly attributed to Catharine, though ſhe was only the inſtrument in extorting the conſent of Peter. In the campaign of 1711 againſt the Turks, having imprudently led his troops into a diſadvantageous ſituation, he formed the deſperate reſolution of cutting his way through the Turkiſh army in the night, and retiring to his tent in an agony of deſpair, gave poſitive orders that no one ſhould be admitted, under pain of death. In this important juncture, the principal officers and the vice-chancellor Shaffirof ‡, aſſembled in the preſence of Catharine, and drew up certain preliminaries to obtain a truce from the Grand Vizier. Plenipotentiaries were immediately diſpatched without the knowledge of Peter, to the Grand Vizier, and a peace obtained on more reaſonable conditions than could have been expected. With theſe conditions Catharine, notwithſtanding the orders iſſued by Peter, entered the tent, and obtained his ſignature. By her conduct Catharine acquired great popularity, and the Emperor ſpecifies her behaviour at Pruth, as one of the reaſons which induced him to crown her publicly at Moſcow with his own hand. This ceremony § was performed in 1724; and though deſigned by Peter only as a proof of his affection, was the cauſe of her ſubſequent elevation.

Some authors have affirmed, without the ſmalleſt foundation, that Peter placed the crown upon her head as a prelude to his future intention in her favour, and even appointed her his ſucceſſor; but no traces of this intention were ever diſcovered. Nothing

* Gordon ſays ſhe had ſeveral children by the Czar before he eſpouſed her, particularly the Princeſs Anne. The Czar, he adds, was married to her in 1710. Life of Peter, vol. ii. p. 258. Weber only relates, that the marriage, which was before kept ſecret, was made public in 1711. Voltaire places the ſecret marriage in 1707. A paſſage in Bruce's Memoirs is deciſive: "On the 17th (May, 1711) we arrived at Warſaw, and at Jawerof on the 29th, where we found the Czar and Czarina, and they were privately married, *at which ceremony the General was preſent*; and upon this occaſion he was made maſter-general of the ordnance, in the room of the Prince of Meſita, who died a priſoner in Sweden." P. 36.

† "Elle avait un aſcendant ſur ſes ſens, qui tenait preſque du prodige." Baſſevitz in Buſch. ix. p. 291.

‡ Motraye's Travels, vol. iii. p. 151, note, alſo p. 103.

§ The reader will find a circumſtantial account of the coronation, with all the ceremonies and entertainments, in Bruce, who was himſelf preſent. Bruce's Memoirs, p. 351 to 363.

indeed

indeed affords a ſtronger proof of the contrary, than the manifeſto of Catharine's acceſſion, in which ſhe reſts her right ſolely on her coronation at Moſcow, and on the reſolutions of the ſenate, the clergy, and the body of the generals *. Her influence continued undiminiſhed until a ſhort time before the death of Peter; when ſome circumſtances occaſioned a miſunderſtanding, which might have ended in a total rupture, if his death had not intervened. The original cauſe of this miſunderſtanding aroſe from the diſcovery of a ſecret connection between Catharine and Mons, her firſt chamberlain. The Emperor, ſuſpicious of the connection, quitted Peterſburgh, under pretence of removing to a villa for a few days; but privately returned to his winter palace in the capital. From whence he occaſionally ſent a confidential page with a complimentary meſſage to the Empreſs, as if he was in the country, with ſecret orders to obſerve her motions. From his information, the Emperor, on the third night, ſurpriſed Catharine in an arbour of the garden with her favourite Mons; while his ſiſter, Madame Balke, who was firſt lady of the bed-chamber, was in company with a page, upon the watch without the arbour.

Peter † ſtruck Catharine with his cane, as well as the page who endeavoured to prevent him from entering the arbour, and then retired without uttering a ſingle word. Mons and his ſiſter were taken into cuſtody, and a report was circulated, that they were impriſoned for receiving bribes, and making their influence over the Empreſs ſubſervient to their own mercenary views. Mons was carried to the winter palace, where no one had admiſſion to him but Peter, who himſelf brought his proviſions; being examined in the preſence of Major General Uſchakof, and threatened with the torture, he confeſſed the corruption laid to his charge, and was beheaded. His ſiſter received five ſtrokes of the knoot, and was baniſhed into Siberia; two of her ſons, who were chamberlains, were alſo degraded, and ſent as common ſoldiers among the Ruſſian troops in Perſia. On the day ſubſequent to the execution of the ſentence, Peter conveyed Catharine in an open carriage under the gallows, to which was nailed the head of Mons; the Empreſs, without changing colour at this dreadful object, exclaimed, "What a pity it is, that there is ſo much corruption among courtiers ‡."

As this event was followed by Peter's death, and as Catharine recalled Madame Balke, ſhe was ſuſpected of ſhortening the days of her huſband by poiſon. But notwithſtanding the critical ſituation of Catharine at the time of his deceaſe, and her ſubſequent elevation, this charge is deſtitute of proof; for the nature of the diſorder with which Peter had been long afflicted, and the peculiar ſymptoms § of his laſt illneſs, ſufficiently account for his death, without recurring to poiſon.

Peter

* See Dumont, Corps Diplom. vol. viii. part 2. p. 104.

† Baſſevitz and Voltaire relate this tranſaction in a different manner, but neither of them would repreſent any circumſtance tending in the leaſt to criminate Catharine. The Auſtrian envoy, from whom the above relation is chiefly extracted, ſays that he received information of the whole affair from the page ſent by Peter, whoſe name was Drevenich. Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. xi. p. 49. Baſſevitz himſelf mentions the anecdote of his driving her under the gallows, which ſeems to imply, that Peter certainly thought Catharine guilty of an intrigue with Mons.

‡ Baſſevitz in Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. ix. p. 372.

§ "Peter," ſays the Auſtrian envoy, "had formerly contracted from one of his miſtreſſes a complaint, which on account of his exceſſes, was never completely eradicated; and drinking at the ridiculous election of the mock-patriarch ‖, an enormous quantity of wine, beer, mead, and brandy, it increaſed to ſuch a degree as to become incurable; but as there appeared no external ſymptoms, the phyſicians conceived the diſorder to be the ſtone, and treated it accordingly. By theſe means the virus at length gradually gained ſuch a height as to form an abſceſs in the bladder, which, in his laſt illneſs, brought on a ſtrangury, that

‖ See an account of this in Bruce's Memoirs.

ſoon

Peter having, in 1724, decreed that the reigning ſovereign ſhould have the power of appointing his ſucceſſor, ought, in common prudence, to have provided one in caſe of his ſudden death; but he was ſeized with his laſt illneſs before he had performed that neceſſary duty. His diſorder was a ſtrangury, which was not at firſt attended with alarming ſymptoms; but ſuddenly increaſed to a violent degree, and occaſioned ſuch excruciating tortures, as totally deprived him of his ſenſes. In a lucid interval he demanded pen and paper, and endeavoured to write, but could only trace characters that were not legible. He then called for his daughter Anne; but before her arrival his ſpeech and underſtanding failed, and he remained in this ſtate ſix-and-thirty hours until he expired *.

It is evident from this account, drawn from unqueſtionable authorities, that he did not appoint his heir; and though ſome perſons concluded, that he purpoſed entailing the crown upon his grandſon Peter, yet he probably deſtined his eldeſt daughter Anne to be his ſucceſſor; but was prevented, by the ſuddenneſs of his death, from carrying his deſign into execution.

While Peter was yet lying in the agonies of death, ſeveral oppoſite parties were caballing to diſpoſe of the crown. At a conſiderable meeting of many among the principal nobility, it was ſecretly determined to arreſt Catharine, at the moment of his diſſolution, and place Peter Alexievitch upon the throne †. Baſſevitz, apprized of this reſolution, repaired in perſon to the Empreſs, although it was already night. "My grief and conſternation," replied Catharine, "render me incapable of acting for myſelf; do you and Prince Mentchikof conſult together, and I will embrace the meaſures which you ſhall approve in my name." Baſſevitz, finding Mentchikof aſleep, awakened and informed him of the preſſing danger which threatened the Empreſs and her party. As no time remained for deliberation, the Prince inſtantly ſeized the treaſure, ſecured the fortreſs, gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promiſes, alſo a few of the nobility, and the principal clergy. Theſe partizans being convened in the palace, Catharine made her appearance; ſhe claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moſcow; expoſed the ill effects of a minority, and promiſed, that "ſhe would receive the crown only as a ſacred depoſit, to be reſtored to the Great-Duke, when ſhe would be united, in another world, to an adored huſband, whom ſhe was now upon the point of loſing."

The pathetic manner with which ſhe uttered this addreſs, and the tears which accompanied it, added to the previous diſtribution of large ſums of money and jewels, produced the deſired effect; and the remainder of the night was employed in making the neceſſary preparations to enſure her acceſſion.

The death of Peter, in the morning of the 28th of January, being divulged, the ſenate, the generals, the principal nobility and clergy, haſtened to the palace to proclaim the new ſovereign. The adherents of the Great-Duke ſeemed ſecure of ſucceſs, and the friends of Catharine were avoided as perſons doomed to deſtruction. At this junc-

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ſoon ended in his death. Upon his death-bed he grievouſly repented of his ſins, confeſſed that he had ſhed much innocent blood, expreſſed the greateſt concern for his behaviour to his unfortunate ſon; adding, however, that he hoped God would forgive his ſins, in conſideration of the good he had conferred on his country." Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. xi. p. 496. Gordon ſays, "he caught cold, which, with a violent ſtrangury and retention of urine, occaſioned by an impoſthume in his bladder, put an end to his life on the 28th of January, 1725."

* Baſſevitz in Buſching, ix. p. 373. alſo Weber Ver. Ruſſ. vol. ii. p. 199.

† Tant qu'on lui ſavoit un ſouffle de vie, perſonne n'oſoit l'entreprendre. Telle étoit la force du reſpect et de la terreur, qu'imprima ce hèros. Baſſevitz, p. 374.

ture Baſſevitz whiſpered one of the oppoſite party, "The Empreſs is miſtreſs of the treaſure and fortreſs; ſhe has gained over the guards and the ſynod, and many of the chief nobility; even here ſhe has more followers than you imagine; adviſe therefore your friends to make no oppoſition as they value their heads." This information being rapidly circulated, Baſſevitz gave the ſignal, and two regiments of guards, who had been gained by a largeſs * to declare for Catharine, and already ſurrounded the palace, beat to arms. "Who has dared," exclaimed Prince Repnin, the commander in chief, "to draw out the troops without my knowledge!"—"I," returned General Butterlin, "without pretending to diſpute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my moſt gracious miſtreſs." This ſhort reply was followed by a dead ſilence.

In this moment of ſuſpenſe and anxiety, Mentchikof entered, preceding Catharine, ſupported by the Duke of Holſtein. She attempted to ſpeak, but was prevented, by ſighs and tears, from giving utterance to her words; at length, recovering herſelf, "I come," ſhe ſaid, "notwithſtanding the grief which now overwhelms me, to aſſure you, that, ſubmiſſive to the will of my departed huſband, whoſe memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready to devote my days to the painful occupations of government, until Providence ſhall ſummon me to follow him." Then, after a ſhort pauſe, ſhe artfully added, "If the Great-Duke will profit by my inſtructions; perhaps I ſhall have the conſolation, during my wretched widowhood, of forming for you an Emperor worthy of the blood and name of him whom you have now irretrievably loſt." "As this criſis," replied Mentchikof, "is a moment of ſuch importance to the good of the empire, and requires the moſt mature deliberation, your Majeſty will permit us to confer without reſtraint, that this whole affair may be tranſacted without reproach, not only in the opinion of the preſent age, but alſo of poſterity."—"Acting as I do," anſwered Catharine, "more for the public good than for my own advantage, I am not afraid to ſubmit all my concerns to the judgment of this enlightened aſſembly; you have not only my permiſſion to confer with freedom; but I lay my commands upon you all, to deliberate maturely on this important ſubject, and promiſe to adopt the reſult of your deciſions." At the concluſion of theſe words, the aſſembly retired into another apartment, and the doors were locked.

It was previouſly ſettled by Mentchikof and his party, to declare Catharine Empreſs, and the guards, who ſurrounded the palace with drums beating and colours flying, effectually vanquiſhed all oppoſition. The only circumſtance, therefore, which remained, was to give a juſt colour to her title, by perſuading the aſſembly that Peter intended to name her his ſucceſſor. For this purpoſe Mentchikof demanded of the Emperor's ſecretary, whether his late maſter had left any written declaration of his intentions? The ſecretary replied, "A little before his laſt journey to Moſcow he deſtroyed a will, and he frequently expreſſed his deſign of making another, but was prevented by the reflection, that if he thought his people, whom he had raiſed from a ſtate of barbariſm to a high degree of power and glory, could be ungrateful, he would not expoſe his final inclinations to the inſult of a refuſal; and if they recollected what they owed to his labours, they would regulate their conduct by his intentions, which he had diſcloſed with more ſolemnity than could be manifeſted by any writing." An altercation now began in the aſſembly, and ſome of the nobles having the courage to oppoſe the acceſſion of Catharine, Theophanes, Archbiſhop of Pleſcof, called to their recollection the oath which they had all taken in 1722, to acknowledge the ſucceſſor appointed by Peter, and added, that the ſentiments of that Emperor delivered by the ſecretary were in effect an appointment

* The Auſtrian envoy ſays, that the guards received each 6l.

of Catharine. The oppoſite party, however, denied theſe ſentiments to be ſo clear as the ſecretary choſe to inſinuate, and inſiſted, that as their late monarch had failed to nominate his heir, the election of the new ſovereign ſhould revert to the ſtate. Upon this the Archbiſhop further teſtified, that the evening before the coronation of the Empreſs at Moſcow, Peter had declared, in the houſe of an Engliſh merchant, he ſhould place the crown upon her head, with no other view than to leave her miſtreſs of the Empire after his deceaſe. This atteſtation being confirmed by many perſons preſent, Mentchikof cried out, "What need have we of any teſtament! A refuſal to conform to the inclination of our great ſovereign, thus authenticated, would be both unjuſt and criminal. Long live the Empreſs Catharine!" Theſe words being inſtantly repeated by the greater part of thoſe who were preſent; Mentchikof, ſaluting Catharine by the title of Empreſs, paid his firſt obeiſance by kiſſing her hand, and his example was followed by the whole aſſembly. She next preſented herſelf at the window to the guards, and to the people, who ſhouted acclamations of "Long live Catharine," while Mentchikof ſcattered among them handfuls of money *. Thus, ſays a contemporary, the Empreſs was raiſed to the throne by the guards, in the ſame manner as the Roman Emperors by the Prætorian cohorts, without either the appointment of the people or of the legions †.

The reign of Catharine may be conſidered as the reign of Mentchikof; the Empreſs having neither inclination nor abilities to direct the helm of government; and ſhe placed the moſt implicit confidence in the original author of her good fortune, and the ſole inſtrument of her elevation to the throne.

During her ſhort reign her life was very irregular; ſhe was extremely averſe to buſineſs, would frequently paſs whole nights in the open air, and was particularly intemperate in the uſe of tokay-wine, in which ſhe often indulged herſelf to exceſs ‡. Theſe irregularities, joined to a cancer and a dropſy, haſtened her end, and ſhe expired on the 17th of May 1727, a little more than two years after her acceſſion to the throne, and in the 39th year of her age.

As the deaths of ſovereigns in deſpotic countries are ſeldom imputed to natural cauſes, that of Catharine was alſo attributed to poiſon; as if the diſorders which preyed upon her frame were not ſufficient to bring her to the grave. Some aſſert, that ſhe was poiſoned by a glaſs of ſpirituous liquor; others by a pear given to her by General Diever. Suſpicions alſo fell upon Prince Mentchikof, who, a ſhort time before her deceaſe, had a trifling miſunderſtanding with her, and who was accuſed of haſtening her death,

* This account of the election of Catharine is chiefly extracted from Baſſevitz, who aſſiſted Prince Mentchikof in this revolution, and certainly muſt deſerve credit as far as he choſe to diſcover the ſecret cabals. Other authors relate this event ſomewhat differently; but this difference is eaſily reconciled, and the main facts continue the ſame. Buſching aſſerts, as he was informed by Count Munic, that Peter was no ſooner dead, than the ſenate and nobles aſſembled in the palace, unknown to Mentchikof, who, being informed of their meeting, repaired to the palace, and was refuſed admittance; upon which he ſent for General Butterlin, with a company of guards, and burſting open the door of the apartment, declared Catharine Empreſs. Buſching, vol. i. p. 15; alſo Ebauche, &c. p. 50. The Auſtrian envoy ſays, that General Butterlin threatened to maſſacre the ſenate if the members did not acknowledge Catharine. But we have already ſeen, from the authority of Baſſevitz, that many of the nobles, &c. repaired to the palace in oppoſition to Mentchikof; that General Butterlin had high words with Prince Repnin and the oppoſite party; that Mentchikof's preſence utterly diſconcerted them; and it is probable that both he and Butterlin might have threatened the nobles, which Baſſevitz might not chuſe to record, as he was willing to make the nomination of Catharine as unanimous as poſſible; although he ſays, "C'eſt ainſi que Catharine ſaiſit le ſceptre, qu'elle méritoit à ſi juſte titre." In a word, theſe three accounts are eaſily reconcileable; they all prove one fact, that Mentchikof, either by himſelf or his agents, by bribes, promiſes, and threats, forced the nobility to proclaim Catharine.

† Auſtrian envoy in Buſching xi. p. 502. ‡ Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. iii. p. 192.

that he might reign with ſtill more abſolute power during the minority of Peter II. But theſe reports deſerve no credit, and were merely derived from the ſpirit of party, or from popular rumour.

Catharine was in her perſon under the middle ſize, and in her youth delicate and well-formed, but inclined to corpulency as ſhe advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which ſhe was accuſtomed to dye black *. She could neither read nor write †; her daughter Elizabeth uſually ſigned her name, particularly to her laſt will and teſtament, and Count Oſterman generally put her ſignature to the public decrees and diſpatches. Her abilities were greatly exaggerated by her panegyriſts. Gordon, who had frequently ſeen her, ſeems to have repreſented her character with the greateſt juſtneſs, when he ſays, "She was a very pretty well-lookt woman, of good ſenſe, but not of that ſublimity of wit, or rather that quickneſs of imagination, which ſome people have believed. The great reaſon why the Tzar was ſo fond of her, was her exceeding good temper; ſhe never was ſeen peeviſh or out of humour; obliging and civil to all, and never forgetful of her former condition; withal, mighty grateful." Catherine maintained the pomp of majeſty united with an air of eaſe and grandeur; and Peter frequently expreſſed his admiration at the propriety with which ſhe ſupported her high ſtation, without forgetting that ſhe was not born to that dignity ‡.

She bore her elevation meekly, and was never, as Gordon aſſerts, forgetful of her former condition. When Wurmb §, who was tutor to Gluck's children at the time that Catharine was a domeſtic in the ſame family, preſented himſelf before her after the public ſolemnization of her marriage with Peter, ſhe ſaid, "What, thou good man, art thou ſtill alive! I will provide for thee;" and gave him a penſion. She was alſo no leſs attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a priſoner at Moſcow: ſhe penſioned his widow, made his ſon a page, portioned the two eldeſt daughters, and appointed the youngeſt a maid of honour. If we may believe Weber, ſhe frequently inquired after her firſt huſband, and, when ſhe lived with Prince Mentchikof, uſed ſecretly to ſend him ſmall ſums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a ſkirmiſh with the enemy. In a conference with General Schlippenback, who had commanded the Swediſh army, when ſhe was taken captive by the Ruſſians, ſhe aſked him, "whether her Spouſe John was not a brave ſoldier?" Schlippenback replying, "Am not I one alſo?" her Majeſty anſwered in the affirmative; but repeating the queſtion, he replied, "yes, pleaſe your Majeſty; and I may boaſt to have had the honour of having him under my command ‖." But the moſt noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compaſſion. Motraye has paid a handſome tribute to this excellence. "She had in ſome ſort the government of all his (Peter's) paſſions; and even ſaved the

* Buſching ſays, "*Ihr ſchwarzes haar war nicht natuerlich, ſondern gefaerbt,*" &c. Hiſt. Mag. vol. iii. p. 190. "Her black hair was not natural, but coloured. On her firſt riſe the coarſeneſs of her hands proved that ſhe had been uſed to hard labour, but they gradually grew whiter and whiter." Theſe circumſtances we may readily believe, becauſe the lady from whom Buſching received the information could eaſily know whether Catharine's hair was black, or her hands coarſe, although ſhe might be deceived in what relates to her family.

† Baſſevitz, p. 295. Buſching, xi p. 481.

‡ *Son épouſe était avec lui étalant, conformément à la volonté du monarque, la pompe impériale, qui le ſeoait, et la ſoutenant avec un air ſurprenant de grandeur et d'aiſance. Le czar ne pouvait ſe laſſer d'admirer les talens qu'elle poſſedait, ſelon ſon expreſſion, de ſe créer impératrice, ſans oublier qu'elle ne le nâquit point.* Baſſevitz in Buſ. p. 358.

§ Life of Peter, vol. iii. p. 238.

‖ Buſching had the above anecdote from a lady who was preſent at this conference. Hiſt. Mag. vol. iii. p. 140.

lives of a great many more perſons than Le Fort was able to do; ſhe inſpired him with that humanity which, in the opinion of his ſubjects, nature ſeemed to have denied him. A word from her mouth, in favour of a wretch, juſt going to be ſacrificed to his anger, would diſarm him; but if he was fully reſolved to ſatisfy that paſſion, he would give orders for the execution when ſhe was abſent, for fear ſhe ſhould plead for the victim *." In a word, to uſe the expreſſion of the celebrated Munic, "*Elle étoit proprement la mediatrice entre le monarque et ſes ſujets* †."

CHAP. XII.—*Alexèy Petrovitch.—Principles on which Peter juſtified his excluſion from the Throne.—Effects of his bad Education.—Dread of his Father.—Eſcape from Peterſburgh.—His Trial and Condemnation.—Inquiry into the Cauſe of his Death.—Account of his Wife Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia of Brunſwick.—Circumſtances of her death.—Falſe Rumours of her Eſcape and Adventures.*

ALEXÈY, the ſole fruit of the inauſpicious marriage between Peter the Great and Eudocia Lapukin, was born in 1690, and never was the birth of any Prince more unfortunate to himſelf, to his parents, and to his country.

The principles on which Peter attempted to juſtify the excluſion of his ſon from the throne, appear from a curious letter, written in 1715 by an Auſtrian Ambaſſador at Peterſburgh, to the prime miniſter at Vienna:

‡ "In my laſt I informed your excellency that I had an opportunity of penetrating the ſentiments of the Tzar, and I ſhall now acquaint you with the particulars, which will ſurprize you. Being at dinner laſt Sunday at the vice-chancellor Shaffirof's, in company with the Tzar, His Majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me upon different topics. The diſcourſe turning upon the late King of France, His Majeſty ſaid, "Certainly France was never governed by a greater man than Louis XIV. nevertheleſs, when I conſider the little care which he took to perpetuate the glory of his kingdom after his demiſe, I have no longer the fame eſteem for his memory, which I have hitherto held for his great and heroic actions. Louis XIV. at his advanced age, could not reaſonably indulge the hope of a much longer life; if, therefore, he diſcovered in the infant (Louis XV.) his ſucceſſor, any evident marks of a future incapacity to reign, why did he entruſt him to the care of a man who will not fail to adopt any means, however deſperate, that may tend to ſecure the throne to himſelf? Why did he not exclude the Duke of Orleans from a ſhare in the regency? Or, if he knew the Duke to be a man of a ſuperior genius, as he undoubtedly is; and his great grandſon, either on account of his tender age or ſome corporal infirmity, incapable of governing, why did he not declare a perſon of ſuch abilities as the Duke of Orleans his ſucceſſor? By theſe means his grand ſyſtem would have ſtood unſhaken even by his death; whereas we have now every reaſon to conclude that France will decline." I made anſwer, "That as, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the firſt Prince of the blood is Regent during the King's minority, Louis XIV. could not exclude the Duke of Orleans from the regency without breaking the law of ſucceſſion, which no King of France could venture to infringe." "Therefore," replied the Tzar, "a Prince, who, by ſacrificing his health, and even frequently expoſing his life, had at length rendered his country re-

* Mortraye's Travels, vol. iii. p. 131.
† Ehauche, &c. p. 54. "She was the mediatrix between the monarch and his ſubjects."
‡ Buſch. Hiſt. Mag. iii. p. 185, &c.

ſpectable

ſpectable and formidable, would, according to your hypotheſis, be conſtrained to ſuffer the fruits of his labours to be deſtroyed in the hands of a madman, provided he was his neareſt relation. I own I am not of your opinion. It is by no means ſufficient, that a monarch ſhould exert himſelf to aggrandize his ſtate, and render it flouriſhing during his life, but he ought alſo by wiſe precautions to perpetuate its glory after his demiſe, which can in no other manner be effected than by appointing an heir who ſhall be capable, not only to maintain his acquiſitions and preſerve his eſtabliſhments, but alſo to execute the reſt of his deſigns, were he even to ſelect him from the croud of his ſubjects. You," added he, "would tax a Prince with cruelty, who, in order to ſave his ſtate, which ought to be dearer to him than the blood in his veins, ſhould attempt to alter the ſucceſſion of his blood; and I, on the contrary, conceive it to be the greateſt of all cruelties, to ſacrifice the ſafety of the ſtate to the mere right of eſtabliſhed ſucceſſion. Let us ſuppoſe that the ſucceſſor has not the qualities requiſite for a ſovereign; a convent, and not a throne, is a proper aſylum for weak princes. David, for example, had many ſons; but as he found not in the eldeſt the qualities which a King of Iſrael ought to poſſeſs, he choſe the youngeſt for his ſucceſſor: God himſelf approved the choice, inſtead of blaming him for not paying regard to the pretenſions of primogeniture, which was nevertheleſs highly reſpected by the Jews. If the gangrene (making me touch at the ſame time the end of his thumb) attacks my finger, am I not obliged, although it is part of my body, to cut it off? or ſhould I not be guilty of ſuicide?

"In ſhort, I now comprehend the cauſe of the law lately introduced by the Tzar, which adjudges all real eſtates of a family to one of the male children; but leaves to the father the abſolute power of appointing his heir without conſidering the right of primogeniture. I am now convinced that the Tzar has in his own mind decreed the excluſion of his eldeſt ſon; and that we ſhall one day ſee Alexéy, with his head ſhaven, thruſt into a monaſtery, and obliged to paſs the remainder of his life in praying and chaunting hymns.

Nov. 15, 1715."

The prophecy of this writer was afterwards fulfilled, though, inſtead of being ſhut up in a convent, the wretched Prince expired in priſon. The circumſtances which occaſioned his excluſion and death are well known; but as we have received them through the medium of his accuſers, we ought to be careful in giving credit to all the charges with which his memory has been ſtigmatized. One fact * is incontrovertible, that his education was ſhamefully neglected, and that he was a ſtranger to the reſtraints neceſſary at his age, until the time of introducing proper habitudes had almoſt elapſed. He was committed to the care of women, and to the inſtruction of Ruſſian prieſts, the loweſt and moſt ignorant of men, who inſtilled into him all the prejudices of their religion, and were continually inveighing againſt his father for the abolition of many barbarous cuſtoms, which they had long conſidered with reverential awe. Nor was he releaſed from this wretched ſpecies of tuition before the eleventh year of his age; when Baron Huyſen, a man of great merit and ability, was appointed his governor. Under this judicious inſtructor he ſeems to have made no inconſiderable progreſs, and his early prejudices might have gradually worn away, had not Prince Mentchikof contrived to remove the only perſon who was likely to inſtil into him proper principles of action, and aſſumed the ſuperintendence of his education. But as Mentchikof † ſcarcely ever ſaw him, and placed about him the moſt improper perſons, he ſeems to have intentionally

* See Memoire abregè ſur la vie du tzarevitch Alexei Petrovitch, in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. p. 195.
† Buſ. H. M. p. 196.

abandoned him to the company of the loweſt wretches, by whom he was encouraged in continual ebriety, and every kind of exceſs; yet this deſigning miniſter artfully extorted from the tzarovitch, in priſon, a confeſſion that he was the only perſon who had taken any care of his education *.

Peter conceived an early prejudice againſt his ſon, and inſpired him with ſuch terror, that to avoid drawing before his father, the young Prince once diſcharged a piſtol againſt his own right hand. All perſons, however, join in condemning the imprudence and obſtinacy of Alexey, which warped his judgment, and at times tranſported him to a degree of infanity. Bruce, who knew him well, gives the following account of his perſon and manners; and as he was not prejudiced againſt him, his teſtimony muſt be eſteemed more valid than all the laboured accuſations of his enemies.

"The Czarowitz arrived in Moſcow this winter (1714) where I ſaw him for the firſt time. He kept a mean Finlandiſh girl for his miſtreſs. I went often with the General to wait on him; and he came frequently to the General's houſe, attended by very mean and low perſons. He was very ſlovenly in his dreſs; his perſon was tall, well made, of a brown complexion, black hair and eyes, of a ſtern countenance, and ſtrong voice. He frequently did me the honour to talk with me in German, being fully maſter of that language; he was adored by the populace, but little reſpected by the ſuperior ranks, for whom he never ſhewed the leaſt regard. He was always ſurrounded by a number of debauched ignorant prieſts, and other mean perſons of bad character, in whoſe company he always reflected on his father's conduct for aboliſhing the antient cuſtoms of the country, declaring, that as ſoon as he came to ſucceed, he ſhould ſoon reſtore Ruſſia to its former ſtate; and threatening to deſtroy, without reſerve, all his father's favourites. This he did ſo often, and with ſo little reſerve, that it could not miſs reaching the Emperor's ears; and it was generally thought he now laid the foundation of that ruin he afterwards met with."

And again, "It was very remarkable, that the Prince never appeared at any of the public meetings, when His Majeſty was attended by all perſons of quality and rank, ſuch as birth-days, celebrating of victories, launching of ſhips, &c. General Bruce, who lived next door to the Prince, had orders always to give the Prince notice the day before of ſuch public days or meetings, and I had the honour to carry and deliver the meſſage; but his Highneſs, to avoid appearing in public, either took phyſic or let blood, always making his excuſe, that he could not attend for want of health; when at the ſame time, it was notoriouſly known that he got drunk in very bad company, when he uſed conſtantly to condemn all his father's actions †."

Inflamed by continual drunkenneſs, and worn out by perſecution, he was driven to a ſtate of deſperation; and in 1716, ſuddenly renouncing his right of ſucceſſion in favour of Peter's ſon by Catharine, he demanded permiſſion to retire into a convent. But ſoon afterwards, adopting the advice of his principal adherents, he eſcaped to Vienna; with a view to ſhelter him from the reſentment of his father, Charles VI. ſent him firſt to Inſpruck in the Tyrol, and afterwards removed him, for ſtill greater ſecurity, to the

* L'Eveſque makes the following juſt reflections upon this unaccountable circumſtance. "*Croira-t-on qu'il ait fait ſincérement & de lui-même l'éloge des ſoins que Menchikof avoit pris de ſon éducation; lorſqu'on ſait d'ailleurs que Menchikof approchait de lui tout au plus trois ou quatre fois par an & ne lui parlait qu'avec le ton du mépris le plus dur & le plus outrageant? Si on le contraignit à louer le favori de Pierre, l'ami de Catharine, ne peut-on pas lui avoir dicté de même tout ce qu'on voulait lui faire dire?*" Hiſt. de Ruſſie, Tom iv. p. 442.

This conjecture is greatly ſtrengthened by conſidering that the eulogium of Mentchikof was obtained from Alexey in priſon by Tolſtoe, the creature of Mentchikof.

† Bruce's Memoirs, p. 100 and 127.

caſtle

caſtle of St. Elmo at Naples. Being ſecretly betrayed by his Finlandiſh miſtreſs, whom he is reported to have married, and influenced by the moſt ſolemn promiſes of forgiveneſs, he was prevailed upon, by the emiſſaries of his father, to return to Moſcow. Having there ſolemnly renounced all right of ſucceſſion to the crown, he was conveyed to Peterſburgh, thrown into the fortreſs, tried by a ſelect committee, and condemned to ſuffer death. The acts of his proceſs and condemnation are well known, being publiſhed by order of the Emperor, and are to be found in ſeveral authors *.

Whatever prejudices we may have entertained againſt Alexèy, we cannot peruſe the trial without being ſhocked at the cruel and unjuſt mode with which it was conducted; when his mercileſs perſecutors eagerly laid hold of every advantage afforded by his youth and ſimplicity; when his Finlandiſh miſtreſs, who was afterwards penſioned for her atteſtations, depoſed every angry expreſſion againſt his father, which ſhe ever recollected to have fallen from him in the moſt unguarded moments: when not only his words and actions were brought to witneſs againſt him, but his very thoughts ſcrutinized, and his own confeſſion extorted in priſon employed to convict him. Indeed many of his own depoſitions, which tend moſt to criminate him, by diſcovering intentions of rebellion, were not openly acknowledged, but only ſigned in priſon; and a ſignal difference is remarkable between his confeſſions during his firſt examination at Moſcow, which was more public, and thoſe made at Peterſburgh, when his trial was chiefly conducted in private before Peter and his immediate confidents: circumſtances which ſeem to prove the infliction of torture.

With reſpect to Alexèy's death, two opinions prevail; one advanced in the manifeſto of Peter, that he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, and died of convulſions occaſioned by the violent paſſions of his mind and the terrors of death; the other, that he was ſecretly executed in priſon. The latter is moſt entitled to belief, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of Peter, and the apology of his panegyriſts.

Of all the accounts of the Prince's death, that given by Buſching † is the moſt probable; he poſitively affirms, that he was beheaded by order of his father, and that Marſhal Weyde performed the office of executioner. He received the intelligence from Madame Cramer, a lady at Peterſburgh, who was in high confidence, both with Peter and Catharine, and was employed in ſewing the head to his body before it lay in ſtate. During my ſtay at Peterſburgh, I was at ſome pains to authenticate this fact; but found it extremely difficult to obtain any poſitive information concerning ſo ſecret a tranſaction. The moſt material circumſtances I could collect were communicated by an intimate acquaintance of the above-mentioned lady: he aſſured me that he always found her extremely averſe to hold any diſcourſe on the death of Alexèy; that ſhe ſeemed exceedingly ſhocked whenever the topic was introduced, and nothing could be further extorted from her, than that ſhe was the perſon who prepared the body for the ceremony of lying in ſtate. This unwillingneſs of the lady to enter upon the ſubject, together with her declaration that ſhe prepared the body, adds a great degree of confirmation to the account of Buſching.

An additional proof, in favour of this fact, I received from an Engliſh gentleman ‡ of undoubted veracity, who aſſured me, from the information of Prince Cantemir's ſecre-

* Mottley, vol. ii. And more circumſtantially in Perry, vol. ii.

† Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. vol. iii. p. 234. Alſo introduction to vol. ix.

‡ Mr. Ruſt, who travelled with Mr. Hoare, ſon of the late Henry Hoare, Eſq. of Stourhead. He became intimately acquainted at Aix la Chapelle with Vogenrock, who had been ſecretary to Prince Cantemir, was then eighty years of age, and had collected materials for the life of Peter I., but never reduced them to order.

tary,

tary, with whom he was intimately acquainted abroad, that Alexey was beheaded in priſon. As Prince Cantemir was in high favour with Peter, the intelligence of his confidential ſecretary muſt carry great weight. This fact appears ſo well atteſted, that many German hiſtorians have adopted it without reſerve, and in ſeveral genealogical tables of the imperial family, Alexèy is inſerted as beheaded. A paſſage, however, in Bruce's Memoirs, ſeems at firſt ſight to invalidate this concurrent evidence, and to prove that he was poiſoned.

"The trial* was begun on the 25th of June, and continued to the 6th of July, when this ſupreme court, with unanimous conſent, paſſed ſentence of death upon the Prince, but left the manner of it to His Majeſty's determination: the Prince was brought before the court, his ſentence was read to him, and he was reconveyed to the fortreſs. On the next day, His Majeſty, attended by all the ſenators and biſhops, with ſeveral others of high rank, went to the fort, and entered the apartments where the Tzarovitch was kept priſoner. Some little time thereafter, Marſhal Weyde came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's the druggiſt, whoſe ſhop was hard-by, and tell him to make the potion ſtrong which he had beſpoke, as the Prince was then very ill: when I delivered this meſſage to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a ſhaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmoſt confuſion; which ſurprized me ſo much, that I aſked him what was the matter with him, but he was unable to return me any anſwer: in the mean time the Marſhal himſelf came in, much in the ſame condition with the druggiſt, ſaying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the Prince was very ill of an apoplectic fit; upon this the druggiſt delivered him a ſilver cup with a cover, which the Marſhal himſelf carried into the Prince's apartment, ſtaggering all the way as he went like one drunk. About half an hour after, the Tzar, with all his attendants withdrew, with very diſmal countenances; and when they went, the Marſhal ordered me to attend at the Prince's apartment, and in caſe of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof. There were at that time two phyſicians and two ſurgeons in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined on what had been dreſſed for the Prince's dinner. The phyſicians were called in immediately after to attend the Prince, who was ſtruggling out of one convulſion into another, and after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the Marſhal, and he went that moment to acquaint His Majeſty, who ordered the corpſe to be embowelled, after which it was laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and pall of rich gold tiſſue ſpread over it; it was then carried out of the fort to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpſe lay in ſtate till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back to the fort, and depoſited in the royal burying vault, next the coffin of the Princeſs his late conſort, on which occaſion the Tzar and Tzarina, and the chief of the nobility, followed in proceſſion. Various were the reports that were ſpread concerning his death; it was given out publicly, that on hearing his ſentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectic fit, of which he died; *very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to ſpeak as they thought.* The miniſters of the Emperor, and the ſtates of Holland, were forbid the court for ſpeaking their minds too freely on this occaſion, and upon complaint againſt them, were both recalled."

From this account it appears that the Prince was ſtill alive when Peter, with the nobles and biſhops, remained in the fortreſs; and that he died in the interval between their departure and the afternoon; but it by no means follows, even from this ſtate of the caſe, that the Tzarovitch was poiſoned. For can we ſuppoſe that Peter would order

* Bruce's Memoirs, p. 185—187.

a doſe

a doſe of poiſon to be prepared for his ſon at a chemiſt's ſhop, and that Marſhal Weyde would openly ſend for it without the leaſt myſtery? May we not rather infer that the potion was a medicine ſimilar to thoſe which had been already preſcribed for the Prince, who had for ſome time been extremely indiſpoſed? The fright of the chemiſt might proceed from his delivering a medicine for the Tzarovitch, who was ſaid to be in the agonies of death; as in a deſpotic country, and under ſuch a ſovereign as Peter, his own ſafety might be involved in the cataſtrophe. The agitation of Marſhal Weyde will be ſtill more ſatisfactorily accounted for; if, according to Buſching, he was preparing to perform, or had already performed the execution.

The principal circumſtance which ſeems to contradict the opinion that he was beheaded is, that if Bruce's narrative is to be depended upon, the Prince, when he fell afterwards into repeated convulſions, was viſited by the phyſicians; and yet, if Buſching's account can be relied on, he muſt have been already beheaded; as Marſhal Weyde, according to Bruce, had finally quitted the fortreſs. But it is poſſible that the phyſicians, although ordered to attend the Prince, might be prevented from ſeeing him; it is poſſible that Marſhal Weyde might have ſecretly returned to the fortreſs without the knowledge of Colonel Bruce; it is poſſible that Bruce himſelf, as being an intimate friend of the Marſhal, might have been entruſted with the ſecret, but was unwilling to record, in his Memoirs, ſo horrid a cataſtrophe, which was totally repugnant to the manifeſto of the Emperor. When the ſecret execution of the heir apparent in a deſpotic empire becomes the ſubject of inquiry, it muſt always be difficult to aſcer ain the truth; and it would be unreaſonable to expect that no contradictory circumſtances ſhould occur in the different relations of ſuch a myſterious tranſaction; when even in the moſt common occurrences, no two perſons would relate the ſame event preciſely in the ſame manner.

Catharine is not free from ſuſpicion of being concerned in this horrid affair, becauſe her ſon by Peter was declared ſucceſſor, and becauſe Tolſtoi, to whom the management of the proceſs and private examination of Alexèy were chiefly entruſted, was a creature of Mentchikof. This accuſation of Catharine could be only a mere ſurmiſe, and her interference, if ſhe really interfered, muſt have been ſo ſecret as not to have been diſcovered. Peter himſelf exculpated her, openly teſtifying *, that ſhe interceded for his ſon's life, and requeſted, that inſtead of being put to death, he might be confined in a convent. Not to mention that ſuch proceedings militate ſtrongly againſt the well known humanity of Catharine; there was no occaſion to irritate the ſavage temper of Peter, too much inclined to inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment upon his ſon, who threatened to deſtroy in a moment that vaſt fabric of glory and power which he had employed years in erecting. The monarch who could himſelf attend the infliction of torture, who had occaſionally performed the office of executioner, and who even ordered the firſt partner of his bed to be ſcourged, would not require any incitement to command the execution of a ſon, whom he had publicly treated with the moſt inhuman ferocity.

A note, written with Peter's own hand to Count Romanzof, who, in conjunction with Tolſtoi, brought the unfortunate Alexèy from Naples, will diſplay the inflexible ſpirit of that Monarch, who forgot the feelings of a father in his anxiety for the public good. "I grant you the ranks of major-general and lieutenant-general, and the eſtates of Alexander Kikin and Kuril Matuſhkin †, in conſideration of the ſignal ſervice which

* Baſſevitz.

† Two of Alexèy's unfortunate adherents, who with many others were executed upon this occaſion.

you have juſt conferred, not only upon me, but what is more, upon your country, in bringing back him, who by his birth is my ſon, and by his actions, the enemy of his father and of his country *."

The wife of Alexèy, Charlotte Chriſtina Sophia, was daughter of Louis Rodolph of Brunſwick-Blakenburgh, and ſiſter of Elizabeth Chriſtina, conſort of the Emperor Charles VI. She was born on the 29th of Auguſt 1694, eſpouſed on the 25th of October 1711, the Tzarovitch Alexèy, and in July of the enſuing year made her entrance into Peterſburgh †.

Although this amiable Princeſs was the choice of Alexèy, who ſaw her at her father's court, yet he treated her with the utmoſt neglect, and devoted himſelf to his favourite miſtreſs Euphroſyne, a Finlandiſh girl of the loweſt extraction.

It does not indeed appear that the Prince, according to the report of ſome writers, frequently ſtruck her; for had he been ſufficiently brutal, he would have been reſtrained by apprehenſions of his father; who, as well as Catharine, always expreſſed the ſtrongeſt compaſſion for her wretched ſituation, and ſhowed her conſtant proofs of his affection.

Her huſband's unconquerable antipathy was chiefly derived from his ſuſpicions that ſhe lodged complaints againſt him to the Emperor. Unfortunately her domeſtic uneaſineſs was increaſed by Juliana Princeſs of Eaſt-Frieſland, who accompanied her into Ruſſia, and who imprudently fanned the flame inſtead of endeavouring to quench it.

The fruits of this ill-aſſorted union were Natalia, who was born at Peterſburgh in 1714, and died at Moſcow in 1728; and a Prince, afterwards Peter II. who was brought into the world on the 23d of October, 1715. The conſequences of her delivery, and the melancholy which had long preyed upon her frame, hurried her prematurely to the grave, on the 2d November, in the twenty-firſt year of her age. The approach of death was affecting to all but her huſband and herſelf; her ſpirit was ſo much ſubdued by affliction, that ſhe conſidered her diſſolution as a welcome releaſe from all her ſufferings; and ſaid to her phyſicians, "Do not torment me any more, for I will live no longer ‡."

On the day which preceded her deceaſe, ſhe dictated a petition to Peter the Great, which may be conſidered as her will: "The moſt humble and laſt entreaties from the under-written to His Imperial Majeſty. 1. His Imperial Majeſty will order my funeral as he ſhall think proper. I could wiſh, nevertheleſs, that my body may be buried in a place where it may remain undiſturbed until the ſecond coming of our Saviour. 2. Both my beloved children I recommend to the care and affection of his Imperial Majeſty, my gracious father-in-law, that they may be educated according to their birth and ſtation. 3. I leave my jewels and other valuable things in gold and ſilver to my children; and a reaſonable part of my clothes and linen to my couſin the Princeſs of Eaſt-Frieſland. 4. I beſeech his Imperial Majeſty graciouſly to permit thoſe perſons who accompanied me hither to return, and to defray the expence of their journey. 5. On account of the dearneſs of this place, and becauſe my ſervants were ſtrangers, I have contracted ſome debts, which I intreat his Imperial Majeſty to diſcharge, that I may be remembered with honour, and that no unworthy reports may be circulated after my death. The ſums which the crown will ſave by my deceaſe, may be employed in diſcharging theſe debts, ſince it is God's will that I depart from this world ſo prematurely and unexpectedly.

* This note, which has not yet appeared in print, was communicated to me by a Ruſſian nobleman, the grandſon of Count Romanzof, who favoured me with a tranſlation from the original.

† This account of the Princeſs is chiefly taken from Muller's "Von der Princeſſin von Wolfenbuettel als vermahlten Ruſſiſchen Kronprinceſſin." In Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. xv. p. 234.

‡ Bruce's Memoirs, p. 148.

6. My

6. My unforeſeen and untimely death is alſo the cauſe of my being unable to recompenſe my domeſtics, who had the care of regulating my expences; and as I am perfectly ſatisfied that my ſecretaries Cluver and John Clement, who had charge of my diſburſments, have ſerved me with fidelity and honour, I humbly entreat that their accounts, which have receipts, may be paſſed, and that the other expenditures may be admitted upon their oath. I repoſe ſuch confidence in his Imperial Majeſty, that I truſt he will not reject this my laſt requeſt; more particularly when I reflect on the repeated inſtances which I have experienced of his paternal tenderneſs and affection. I have this alſo to add, that I am only concerned to leave this world at a time when his Imperial Majeſty is indiſpoſed; a circumſtance which has prevented me from thanking him in perſon for the frequent proofs I have received of his kindneſs and regard. May the Almighty be his aid and protector; and may he add thoſe years to his life which are taken from mine; which I likewiſe faithfully, and with my whole heart, implore for Her Majeſty the Empreſs; and, after returning my acknowledgments due to them for the repeated inſtances of their love and goodneſs, I expire, the moſt humble and moſt obedient daughter of both their Majeſties,

"CHARLOTTE CHRISTINA SOPHIA *."

"*St. Peterſburgh, October* 21, 1715."

Her ardent deſire to ſee the Emperor before ſhe expired was gratified. Peter, who was at Schluſſelburgh at the time of her delivery, had ſet off upon the firſt news of that intelligence for Peterſburgh; but on his arrival in the capital, was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, which confined him to his chamber. On peruſing the affectionate expreſſions of her attachment, he was placed on a machine rolling upon wheels, and conveyed to her apartment. The interview was awful: ſhe took leave of him in the moſt moving language and affecting manner, recommending her children to his care, and her ſervants to his protection, and received from him every conſolation which her ſituation would admit, together with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that all her wiſhes ſhould be fulfilled. She then embraced her children, and having bedewed them with tears, delivered them into the hands of her huſband, whom decency obliged to be preſent at this tender ſcene. After ſuffering the moſt acute pains, and ſtruggling with ſucceeding agonies, ſhe expired at midnight †.

She died a member of the Lutheran religion, which ſhe had in vain been ſolicited to renounce; and nothing conveys a ſtronger proof of the high eſteem in which ſhe was held by the Emperor, than her interment in a Ruſſian church: her remains were depoſited, on the 8th of November, in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, with all the funeral honours due to her exalted ſtation.

I have been thus particular in relating the principal circumſtances which attended her death; not only becauſe her fate is intereſting to every feeling mind, but alſo becauſe an extraordinary account of this Princeſs appeared in France. Soon after her delivery, it is ſaid, ſhe perſuaded her attendants to circulate a report of her death; and her huſband, who paid no attention to her during her illneſs, ordered her to be buried without delay; a piece of wood ſubſtituted in the place of the body, was interred in the cathedral, and the Princeſs made her eſcape into France. Apprehenſive of diſcovery, ſhe embarked for Louiſiana, and married a French ſerjeant, who had formerly been at Peterſburgh, to whom ſhe bore a daughter. In 1752 ſhe came with her huſband to Paris, was diſcovered as ſhe was walking in the Thuilleries by Marſhal Saxe, who pre-

* Muller in Buſ. xv. p. 237. † Muller and Bruce.

miſed ſecrecy, and procured a commiſſion for her huſband in the Iſle of Bourbon. Having loſt her huſband and child, ſhe, in 1754, returned to Paris with a negro woman. The bills upon the Eaſt India Company, which ſhe brought in her huſband's name, being refuſed becauſe ſhe could not prove herſelf to be his wife; a gentleman, whom ſhe had known in the Iſle of Bourbon, offered his aſſiſtance, which ſhe declined. She confeſſed to this gentleman her real character; and from him the author of the account pretends to have received theſe anecdotes; adding, ſhe ſoon afterwards diſappeared, and retired to the court of her nephew the Duke of Brunſwick. In this wonderful narrative, the King of France, it is ſaid, privately acknowledged her, and even enjoined the governor of the Iſle of Bourbon to pay her the honours due to her rank. It is added, that the ſame Monarch, in a letter written with his own hand, communicated this diſcovery to the Empreſs of Germany, (then Queen of Hungary,) who thanked the King for his intelligence, and immediately wrote to the ſuppoſed Princeſs as to her aunt, adviſed her to quit her huſband and child, whom the King of France had promiſed to provide for, and invited her to Vienna.

Although I had little reaſon to give credit to an anonymous author; and the whole ſtory bears the air of fiction, I made it the ſubject of my reſearches. I found, on inquiry, that the circumſtances of her death could not be doubted, and accorded with the accounts which I have before related; I was, moreover, informed by a Ruſſian nobleman, that his mother attended the Princeſs in her illneſs; that ſhe was a witneſs to her laſt moments, and ſaw the corpſe laid in ſtate, when perſons of all ranks were admitted to kiſs the hand of the deceaſed *.

It is certain, from a paſſage in a letter from the King of Pruſſia to d'Alembert, that a woman appeared at Brunſwic, pretending to be the deceaſed wife of the Tzarovitch: and it is no leſs certain that ſhe was an impoſtor.

* In L'Eveſque's Hiſtory of Ruſſia, there is an ample detail of the riſe and progreſs of this anecdote of the Princeſs's eſcape and adventures. It firſt made its appearance in Richer's Continuation of the Abbé Marcy's Hiſtoire Moderne, afterwards in Boſſu's Nouveaux Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale; and was lately reviſed in "Pieces intereſſantes et peu connues, pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire;" in which, as an additional authority, it is qualified as an extract found among the papers of the late Duclos, ſecretary of the Royal Academy, and Hiſtoriographer of France. The anecdote, like all other ſtories which are improved in their progreſs, is dreſſed in ſomewhat different ſhapes: in one the name of the huſband is d'Auban, in the other Moldack; in one ſhe marries a third time, and again becomes a widow: the circumſtances of her eſcape are alſo variouſly related, and in all with the moſt evident marks of falſehood, and abſolute contradiction to the moſt undoubted facts; ſuch as that ſhe was aſſiſted in her eſcape by the Counteſs of Koningſmark, although there was no lady of that name about her perſon, or at Peterſburgh; that the body of the Princeſs was interred almoſt at the inſtant of her deceaſe, and without any funeral honours; that Peter I. was not at Peterſburgh when ſhe died; that ſhe was brought to bed before her time of a Princeſs, with many ſimilar aſſertions, which ſcarcely deſerve any ſerious refutation. The reader, who is deſirous of further information on the ſubject, is referred to L'Eveſque Hiſtoire de Ruſſie, Tom iv. p. 384—389; and to the latter part of Muller's account, Von der Princeſſen von Wolfenbuttel, in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. xv. p. 239 to 241. An extract alſo of the principal circumſtances of this ſtory is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, and from thence inſerted in the Annual Regiſter for 1776.

"Je puis vous répondre avec plus de préciſion ſur le ſujet de cette dame qui prétendoit paſſer pour l'épouſe du czarowitz; ſon impoſture a été découverte à Brunſwic, où elle a paſſé peu de mois après la mort de celle dont elle emprunta le nom; elle y reçut quelques charités, avec ordre de quitter le païs, et de ne jamais prendre un nom dont ſa naiſſance l'écartoit ſi fort." Correſp. du Roi de Pruſſe à d'Alembert, ii. p. 138.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—*Various Opinions concerning the Tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius.—Proofs that he was no Impoſtor.*

THESE are the principal circumſtances in the adventures of the perſon, who ſeated himſelf upon the Ruſſian throne under the name of Demetrius. His hiſtory is involved in contradiction and obſcurity: unbiaſſed, however, by the prejudices of either party, let us compare with candour their oppoſite repreſentations, and endeavour to aſcertain, whether he was an impoſtor, or the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch.

They who contend that he was an impoſtor, thus relate his hiſtory: He was of the family of Otrepief; his real name was George, which upon his aſſuming the monaſtic habit in the fourteenth year of his age, he changed into Gregory, and was generally known by the appellation of Griſka * Otrepief: for ſome time he reſided at Suſdal, and having wandered from convent to convent, was conſecrated deacon in the monaſtery of Tchudof at Moſcow, where he was employed by the Patriarch in tranſcribing books for the ſervice of the church. It is not aſcertained, even from theſe accounts of his life, at what period he firſt ſtyled himſelf Demetrius. Some report, that while he continued in the monaſtery of Tchudof, he obtained the moſt minute information relative to the perſon and character of the Prince, and even began to aſſume his name, for which he was deemed inſane, and excited the laughter of the monks. Others obſerve, that he was in poſſeſſion of ſeveral jewels which formerly belonged to Demetrius; and having one day declared that he ſhould aſcend the throne of Ruſſia, was confined by order of Boris Godunof, in a diſtant monaſtery, from which he eſcaped into Poland. On the contrary, Margaret, who aſſerts that he is the true Demetrius, gives the following detail:

Demetrius being reſcued from aſſaſſination by the ſubſtitution † of another child, was ſecretly educated in Ruſſia until the election of Boris Godunof, when he was conveyed into Poland under the care of the monk Griſka, which afterwards gave riſe to the report that

* Griſka, in the Ruſſian tongue, ſignifies little Gregory. He was called alſo Roſtriga, or Deſerter, from having deſerted his convent.

† The principal objection to the account of Margaret, ariſes from the difficulty of ſubſtituting a child in the place of Demetrius, particularly if the ſon of his nurſe was one of the aſſaſſins; and if Vaſſili Shuiſki examined the body of the deceaſed, ſoon after the ſuppoſed aſſaſſination. To this it may be anſwered, that his mother had ſufficient reaſon to be on her guard againſt the attempts of Boris Godunof; for it is evident that ſuch attempts were made before, from a paſſage in Fletcher, who was at Moſcow in the beginning of Feodor's reign. "Beſides the Emperor that now is, who hath no child, nor ever like to have, there is but one more, a child of ſix or ſeven years old, in whom reſteth all the hope of the ſucceſſion, and the poſterity of that houſe. He is kept in a remote place from Moſko, under the tuition of his mother, and her kindred of the houſe of the Nagais; *yet not ſafe* (as I have heard) *from attempts of making away by practice of ſome that aſpire to the ſucceſſion, if this Emperor die without iſſue.*" Fletcher's Ruſſia, chap. v.

With reſpect to the privity of the nurſe, and her ſon, the witneſs of the bell-ringer, and the teſtimony of Vaſſili Shuiſki, L'Eveſque makes theſe judicious obſervations:

"Mais ces circonſtances ſont elles bien confirmées. Tous les aſſaſſins du Tzarevitch furent maſſacrés preſqu'auſſi-tôt qu'ils eurent commis ce crime. Ils n'ont point été interrogés, on n'a rien ſu de leur bouche. Un ſonneur de la cathedrale fut témoin du meurtre de Dmitri. Mais qui a reçu ſon témoignage? Eſt il même

that Griſka had perſonated Demetrius. As a proof that they were two diſtinct perſons, he informs us, that Boris Godunof ſent repeated expreſſes to his guards on the frontiers, to prevent all travellers from quitting the country, even ſhould they be provided with paſſports; for *two traitors* were endeavouring to eſcape into Poland. Margaret adds, Griſka was thirty-five years of age, and Demetrius ſcarcely twenty four; Griſka accompanied the new Tzar to Moſcow, and was ſeen by many in that city, being a perſon well known, and having a brother who poſſeſſed an eſtate near Galitz; he was notorious before his flight into Poland for drunkenneſs, and on account of his miſconduct, was baniſhed by Demetrius to Yaroſlaf. Margaret, moreover, was informed by an Engliſh merchant of Yaroſlaf, well acquainted with Griſka, that the monk, on receiving the news of the Tzar's death, and even after the election of Vaſſili Shuiſki, ſolemnly proteſted that he, Demetrius, was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch; and that he himſelf was Griſka Otrepief, who had conducted the Prince into Poland. Soon afterwards Griſka was conveyed to Moſcow by order of Vaſſili Shuiſki, and diſappeared. (Margaret, 152 to 157.)

If this narrative is authentic, even according to the confeſſion of Muller, it completely refutes the repreſentation of the oppoſite party. In what manner then does this ingenious author attempt to diſcredit the poſitive teſtimony of Margaret? "But how," ſays he, "can we imagine, that any one could ever hold two perſons to be the ſame individual, at a time when the contrary could be eaſily proved?" The contrary indeed could be eaſily proved during the reign of Demetrius, when Griſka was at Moſcow or at Yaroſlaf, and at a time when few Ruſſians doubted the fact; but the aſſertion was not ſo eaſily refuted when Griſka diſappeared, and when no perſon durſt contradict the manifeſto of Vaſſili Shuiſki. "Let us ſuppoſe," adds Mr. Muller, "that the oppoſite party, in defiance of all truth, firſt invented ſo groundleſs a fable; let us ſuppoſe that Griſka was immediately baniſhed, as ſoon as the enemies of Demetrius made the latter paſs for that monk; how does it happen that no writer beſide Margaret*, has taken notice of ſo remarkable a circumſtance?" It is generally allowed that one good evidence ought to outweigh a crowd of prejudiced witneſſes; ſo that if Margaret's credibility is ſuperior to that of his opponents, we muſt aſſent to the truth of his account. And who are the writers whoſe authority is preferred to that of Margaret? The native hiſtorians, who wrote after the acceſſion of Vaſſili Shuiſki; but their teſtimony cannot be admitted in this caſe; for could any Ruſſian venture to contradict the manifeſto of

même certain que ce temoin ait exiſté? Si les aſſaſſins furent trompés, n'ait-il pas pu l'être lui même, et prendre pour le Tzarévitch un enfant du même age! Ne convient-on pas que Boris, &c. Mais Chouiſki, mais Clechnin furent envoyés à Ouglitch par Boris; ils virent et reconnurent le corps du Tzarévitch et lui rendirent les honneurs funebres. Eh! ſait-on ce qu'ont vu ces deux émiſſaires de Boris, ce qu'ils lui ont rapporté en ſecret? Le corps même qu'ils examinerent, defiguré par des bleſſures, et gardé long-temps ſans être embaumé, devrait être méconnaiſſable. On ignore abſolument ce qu'ils ont découvert, et ce qu'ils ont penſé. S'ils ont débité à leur retour une fable concertée entr'eux et le miniſtre, ils n'ont pu dans le ſuite faire connâitre la verité, ſans avouer qu'ils avoient été des fourbes vendus à un ſcélerat," &c. Vol. iii. p. 227.—In a word, the belief that a child was ſubſtituted in the place of Demetrius, though liable to many objections, is yet attended with much fewer difficulties, than the notion that the Tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was an impoſtor.

* Margaret, however, does not ſtand ſingle in ſuppoſing Griſka, and him who paſſed for Demetrius, to be diſtinct perſons. For among others, Conrad Buſſau, who was preſent at Moſcow during the troubles, aſſerts, that Demetrius was the natural ſon of Stephen Bathori, King of Poland, which is ſufficient to ſhow that the report prevailed at the time that the Tzar and Griſka were different perſons. S. R. G. vol. v. p. 191.

the ſovereign, or call in queſtion the ſanctity of the relics eſtabliſhed by a decree of the church *?

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that one author is not liable to theſe ſuſpicions. "Petreius," continues Muller, "has given, in many inſtances, the moſt exact intelligence, and has demonſtrated the impoſture of the falſe Demetrius with many proofs. Is it poſſible, therefore, to ſuppoſe him ignorant that Demetrius and Griſka were two different perſons, if that fact had been well grounded?" Here then the teſtimony of Petreius is put in the oppoſite ſcale againſt that of Margaret; both foreigners, both preſent at Moſcow at the time of the inſurrection, both ſuppoſed to be unbiaſſed by the civil and religious prejudices of the Ruſſians; yet both of different ſentiments. Let us therefore examine their character and ſituation, and conſider whether any circumſtances render one writer more worthy of credit than the other. Margaret was a Frenchman, who entered the Ruſſian ſervice in the reign of Boris Godunof, was preſent in the army ſent againſt Demetrius, and always acted with approved bravery and fidelity. Afterwards, when Demetrius aſcended the throne, he was continued in his ſervice as captain of the guards. He poſſeſſed, therefore, many opportunities of inveſtigating his real hiſtory, and he has recorded it in his "Eſtat de l'Empire de Ruſſie, &c." which, on his return to France, he publiſhed at the command of Henry IV.

Muller, however, objects to the authenticity of Margaret's narrative: "A witneſs of this ſort would not be admitted in any court of juſtice, and cannot, in this inſtance, merit our belief. His judgment might be warped; partly from conſidering it as a diſgrace to have engaged in the ſervice of an impoſtor, and partly from not being well uſed by the oppoſite party after the death of the falſe Demetrius. Hence he might be enticed, from motives of reſentment, to brand with infamy the enemies of Demetrius, and to treat as mere falſehoods all the reports of the impoſtor's real origin. We muſt, therefore, accuſe Margaret either of having advanced a falſehood; or ſuppoſe that he had heard of another Otrepief, who was at that time preſent at Moſcow, and whom he ſtrangely confounds with Griſka†." This is the only objection which even the ingenuity of Muller can urge againſt Margaret.

Petreius, whoſe authority is fondly preferred to that of Margaret, was miniſter ‡ from Charles IX. King of Sweden, to the court of Moſcow in the reigns of Boris Godunof, Demetrius, and Vaſſili Shuiſki. The cloſe connection of Demetrius with Sigiſmond King of Poland, induced Charles IX. to tender his aſſiſtance to Boris Godunof, upon the firſt entrance of the new claimant into Ruſſia. Charles is alſo repreſented as greatly alarmed at the ſucceſs of Demetrius, and after his aſſaſſination concluded a treaty of the ſtricteſt amity with Vaſſili Shuiſki. It was therefore the intereſt of the Swediſh court to

* It may perhaps be thought by many too bold to ſet aſide the authority of all the Ruſſian hiſtorians, who may be ſuppoſed to have obtained better intelligence than foreigners. But Muller calls in queſtion the teſtimony of a Ruſſian Ambaſſador in favour of Demetrius, becauſe he wrote at a time when he was upon the throne, and acknowledged by the whole nation; for the ſame reaſon, therefore, we muſt ſet aſide the evidence of the Ruſſians who wrote after his aſſaſſination, and at a time when his impoſture was made an article of the public faith.

Indeed, if it is conſidered the ſuſpicious documents from which the Ruſſian authors drew their materials, this mode of reaſoning will not appear unjuſtifiable. Of all the Ruſſian writings relating to the hiſtory of Demetrius, cited by Muller, the principal are the manifeſto of Shuiſki, and a manuſcript account of the troubles, compiled by order of the Tzar Michael, and ſent to the King of France as a juſtification of the war againſt Sweden. But ſuch documents iſſuing from government muſt in this inſtance be allowed to be exceptionable. In all affairs, wherein national prejudices are not concerned, the evidence of a native is preferable to that of foreigners; but the teſtimony of foreigners becomes ſuperior, when the natives are warped by fear or prejudice.

† S. R. G. vol. v. p. 182 and 193.

‡ Dalin's Geſchichte von Schweden, vol. iv. p. 475.

repreſent

repreſent Demetrius as an impoſtor; and Petreius, as Swediſh miniſter, naturally countenanced the report patronized by his maſter. But ſhould we even allow that Petreius was not influenced in his judgment by the politics of his own court; yet, as an author, he is liable to great exception: for the numberleſs fictions and groſs miſrepreſentations which he retails in his Chronicle, prove extreme proneneſs to credulity *. On the contrary, the credibility of Margaret ſtands unimpeached, and even the penetrating ſagacity of Muller himſelf can only diſcover in his work a few trifling errors. It appears then, that both as to character and ſituation, the teſtimony of Margaret is preferable to that of Petreius; and if the queſtion is to be ultimately decided by one of theſe two writers, whoſe authority is the moſt unqueſtionable, the Tzar who reigned under the name of Demetrius was no impoſtor, but the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.

I ſhall now throw together ſome particulars, which, in addition to thoſe already enumerated, induce me to eſpouſe the opinion that the Tzar was no impoſtor.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof. 2. Suppoſed reſemblance between the real Demetrius and the perſon who reigned in his name. 3. His ſucceſs and conduct upon the throne. 4. Teſtimony of Maria Feodorofna. 5. Arguments uſed by the Ruſſians to prove the impoſture.

1. The conduct of Boris Godunof plainly demonſtrates that he thought him the real Demetrius. For otherwiſe, why did he not produce Maria Feodorofna, and obtain her public avowal that her ſon was not alive? Her teſtimony at that time would have unqueſtionably aſcertained the impoſture of the perſon, who claimed the throne as her offspring. Probably Boris Godunof examined her privately, and finding her to perſiſt in her aſſertion that Demetrius had eſcaped from Uglitz, he removed her to a convent at a conſiderable diſtance from Moſcow, that ſhe might not ſanction the pretenſions of his rival.

2. The ſuppoſed reſemblance between the Prince Demetrius, who was educated at Uglitz, and the perſon who reigned under his name. He had a wart under the right eye, and one arm ſhorter than the other. "But how is it known," ſaid Muller, "that the Prince had theſe defects? for they are not mentioned in the Ruſſian narratives, but only related by foreigners, who had never ſeen him. May we not therefore ſuppoſe them mere inventions, calculated to diſplay ſome reſemblance between the true and falſe Demetrius †?" To this we may reply, that the Ruſſian accounts, evidently compiled after this period, and chiefly taken from the manifeſtos of government, would never record any circumſtance which might tend to favour a likeneſs between a perſon whom they ſtyled an impoſtor, and the young Prince. And it may be added, if the Tzar alledged the wart under his right eye, and the ſhortneſs of his arm, as proofs of his being the real Demetrius; who can ſuppoſe that the Prince had not theſe defects, when there were ſo many perſons of the firſt diſtinction who could contradict the truth

* Muller has noticed and corrected innumerable errors, relative to the moſt important tranſactions, in the Chronicle of Petreius. It would be endleſs to mention them, I ſhall therefore only relate one, which unqueſtionably proves the credulity of Petreius. "Feodor Ivanovitch," ſays that author, "upon his death bed, being requeſted by the nobility to name a ſucceſſor, anſwered, 'That perſon to whom I ſhall deliver my ſceptre ſhall be Tzar after me.' Soon afterwards he offered it to Feodor Nikitich Romanof; but he delivered it to his brother Alexander, who gave it to a third called John, who preſented it to a fourth called Michael. The latter paſſed it to another nobleman: at laſt the Tzar threw the ſceptre from him, crying out in a paſſion, 'Take it who will;' upon which Boris took it up, and the Tzar died immediately." This ridiculous tale is contradicted by the moſt authentic records, by the whole hiſtory of the ſubſequent election of Boris Godunof; and yet this is the writer whoſe authority is oppoſed to Margaret. See S. R. G. vol. v. p. 64, &c.

† S. R. G. vol. v. p. 190.

of the report? "But even allowing the fact," continues Muller, "the concluſion by no means follows, as the ſtrongeſt reſemblance has been frequently obſerved between two different perſons; and it is likewiſe poſſible, that the falſe Demetrius might have imitated a wart in his face, and have feigned a defect in his arm." It is barely poſſible, indeed, to account for theſe circumſtances in this manner; ſtill, however, they muſt be conſidered, though not as poſitive, yet as preſumptive evidence in his favour, eſpecially when joined to collateral proofs.

3. The ſucceſs of his enterprize, and conduct upon the throne, ſeem to prove that he was the real Demetrius. He entered Ruſſia with an inconſiderable force, which increaſed as he advanced; and though totally defeated, and almoſt deſerted by the Poles, yet his army was ſoon recruited, and became more formidable than before his diſcomfiture. Perſons of the firſt diſtinction joined him from all quarters, and the more he became perſonally known to the Ruſſians, the greater number of partizans flocked to his ſtandard. Nor did this ſeem owing to any want of popularity in Boris Godunof, whoſe adminiſtration was greatly reſpected for vigour and wiſdom; it rather proceeded from a general conviction that he was Demetrius. When ſeated upon the throne he did not act like an impoſtor. Had he been one, he would ſcarcely have pardoned Vaſſili Shuiſki, who had thrown doubts upon the reality of his deſcent. Inſtead of diſbelieving the ſtrong reports of an impending inſurrection, he would have turned a ready ear to ſlighteſt rumours of plots and machinations, and have taken every precaution againſt them. In a word, his general character was as thoughtleſs and inconſiderate as it was open and ſincere; but above all, his freedom from ſuſpicion and jealouſy were incompatible with the principles of an uſurper *.

4. The conduct of Maria Feodorofna muſt be admitted as ſupporting the ſame ſide of the queſtion. After having openly acknowledged him for her ſon, ſhe is ſaid to have publicly diſowned him. If both the avowal and denial were equally public, they both might have been extorted by fear, and her teſtimony muſt be conſidered as null. For what credit can that woman deſerve who at one time admitted a perſon to be her ſon, and at another rejected him? We may obſerve, however, this difference, that in one inſtance ſhe owned him in perſon; in the other, ſhe was not confronted with him, but her anſwer was brought by Vaſſili Shuiſki †, who was moſt intereſted to prove him an impoſtor. It therefore follows, that if (as ſeems to be the caſe) her avowal was public, and her denial was not, the former is more to be depended upon than the latter, and her teſtimony muſt be admitted in his favour ‡.

5. The

* "Puis parlons," ſays Margaret, "de ſa clemence, envers un chacun après qu'il fut receu en Moſco, et principalement envers Vacilli Choutſqui, lequel fut convaincu de trahiſon, &c. et meſmes fut ledit Demetrius prié par tous les aſſiſtans de le faire mourir, vu qu'ils s'eſtait toujours trouvé preturbateur du repos public. Je parle comme ayant ouy et veu le tout de mes oreilles. Ce non obſtant il luy pardonna, combien que Demetrius ſçavoit bien que nul n'oſoit aſpirer à la couronne que la dite maiſon de Chouitſqui. Il pardonna auſſi à pluſieurs autres; car il eſtoit ſans ſoupçon," p. 171.

'Si il ſe fut ſenty coupable en aucune choſe, il euſt eu juſte ſujet de croire les machinations et trahiſons complottées et trammées contre ſa perſonne, des quelles il etoit aſſez adverty, et y euſt pû remedier avec grande facilité," p. 174.

† Mr. Muller ſays, Vaſſili Shuiſki *took the trouble of repairing himſelf* to the convent. Gab ſich ſelbſt die muche.

‡ The Ruſſian authors aſſert, that at the time when the relics were conveyed to Moſcow, ſhe publicly retracted her former teſtimony in his favour, upon their firſt interview near Moſcow; confeſſing that ſhe had been induced by threats, as well as from a deſire of procuring her liberty, to acknowledge an alien for her ſon. But how are we certain that ſhe really made this public confeſſion? Its truth entirely reſts upon the Ruſſian papers, which cannot, in this inſtance, be eſteemed authentic records. Why was her

5. The very arguments advanced by the Ruſſians to prove his impoſture, ſtrongly eſtabliſh the contrary poſition. For how was the reality of his imperial deſcent invalidated by his being a ſorcerer, an heretic, or a muſician; by his predilection to the Poles, not bowing to the image of St. Nicholas, not bathing, eating veal, and ſuch frivolous accuſations? Does not the adoption of theſe nugatory inſinuations beſpeak a great deficiency of ſolid arguments? They may incline, indeed, the Ruſſians to believe him an uſurper, but do not prove him one in the eyes of diſpaſſionate judges. The truth ſeems to be, that as he began to loſe the affection of his ſubjects by his inconſiderate contempt of their cuſtoms and religion, theſe, and many other unfavourable reports, calculated to raiſe and increaſe the popular odium, were circulated by the intrigues of Vaſſili Shuiſki, who, upon his aſſaſſination, was raiſed to the throne.

The ſame remarks extend, with ſtill greater force, to the aſſertion, that the body interred at Uglitz was that of the real Demetrius from its uncorrupted ſtate, and the miracles it performed. For the uncorrupted ſtate of the body, when firſt conveyed to Moſcow, evidently proves it to have been ſuppoſititious; and the miracles it is ſaid to have performed will convert no proſelytes without the pale of the Ruſſian church. When every expedient failed of convincing the generality of the Ruſſians, that the Tzar was an impoſtor, recourſe was had to pretended miracles and ſacred relics. And it muſt be allowed, that this method of convincing an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people, who doubted (and there were many who doubted) was a ſtroke of the moſt conſummate policy; as by theſe means the aſſertions of Vaſſili Shuiſki were ſanctioned by an eccleſiaſtical decree; and the impoſture of his rival became an article of public faith. Indeed, ſuch is the ſuperſtition with which the uſurpation of Griſka is ſtill maintained, that even at this diſtance of time no Ruſſian hiſtorian could venture to hint that Demetrius was not aſſaſſinated at Uglitz, and that the perſon who aſſumed his name was not Griſka: for it would be contradicting a fundamental principle of belief, and rejecting the relics of a ſaint much revered in this country.

No. II.—*Geographical Diviſion of the Ruſſian Empire into Governments, Provinces, and Diſtricts.*

AS the new diviſion of Ruſſia into governments, provinces, and diſtricts, by Catharine the Second, has totally altered the geography of that vaſt empire; and as no accurate account of the general diviſion yet given to the public has fallen under my obſervation, I ſhall here ſubjoin a liſt communicated to me in February 1785, from undoubted authority.

In comparing this liſt of governments with that given in book 6. ch. i. of this work, the reader will find a difference in the number and names of the governments; for inſtance, this liſt enumerates forty-one, the other forty governments. This liſt mentions the governments of Archangel, Catherinenſlaf, Olonetz, and Caucaſus; and the other thoſe of Aſtracan, Azof, and New Ruſſia. But this difference may eaſily be reconciled, by conſidering that the former liſt was made in 1782, the latter in 1784, when ſe-

public recantation poſtponed to ſo late a period? and why was ſhe not confronted with the Tzar, when he repeatedly appealed to her teſtimony as the ſtrongeſt proof of his being the real Demetrius? Have we not every reaſon to conclude, either that ſhe did not publicly retract her former aſſeverations in his favour; or that, being in Vaſſili Shuiſki's power, ſhe was finally compelled to act in ſubſerviency to his mandate?

veral

veral alterations had taken place in the names of the governments, particularly that Olonetz was formerly included in the government of Novogorod, and Archangel in that of Vologda, from which they have been ſince ſeparated; that the names of New Ruſſia and of Azof have been changed for that of Ecatherinenſlaf; and that the government of Caucaſus has been lately added, and compriſes the government of Aſtracan.

Preſent Diviſion of the Ruſſian Empire into Governments, Provinces, and Diſtricts.

FORTY-ONE GOVERNMENTS.

I.—*Government of St. Peterſburgh.*

This government compriſes that tract of country called Ingermanland, or Ingria, wreſted by Peter the Great from the Swedes, and confirmed to the Ruſſians at the peace of Nyſtadt, in 1721.—It is divided into ten diſtricts.

1. St. Peterſburgh.
2. Oranienbaum, on the gulf of Finland.
3. Yſamburgh on the river Luga, diſcharging itſelf into the gulf of Finland.
4. Luga, on the upper part of the ſame river.
5. Narva, on the river Narova, which falls into the gulf of Finland.
6. Gvof, near the eaſt ſide of lake Peipus, on the rivulet called Gvofka.
7. Rokeſtven, or Rokeſtvenſk, on the rivulet Oredeſh, falling into the Luga.
8. Sophia, near Zarſkoe Zelo.
9. Schlueſſelburgh, on the Neva, where this river iſſues from the Ladoga.
10. New Ladoga, on the river Volkhof, between the lake and the channel of the Ladoga.

II.—*Government of Olonetz.*

Formerly included in the government of Novogorod.—Contains five diſtricts.

1. Petroſavodſk, on the river Schua, falling into the lake Onega.
2. Olonetz, on the river Olonza, falling into the eaſt ſide of the Ladoga.
3. Vytegra, on the river of the ſame name, falling into the ſouth ſide of the Onega.
4. Kargopol, near the river Onega, at its origin from the lake Latcha.
5. Povenetz, on the north ſide of the Onega, where the rapid rivulet Povenetz falls into it.

III.—*Government of Wyburgh, or Ruſſian Finland.*

This government was formerly ſubject to Sweden, and comprized in Carelia; part was ceded to Ruſſia at the peace of Nyſtadt, in 1721, and part by the treaty of Abo, 1741.—It contains ſix diſtricts.

1. Wiburgh, on the north ſide of the gulf of Finland.
2. Willmanſtrand, near the lake Saima.
3. Fredericſham, on the gulf of Finland.
4. Nyſſot, near the lake Utruſs.
5. Kexholm, on two ſmall iſlands of the river Woxen, falling into the Ladoga.
6. Serdobol, on the north-weſtern ſide of the Ladoga.

IV.—*Government of Revel, or Eſthonia.*

Revel was confirmed to the Swedes at the peace of Oliva, conquered by Peter the Great in 1710, and finally ceded to Ruſſia in 1721.—It contains five diſtricts.

1. Revel on the Baltic ſea.
2. Baltic-Port, about forty verſts weſtwards from Revel.
3. Habſal, or Hapſal, a maritime town.
4. Weiſſenſtein, on the rivulet Saida, about eighty verſts from Revel.
5. Weſenberg, about one hundred verſts from Revel, at about an equal diſtance from that town and Narva.

V.—*Government of Riga or Livonia, ceded to Ruſſia in* 1721.

It contains nine diſtricts.

1. Riga, on the Dunna, fourteen verſts from its mouth.
2. Wenden, on the river Aa.
3. Wolmar, on the ſame river.
4. Walk, on a rivulet falling into the ſouth ſide of lake Wyrtz,
5. Werro, on the weſt ſide of Peipus.
6. Dorpt, on the river Em, or Embak, which iſſues from the lake Wyrtz, and falls into the Peipus.
7. Fellin, on the ſmall river of the ſame name.
8. Perneau, on the river of that name, near the Baltic Sea.
9. Arenſburgh, on the iſland Oeſel.

VI.—*Government of Pſkof.*

A republic, ſubdued by Vaſſili Ivanovitch, and formerly comprized in the government of Novogorod.—Contains nine diſtricts.

1. Pſkof, called by foreigners Pleſkof, on the river Velika, or Velikaia.
2. Petchora, on the rivulet Simſha, falling into the ſouth part of the Peipus, or the lake of Pſkof.
3. Oſtrof, or Oſtroffk, on an iſland of the river Velika.
4. Opotchka, on an iſland of the ſame river.
5. Novorſhef, on an iſland of the ſmall lake of Padzo, through which flows the river Velikaia.
6. Velikie Luki, on the left ſide of the river Lovat, falling into the lake Ilmen.
7. Toropez, on the river Toropo, falling into the Duna.
8. Kholm, on the river Lovat.
9. Porkof, on the river Schelef.

VII.—*Government of Novogorod.*

A powerful republic, finally reduced by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and united to the Ruſſian empire.—Contains ten diſtricts.

1. Novogorod, on the river Volkof, near the lake Ilmen.
2. Kreſtetz, on the river Khlova, falling into the Miſta.
3. Staraia Ruſſa, on the river Poliſh, about fifteen verſts ſouth of the Ilmen.
4. Valdai, on the weſt ſide of the lake of Valdai.
5. Borovitchi, on the River Miſta.
6. Tikhvin, on the rivulet of that name, falling into the Siaſs, which diſcharges itſelf into the Ladoga.

7. Uſtiuſhna,

7. Uſtiuſhna, on the Mologa, falling into the Volga.
8. Tcherepovetz, on the river Schekſna, falling into the Volga.
9. Kiriloſ, on the ſame river.
10. Bieloſerſk, on the ſouth ſide of the Bielofero, near the river Schekſna.

VIII.—*Government of Tver.*

An independent principality, united to the Ruſſian empire by Ivan Vaſſilievitch, and comprized in the government of Novogorod. It was ſeparated from Novogorod, and was the firſt government eſtabliſhed upon the new plan.—Contains thirteen diſtricts.

1. Tver, on the Volga, where that river is joined by the Tverza.
2. Vyſhnèi Volotſhek, on the river Zna.
3. Torſhok, on the Tverza.
4. Oſtaſhkof, on an iſland of the lake Seliger.
5. Rſhef Volodimerof, on the left ſide of the Volga.
6. Subzof, on the left ſide of the ſame river.
7. Staritza, on the Volga.
8. Kraſnoi Kholm, on the river Schoca, which falls into the Mologa.
9. Koliaſin, on the Volga.
10. Kakin, near the Volga.
11. Beſhetzk, on the Mologa.
12. Kortchera, or Kortchef, on the Volga.
13. Veſiegonſk, on the river Mologa.

IX.—*Government of Smolenſko.*

After being an object of contention, and reciprocally poſſeſſed by Poland and Ruſſia, was conquered by Alexèy Michaelovitch in 1654, and finally ceded to Ruſſia at the peace of Moſcow, in 1666.—Contains twelve diſtricts.

1. Smolenſko, on both ſides of the Dnieper.
2. Poretchie, on the river Kaſplia, falling into the Duna.
3. Dukortchina, on the Dnieper.
4. Bieloi, on the ſmall river Vobiſha, falling into the Meſha, which diſcharges itſelf into the Duna.
5. Sytcherſk, on the river Vaſuſa, falling into the Volga.
6. Gſhatſk, or Gſhat, on the river Gſhat, falling into the Vaſuſa.
7. Viaſma, on the river Viaſma, falling into the Dnieper.
8. Dorogobuſh, on the Dnieper.
9. Yukhnof, on the Ugra, falling into the Occa.
10. Felna, on the Deſna.
11. Roſtarl, on the Oſter, which falls into the Soſh.
12. Kraſnoi, on a rivulet which falls into the Dnieper.

X.—*Government of Polotſk.*

Diſmembered from Poland by the Treaty of Partition in 1772.—Contains eleven diſtricts.

1. Polotſk, on the Duna, at the mouth of the ſmall river Polota.
2. Driſſa, or Dryſin, on the river Driſſa, falling into the Duna.
3. Dunaburgh, on the right ſide of the Duna.
4. Reſitza, on the rivulet Reſiza, or Roſitten, falling into the lake Liubahn.
5. Liutzin,

5. Liutzin, on the river Liſha, which falls into the river Velikaja.
6. Sebeſh, on the lake Sebeſh.
7. Nevel, on the lake Nevel.
8. Vifebſk, on the Duna.
9. Gorodetzk, or Gorodok, on a rivulet falling into the Duna.
10. Veliſh, on the Duna.
11. Suraſh, on the Duna.

XI.—*Government of Mohilef.*

Diſmembered alſo by the Treaty of Partition in 1772.—Contains eleven diſtricts.

1. Mohilef, on the Dnieper.
2. Kopyſs, on the Dnieper.
3. Orſha, on the Dnieper.
4. Sennoi, near lake Sennoie, communicating with the Duna.
5. Babinovitchi, on the river Lutchoſſa, falling into the Duna.
6. Miſhiſlaf, on the river Vokra, falling into the Soſh.
7. Klimoyitchi, on the river Oſter, falling into the Soſh.
8. Tſchauſy, on the river Pronja, falling into the Soſh.
9. Staroi Bykhof, on the Dnieper.
10. Rogatchef, near the Poliſh frontiers, where the river Drutz, or Drugez, falls into the Dnieper.
11. Belitzy, on a rivulet falling into the Soſh.

XII.—*Government of Orel.*

Once a province of the government of Bielgorod.—Contains thirteen diſtricts.

1. Orel, on the rivers Occa and Orel.
2. Kromy, on the Occa.
3. Mzenſk, on the rivulets Suſha and Menza, falling into the Occa.
4. Bolkof, on the river Nugra, falling into the Occa.
5. Livny, on the left ſide of the river Soſſna, falling into the Don.
6. Feletz, on the left ſide of the river Soſſna.
7. Sieſſk, on the river Sief, falling into the Deſna.
8. Maloi Arkhangelſk, on the river Soſſna.
9. Dmitroſſk, on the rivulet Neruſer, falling into the Sief.
10. Deſhkin, on the Occa.
11. Trubtcheſſk, on the left ſide of the Deſna.
12. Branſk, on the Deſna.
13. Karatchef, on the rivulet Sneſet, falling into the Deſna.

XIII.—*Government of Kaluga.*

Formerly a province in the government of Moſcow.—Contains twelve diſtricts.

1. Kaluga, on the Occa.
2. Maloiaroſlavetz, on the ſmall river Luſha, falling into the Occa.
3. Baroviſk, on the river Protva, falling into the Occa.
4. Taruſſa, on the Occa.
5. Likhvin, on the left ſide of the Occa.
6. Koſelk, on the left ſide of the ſmall river Shiſdra, falling into the Occa.
7. Medyniſk, on a rivulet falling into the Ugra.

8. Peremyſchl,

8. Peremyſchl, on the left ſide of the Occa.
9. Mechovſk, on a rivulet falling into the Shiſdra.
10. Moſſalſk, on a ſmall river falling into the Ugra.
11. Serpeiſk, on the ſmall river Serpei, falling into the Ugra.
12. Shiſdra, on the river of the ſame name.

XIV.—*Government of Moſcow.*

One of the moſt antient and moſt conſpicuous provinces of the Ruſſian empire. Its capital, Moſcow, built in 1147, was the reſidence of the ſovereign, till Peter the Great transferred the ſeat of empire to Peterſburgh.—Contains fifteen diſtricts.

1. Moſcow, on the river Moſcva, falling into the Occa.
2. Kolomna Moſcva, about five verſts from its junction with the Occa.
3. Branitzy, on the Moſcva, between Moſco and Kolomna.
4. Podol, or Podolſk, on the river Pakria, falling into the Moſcva.
5. Nikitſk, on the ſame river.
6. Serpukhof, on the river Nara, four verſts from its junction with the Occa.
7. Vereia, on the Protva, falling into the Occa.
8. Moſhaiſk, on the ſmall river Moſhaika, falling into the Moſcva.
9. Ruſa, on the left ſide of the river Ruſa, falling into Moſcva.
10. Voſkreſenk, on the river Iſter, falling into the Moſkva.
11. Svenigorod, on the Moſcva, near the mouth of the Iſter.
12. Voloklamſkoi, or Volokolampſk, on the river Lama, falling into the Scoſha, which diſcharges itſelf into the Volga.
13. Klin, on the river Seſtra falling into the Dubnia, which joins the Volga.
14. Dmitrof, on the ſmall river Vakhroma, which, uniting with the Seſtra, forms the river Dubnia.
15. Bogorodſk, on the river Kliaſma.

XV.—*Government of Tula.*

Formerly a province of the government of Moſcow.—Contains twelve diſtricts.

1. Tula, on the river Upa, falling into the Occa.
2. Krapirna, on the ſame river.
3. Odeief, on the ſame river.
4. Venef, on the rivulet Veneſka, falling into the Oſſetr, which joins the Occa.
5. Alexin, on the Occa.
6. Kachira, on the ſame river.
7. Bagoroditzk, on the river Upa.
8. Tſchern, on the rivulet of the ſame name, falling into the Suſha, which flows into the Occa.
9. Novoſyl, on the rivulet Nerutcha, falling into the Suſha.
10. Bielef on the Occa.
11. Epiphan, on the Don.
12. Ephremof, or Yephremof, on the river Metcha, falling into the Don.

XVI.—*Government of Reſan.*

Formerly a province of the government of Moſcow.—Contains twelve diſtricts.

1. Reſan, on the Trubeſh, falling into the Occa.
2. Saraiſn, on the river Oſetr.

3. Pronſk,

3. Pronſk, on the river Pronca, falling into the Occa.
4. Mikhailof on the river Pronca.
5. Skopin, on the ſmall river Ranvf, falling into the Occa.
6. Riachk, on a rivulet falling into the Voroneſh.
7. Kaſſimof, on the Occa.
8. Raninburgh, on the river Reſe, falling into the Voroneſh.
9. Spaſk, on the Occa.
10. Yegorief, or Yegorjefſk, on a ſmall river falling into the Occa.
11. Sapoſhok, on a river falling into the Occa.
12. Donkof, or Dankof, on the Don.

XVII.—*Government of Volodomir.*

Formerly a province of the government of Moſcow.—Contains fourteen diſtricts.

1. Volodimir, or Vladimir, on the river Kliaſma.
2. Suſdal, on a rivulet falling into the Kliaſma.
3. Yurief Polſkoi, on a ſmall river falling into the Kliaſma.
4. Alexandrof, or Alexandroffk, on the river Schernia, falling into the Kliaſma.
5. Kovrof, on the river Kliaſma.
6. Pokrof, on the ſame river.
7. Gorokhovetzk, on the ſame river.
8. Sudogda, on a river of the ſame name, falling into the Kliaſma.
9. Viaſniki, on the river Kliaſma.
10. Murom, on the Occa.
11. Pereſlavl Saleſkoi, on the rivulet Trubeſh, falling into the lake of Pereſlavl.
12. Schuia, on the river Teſs, falling into the Kliaſma.
13. Kirſhatch, on a rivulet falling into the Kliaſma.
14. Melenki, on the ſmall river Unſha, falling into the Occa.

XVIII.—*Government of Yaroſlaf.*

Formerly a province of the government of Moſcow.—Contains twelve diſtricts.

1. Yaroſlaf, on the Volga, where the river Kotoroſl falls into it.
2. Roſtof, on the north ſide of the ſmall lake Nero, called therefore the lake of Roſtof, communicating with the Volga by the river Kotoroſl.
3. Bariſſoglebſk, on the Volga.
4. Romanof, on the Volga, oppoſite to the laſt mentioned town.
5. Danilof, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
6. Liubim, on the river Negra, falling into the Kaſtroma.
7. Pocheckhon, or Pochekhonie, on the river Sagoſha, falling into the Schekſna.
8. Uglitch, on the Volga.
9. Rybnoi, on the Volga.
10. Mychkin, on the Volga.
11. Petroſſk, on a ſmall river falling into the lake Nero.
12. Mologa, on the Volga.

XIX.—*Government of Vologda.*

Formerly the largeſt of all the Ruſſian European governments, as it contained the provinces of Vologda, Archangel, and Veliki-Uſting.

This government is divided into two provinces, Vologda and Veliki-Uſtiug.

Province of Vologda contains five diſtricts.

1. Vologda, on the river Vologda, falling into the Sukhona.
2. Griaſovetz, on a river falling into the Sukhona.
3. Kadnikof, on a river falling likewiſe into the Sukhona.
4. Totma, on the left ſide of the Sukhona.
5. Veleſk, or Velſk, on the river Vaga.

Province of Veliki-Uſtiug contains ſeven diſtricts.

1. Uſtiug-Veliki, on the river Sukhona.
2. Nikolſk, on a rivulet falling into the Sukhona.
3. Lalſk, on the ſmall river Liala, falling into the Luſa.
4. Solvytchegodſk, or Solivytchegodſk, on the river Vytchegda.
5. Kraſnoborſk, on the left ſide of the Dvina.
6. Yarenſk, on the right ſide of the Vytchegda, where it takes in the ſmall river Yarenga.
7. Uſtſyſolk, on the river Syſſol, falling about a verſt below this town into the Vytchegda.

XX.—*Government of Archangel.*

Formerly included in the Government of Vologda.—Contains ſeven diſtricts.

1. Archangel, on the Dvina, about ſeventy verſts from its mouth.
2. Kolmogori, on the Dvina.
3. Schenkurſk, on the river Vaga.
4. Pineg, on the right ſide of the Dvina, where the river Pinega falls into it.
5. Onega, on the river Onega, in Ruſſian Lapland.
6. Kola, on the river Kola, near the Bay of Kola, in the Frozen Ocean.
7. Meſen, on the river Meſen, falling into the Frozen Sea.

XXI.—*Government of Koſtroma.*

Formerly included in the government of Moſcow; two provinces, A. Koſtroma, B. Unſha.—Contains eleven diſtricts.

1. Koſtroma, near the mouth of the Volga.
2. Nerechta, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
3. Pleſs, on the Volga.
4. Kadyi, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
5. Bui, on the river Koſtroma, where it takes in the river Vara.
6. Galitch, on the lake of that name, communicating with the river Koſtroma by the ſmall rivulet Vara.
7. Tchuckhloma, near the lake of the ſame name.
8. Selgalitzk, on the Koſtroma.
9. Kinechma, on the Volga.
10. Yurievetz Povolſki, on the Volga, three verſts below the mouth of the Unſha.
11. Lukh, on a river falling into the Volga.

B. Province of Unſha.—Contains three diſtricts.

1. Makarief, on the Unſha.
2. Varnovin, on the river Vetluga.
3. Vetluga, on the ſame river.

XXII.—*Government of Neſhnei Novogorod,*

Contains thirteen diſtricts.

1. Niſhnei Novogorod, on the Volga, below the mouth of the Occa.
2. Balakhna, on the right ſide of the Volga.
3. Arſamas, on the ſmall river Teſha, falling into the Occa.
4. Makarief on the Volga.
5. Vaſſill, on the Volga.
6. Semenof, on the rivulet Kerſhenz, falling into the Volga.
7. Ardatof, on the river Teſh, falling into the Occa.
8. Gorbatof, on the Occa.
9. Sergatch, on the river Piana, falling into the Sura.
10. Perevos, on the ſame river.
11. Kniaginin, on a rivulet falling into the Volga.
12. Lykaianof, on the upper part of the Teſh.
13. Potchinki, on the river Atator, falling into the Sura.

XXIII.—*Government of Caſan.*

Conquered from the Tartars by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II in 1552.—Contains thirteen diſtricts.

1. Caſan, on the rivulet Caſanka, falling into the Volga.
2. Sviaſk, on the river Sviaga, a few verſts from its junction with the Volga.
3. Arſk, on the river Caſanka.
4. Zyvilſk, on the river Zyvil, falling into the Volga.
5. Tſchebaxar, on the Volga, near the mouth of the rivulet Tſchebaxarka.
6. Yadrin, on the river Sura.
7. Kuſmodemianſk on the Volga.
8. Tzarevokokchaiſk, on a rivulet Malaia Kokchaga, falling into the Volga.
9. Tetiuki, on the Volga.
10. Laikef, on the river Kama.
11. Spaſk, on the Volga.
12. Tchiſzopolſk, on the Kama.
13. Mamadyſh, on the Viatka, falling into the Kama.

XXIV.—*Government of Simbirſk.*

Formerly a province of the Kingdom of Caſan.—Contains thirteen diſtricts.

1. Simbirſk, or Simbirſk, on the Volga.
2. Singilief, on the Volga.
3. Stavropal, on the Volga.
4. Samara, near the junction of the Volga and Samara.
5. Siſran, on the Volga, where it takes in the ſmall river Siſran.
6. Kanadei, on the river Siſran.
7. Tagai, on a rivulet falling into the Sviaga.
8. Buinſk, on the river Sviaga.
9. Karſun, on a ſmall river falling into the Sura.
10. Kotiakof, on the right ſide of the river Sura.
11. Ardatof, on the Alator.
12. Alatoc, on the Sura, where it takes in the Alator.
13. Kurmyk, on the Sura.

XXV.—*Government of Penza.*

Formerly a province of Caſan.—Contains thirteen diſtricts.

1. Penza, on the river Sura, where it receives the rivulet Penſa.
2. Mokchainſk, weſt of Penza.
3. Inſara, on the river Inſara, falling into the Mokcha.
4. Verkhnei Lomof, on the river Lomof.
5. Niſhnie Lomof, on the ſame river.
6. Narovtchat, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha, which joins the Occa.
7. Troitzk, on the Mokcha.
8. Kraſnoſlobodſk, on the ſame river.
9. Scheckeief, on a rivulet falling into the Alator.
10. Saranſk, on another rivulet falling into the Alator.
11. Goroditch, on a rivulet falling into the Sura.
12. Kerenſk, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha.
13. Tchembar, on the ſmall river Tchembar, falling into the Vorona, which flows to the Khoper.

XXVI.—*Government of Tanbof.*

Formerly part of the government of Voronetz.—Contains thirteen diſtricts.

1. Tambof, on the river Zna, which falls into the Mokcha.
2. Schatſk, on the rivulet Schat, falling into the Zna.
3. Kadom, on the Mokcha.
4. Temnikof, on the ſame river.
5. Iclatma, on the Occa.
6. Koſlof, on the rivulet Uſnoi Voronetz.
7. Uſſman, on the ſmall river Uſſman, falling into the Voro nez.
8. Lebedian, on the Don.
9. Boriſſoglebſk, on Khoper.
10. Morca, on the Zna.
11. Spaſk, on a rivulet falling into the Mokcha.
12. Kirſſanof, on the Vorona, falling into the Khoper.
13. Lipetzk, on the Voronetz.

XXVII.—*Government of Voronetz.*

Contains fifteen diſtricts.

1. Voronetz, on the river Voroneſh, about fourteen verſts from its junction with the Don.
2. Sadonſk, on the Don.
3. Semlianſk, on a rivulet falling in the Don.
4. Niſhnedevitzk, on the rivulet Devitza, falling into the Don.
5. Korotoian, on the Don.
6. Bobrof, on the Biliuk, falling into the Don.
7. Birutch, on the river Sofna, falling into the Don.
8. Oſtrogoſchk, on a rivulet falling into Sofna.
9. Pavlovſk, on the Don.
10. Kalitva, on the rivulet Kalitva, falling into the Don.
11. Bogutchar, on a rivulet of the ſame name, falling into the Don.
12. Bielovodſk, on the river Derkul, falling into the Donek.
13. Valuiki, on the river Oſkol, where it receives the rivulet Valui.

14. Livenſk, on the rivulet Valui.
15. Kupenſk, on the rivulet Oſkol.

XXVIII.—*Government of Kurſk.*

Formerly part of the government of Bielgorod.—Contains fifteen diſtricts.

1. Kurſk, on the river Tukor, falling into the river Seim, or Sem.
2. Lgof, on the Seim.
3. Ryſſk, on the ſame river.
4. Pretive on the ſame river.
5. Fateſh, on a rivulet falling into the Svopa.
6. Tchigry, on a rivulet falling into the Tim.
7. Tim, on the river of the ſame name, falling into the Soſna.
8. Oboian, on the river Pſol.
9. Sudſha, on a rivulet of the ſame name, falling into the Pſol.
10. Bogatoi, on the rivulet Penna, falling into the Pſol.
11. Dmitrief, on the Svopa.
12. Bielgorod, on the Donetz.
13. Korotcha, on the rivulet of that name, falling into the Donetz.
14. Novoi Oſkol, on the Oſkol.
15. Staroi Oſkol, on a river of that name.

XXIX.—*Government of Novogorod Severſkoi.*

Part of the Ukraine, or Little Ruſſia.—Contains eleven diſtricts.

1. Novogorod Severſkoi, on the right ſhore of the Deſna.
2. Pogar, on the Sudoſh, falling into the Deſna.
3. Mglin, on a rivulet falling into the Ipul.
4. Starodub, on a rivulet falling into the Sudoſh.
5. Soſnitza, on the Deſna.
6. Korop, on the left ſhore of the ſame river.
7. Korolevetz, on a rivulet falling into the Deſna.
8. Glukhof, on the river Yeſma, falling into the Seim.
9. Konotop, on a rivulet falling into the Seim.
10. Suraſh, or Suraſhſk, on the Ipul.
11. Novomeſhſk, on the ſame river.

XXX.—*Government of Tchernigof.*

Formerly part of the Ukraine.—Contains eleven diſtricts.

1. Tchernigof, on the right ſhore of the Deſna.
2. Bereſna, or Bereſin, on the Deſna.
3. Gorodniak, on a rivulet falling into the Snof, which joins the Soſna.
4. Neſhin, on the Oſter, falling into the Deſna.
5. Romen, or Romna, on the river Sula.
6. Glinſk, on the ſame river.
7. Priluki, on the Udai, falling into the Sula.
8. Borſna, on a rivulet of the ſame, falling into the Deſna.
9. Lokhvitza, on the river Sula.
10. Gaditch, on the Pſol.
11. Senkof, on a rivulet falling into the Pſol.

XXXI.—*Government of Kiof.*

Being part of the Ukraine, or Little Ruſſia, was once a duchy belonging to the Great Dukes, and Kiof, the capital, was their principal reſidence. This country was conquered by the Tartars, came again into the poſſeſſion of the Great Dukes, but was over-ran and poſſeſſed by the Coſſacks, under the protection of Poland.

In 1654, the natives diſcontented with John Caſimir, King of Poland, ſubmitted to Ruſſia, and have ever ſince continued ſubject to that empire. The vaſt privileges enjoyed by the natives have been gradually aboliſhed, and they are now reduced to the ſame ſtate as the other provinces of the Ruſſian empire.—Contains eleven diſtricts.

1. Kiof, on the Dnieper.
2. Oſter, on the Deſna.
3. Koſelatz, on the Oſter.
4. Piriatin, on the Udai.
5. Periaſlaf, on the Trubeſh, falling into the Dnieper.
6. Solotonok, on a rivulet of the ſame name, falling into the Dnieper.
7. Lubny, on the river Sula.
8. Khorol, on the river of the ſame name, falling into the Pſol.
9. Migorod, on the ſame river.
10. Goltva, on the Pſol.
11. Goroditche, on the Dnieper.

XXXII.—*Government of Kharkof.*

Formerly compriſed in the government of Ukrania Slovodſkaia.—Contains fifteen diſtricts.

1. Kharkof, on the Uda, falling into the Donetz.
2. Tchuguief, on the Donetz.
3. Iſium, on the ſame river.
4. Woltchanſk, on a rivulet falling into the Donetz.
5. Solatchef, on the Uda.
6. Walki, on a rivulet falling into the Donetz.
7. Bogodukhof, on the Merlo, falling into the Vorſkla.
8. Kraſnokutſk, on the ſame river.
9. Akhtyrka, on the rivulet Akhtyrka, falling into the left ſhore of the Worſkla.
10. Khotmyſk, on the Vorſkla.
11. Lebedin, on a rivulet Olchanka, falling into the Pſol.
12. Sumy, on the right ſhore of the Pſol.
13. Miropolie, on the ſame river.
14. Nedrigailof, on the river Sula.
15. Bielopolie, on a rivulet falling into the Seim.

XXXIII.—*Government of Catharineſlaf, or Ecaterrinenſlaf.*

This government contains the greateſt part of that territory which was wreſted by the preſent Empreſs from the Turks, and comprizes New Ruſſia, the former government of Azof, and Crim Tartary.

It is divided into two provinces of Catherinenſlaf and Taurida.

Province

Province of Catherinenſlaf contains fourteen diſtricts.

1. Catherinenſlaf, on the Dnieper.
2. Poltava, on the Vorſkla.
3. Krementchuk, on the Dnieper.
4. Eliſabethgrad, on the Ingul, falling into the Bog.
5. Alexandria, on the Inguletz, falling into the Dnieper.
6. Kherſon, on the Dnieper, about fourteen verſts below the mouth of the Inguletz.
7. Stavenſk, on the Dnieper.
8. Novomorſkoſk, on the Dnieper.
9. Pavlograd, on a river falling into the Dnieper.
10. Mariupal, on a river near the ſea of Azof.
11. Bakhmuh, on the river of that name, falling into the Donetz.
12. Donetzk, on the river Donetz.
13. Conſtantinograd, on the Orel, falling into the Dnieper.
14. Alexopoliſk, on the ſame river.

Province of Taurida, or Crim Tartary.

This fertile peninſula, the great mart of commerce in the Black Sea, was colonized for the purpoſes of trade by the Greeks, Romans, Genoeſe, occupied by the Turks under Mahomet the Second, and governed by the Khan of the Tartars, a vaſſal to the Porte. On the peace of Kainardi, in 1774, it was declared an independent ſovereignty, taken poſſeſſion of by Catharine II. on the abdication of the Khan Sahim Gerai, in 1783, and confirmed to Ruſſia by the Porte in the ſame year by the treaty of Conſtantinople. The Empreſs has revived ſeveral of the antient Greek names. — Contains ſeven diſtricts.

1. Levkopol, formerly Achmet-ſchitt.
2. Synpheropol, formerly Eſki Krim, i. e. Old Crimea.
3. Eupatoria, formerly Koſlof, or Goſleve.
4. Perekop.
5. Phanagoria, on the iſland of Taman.
6. Dneproviſk, on the Dnieper.
7. Melotopol, on the river Melotchnie.

XXXIV.—*Government of Caucaſus.*

Divided into two provinces, Aſtracan and Caucaſus, but not yet ſubdivided into diſtricts.

Aſtracan was conquered from the Tattars, in 1652, by Ivan Vaſſilievitch.

Province of Caucaſus will comprize the Cuban, and all that diſtrict to the eaſt and ſouth, now in the poſſeſſion of Ruſſia, between the rivers Don and Cuban, and between the Caſpian and the Euxine, extending as far as the confines of Georgia, and continually augmenting by the reduction and ſubmiſſion of the wandering hordes of Mount Caucaſus.

XXXV.—*Government of Saratof.*

Formerly a province of Aſtracan.—Contains eleven diſtricts.

1. Saratof, on the Volga.
2. Volſk, on the ſame river.

3. Khvalynſk,

3. Khvalynſk, on the ſame river.
4. Kuſnetzk, on a rivulet falling into the Sura.
5. Serdobſk, on the river Serdoba, falling into the Khoper.
6. Petroffk, on the Medveditza.
7. Atkar, or Atkarſk, on the river Atkara, falling into the Medreditza.
8. Balakef, on the river Khoper.
9. Khoperſk, formerly Novokhoperſk, on the ſame river.
10. Kamychin, called formerly Dmitrefſk, on the right ſide of the Volga.
11. Tzaritzyn, on the Volga.

XXXVI.—*Government of Ufa.*

Formerly included in the government of Orenburgh, is divided into two provinces, Ufa and Orenburgh.

Province of Ufa contains nine diſtricts.

1. Ufa, on the right ſide of the Bielaia, a few verſts beneath the mouth of the river Ufa.
2. Birſk, on the river Bielaia.
3. Menſclinſk, on the river Menſel, falling into the Ik.
4. Bugulm, or Bugulminſk, on the Bugulm, a rivulet falling into the Ik.
5. Bogoroſtan, on a river falling into the Samara.
6. Belebeief, on a rivulet falling into the Diema, which flows into the Bielaia.
7. Sterlitamak, on the ſmall river Sterlia, falling into the Bielaia.
8. Ichalyabinſk, on the river Mijap.
9. Troitzk, on the river Ui.

Province of Orenburgh contains four diſtricts.

1. Orenburgh, on the Ural, formerly the Yaik.
2. Verkhouralſk, on the Ural.
3. Buſulutzk, on the Samara, near the river Buſuluk.
4. Sergieffk, on the river Samara.

XXXVII.—*Government of Viatka,*

Formerly a province of Caſan contains thirteen diſtricts.

1. Viatka, formerly Khlynof, on the Viatka.
2. Slobodſk, on the Viatka.
3. Kateinich, on the Viatka.
4. Orlof, on the Viatka.
5. Faranſk, on a rivulet falling into the Viatka.
6. Nolinſk, on the Voia, falling into the Viatka.
7. Glaſof, on a river falling into the Viatka.
8. Urſhum, on the Viatka.
9. Malmych, on the ſame river.
10. Tzarevoſantchurſk, on the river Kokchaia, falling into the Volga.
11. Sarapul, on the Kama.
12. Felabug, on the ſame river.
13. Kai, on the ſame river.

XXXVIII.—

XXXVIII.—*Government of Perm.*

Formerly a province of Caſan,—contains two provinces.

A. Province of Perm. B. Province of Catharinenburgh.

Contains eight diſtricts.

1. Perm, on the Kama, where the river Zegochekha falls into it.
2. Solkamiſk, on the ſmall river Uſſolka, falling into the Kama.
3. Tcherdyn, on the river Kolva, falling into the Victera.
4. Obvin, on the Kamaſk, near the mouth of the Obva.
5. Okhanſk, or Akhanſk, on the Kama.
6. Oſſa, on the left ſhore of the Kama, where it receives the rivulet Oſſinka.
7. Krafnouſimſk, on the Ufa.
8. Kungur, on the river Sylva.

B. Province of Catharinenburgh, or Echaterinenburgh,

Formerly included in the government of Tobolſk.—Contains ſeven diſtricts.

1. Catharinenburgh, on the river Iſſet, not far from its origin.
2. Schadrinſk, on the left ſhore of the Iſſet.
3. Dolmatof, on the left ſhore of the Iſſet.
4. Kamychloſſk, on the river Pychma.
5. Irbitz, on the ſmall river Irbit, falling into the Nitza.
6. Alapaieſſk, on the ſmall river Alapeikha, falling into the Neiva.
7. Verkhoturie, on the Tura.

XXXIX.—*Government of Tobolſk,*

Comprehends the weſtern part of Siberia, the conqueſt of which country, began by Yermac Timofeef in 1579, during the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II., was finally concluded before the death of Feodor Ivanovitch, in 1598.

It is divided into the two provinces of Tobolſk and Tomſk.

Province of Tobolſk contains ten diſtricts.

1. Tobolſk, on the Irtyſh, oppoſite to the mouth of the Tobol.
2. Tiumen, on the Tura.
3. Turinſk, on the Tura.
4. Bereſof, on the Soſſva, falling into the Ob.
5. Surgut, on the Oby.
6. Tara, on the Irtyſh.
7. Yalutoroſſk, on the Tobol.
8. Kurgan, on the river Kurgan.
9. Ichimſk, on the river Ichim.
10. Omſk, on the Irtyſh, near the mouth of the Om.

Province of Tomſk,—contains ſix diſtricts.

1. Tomſk, on the river Tom.
2. Kainſk, on the river Om.
3. Narym, on the Oby, below the mouth of the Ker.
4. Magaſeia, or Turukhanſk, on the Yeniſei.

5. Yeni-

5. Yeniſeiſk, on the river Yeniſei.
6. Atchinſk, on the river Tchulym, falling into the Ob.

XL.—*Government of Kolyvan.*

Formerly included in the government of Tobolſk.—Contains five diſtricts.

1. Kolyvan, the new capital of this government, on the Oby, near the mouth of the Berda, known before the inſtitution of this government under the name of *Berdſkoi Oſtrog.*
2. Semipalat, on the Irtyſh.
3. Biiſk, on the river Bi, or Bija, which, by uniting with the Katunia, forms the river Oby.
4. Kuſnezk, on the river Tom, oppoſite to the mouth of the Kondoma.
5. Kraſnoiarſk, on the river Yeniſei, where it receives the Katcha.

XLI.—*Government of Irkutzk.*

The largeſt and leaſt peopled government in Ruſſia, compriſes all the eaſtern part of Siberia, from the Northern Ocean to the frontiers of Chineſe Tartary, and from the boundaries of the government of Tobolſk to the Eaſtern Ocean. This large territory was gradually conquered and appropriated by the Ruſſians in their deſultory excurſions from Tobolſk.

It is divided into the four provinces of Irkutzk, Nertſhinſk, Yakutſk, and Okotzk.

Province of Irkutzk contains four diſtricts.

1. Irkutzk, on the Angara, oppoſite to the mouth of the river Irkut.
2. Kirenſk, on the Lena, above the mouth of the Kirenga.
3. Niſhnie-Udinſk, on the river Uda, falling into the Upper Tunguſka.
4. Verſhnei-Vedinſk, on the river Vecla, falling into the Selenga.

Province of Nertſhinſk contains four diſtricts.

1. Nertſhinſk, on the Nertcha, falling into the Schilka.
2. Doroninſk, on the Ingoda.
3. Barguſinſk, on the river Barguſin, falling into the lake Baikal.
4. Stretinſk, on the Schilka.

Province of Yakutſk contains five diſtricts.

1. Yakutſk, on the Lena.
2. Olekminſk, on the Lena, ſeveral verſts above the mouth of the Olekma.
3. Olenſk, a town to be erected on the river Olenek.
4. Schiganſk, on the Lena, about eight hundred verſts from Yakuzk.
5. Sachiverſk, on the Indigirka.

Province of Okotzk contains four diſtricts.

1. Okotzk, on the mouth of the Okota, falling into a bay of the Eaſtern Ocean.
2. Ichiginſk, on the mouth of the river Ichigina, falling into the bay of Penſhina.
3. Aklanſk, on the ſmall river Aklan, falling into the river Penſhina.
4. Niſhnie-Kamtchatka, on the river Kamtchatka, about thirty verſts from its mouth.

No. IV.

SINCE this volume was printed, the Reverend Mr. Smirnove, chaplain to the Ruſſian legation in London, has publiſhed a *Survey of the Ruſſian Empire*; which enumerates the governments as in 1792, and differs in a few inſtances from the geographical diviſions formed in 1782 and 1785, which are given in this volume.

The Ruſſian empire is divided into

I. The Northern Region.
II. The Middle Region.
III. The Southern Region.

I. The Northern Region contains the following Governments:

1. St. Peterſburg.
2. Archangel.
3. Olonetz.
4. Vyborg, or Wyburgh.
5. Revel.
6. Riga.
7. Pſcov.
8. Tver.
9. Novogorod.
10. Vologda.
11. Yaroſlavl.
12. Koſtroma.
13. Viatka.
14. Pirme.
15. Tobolſk.

II. The Middle Region contains:

16. Muſcov.
17. Smolenſk.
18. Polotſk.
19. Moghilev.
20. Tichernigov.
21. Novgorod Sieverſkoi.
22. Kharkov.
23. Kourſk.
24. Orel.
25. Kalouga.
26. Toola.
27. Riazane.
28. Vladimir.
29. Nizney Novgorod.
30. Kazane.
31. Sinbirſk.
32. Penza.
33. Tambov.
34. Voronez.
35. Saratov.
36. Oufa.
The hordes of Kirghis kaiſacks.
37. Kolhyvane.
38. Irkoutſk.
The Kourilſkie iſlands.
The Aleoutiſkie iſlands.

III. The Southern Region contains:

39. Kiev.
40. Ekatherinoſlav.
41. The province of Tavrida.
42. Habitations of the Don Kozaks.
43. The government of Caucaſus.

Many of the new territorial acquiſitions made by Catharine the Second, were not formed into regular governments at her death. Theſe acquiſitions conſiſted of the diſtrict of Otchakof, thoſe parts of Poland which were diſmembered by Ruſſia 1793 and 1795, and Courland.

Paul made ſome alterations in the governments, and particularly changed the name of Ekatherinoſlav into New Ruſſia, from antipathy to his mother. He likewiſe made

ſeveral changes in the laws and adminiſtration, which have been ſince abrogated by the preſent Emperor, and the whole empire is again modelled according to the ordinances of Catharine.

No. V.—*Anecdotes of Prince Potemkin.*

I AVAIL myſelf of this new edition, to give ſome anecdotes of this extraordinary man, who governed Ruſſia with no leſs deſpotic authority than Mentchikof or Biron. Theſe anecdotes I collected in the courſe of my travels in Ruſſia; but withheld them from the public during the lives of the Empreſs and Potemkin.

GREGORY ALEXANDROVITCH POTEMKIN was deſcended from an ancient and noble family, ſeated in the province of Smolenſko; at an early period he entered into the army, and, at the revolution, diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the partizans of the Empreſs. He ſignalized himſelf under Marſhal Romanzof, in his campaign againſt the Turks, and was deputed by Count Peter Panin to deliver the keys of Bender to the Empreſs, when it capitulated to the Ruſſians in 1770. Before this period, Potemkin affected a violent paſſion for the Empreſs, and in the private audience, when he preſented the keys, made a declaration of his attachment with ſuch warm expreſſions and wild geſtures, as ſeemed to indicate that love had deranged his intellects. Catharine, at this time faſcinated by Orlof, was not touched by theſe marks of paſſion, though ſhe overlooked and forgave them; yet they operated to his advantage, when Potemkin was afterwards introduced as a favourite by Alexey Orlof, after the diſmiſſion of his brother, with a view to counteract the cabals of Panin and Romanzof. Potemkin continued to occupy that poſt only fifteen months. He received the uſual order to abſent himſelf from court; but ſoon afterwards contrived to regain his political influence, though he was compelled to yield to a new favourite.

From that period he maintained an aſcendancy over the councils of the Empreſs, and at his will introduced and diſmiſſed the ſucceſſive favourites. During the favour of Count Panin, the power of Potemkin was counterbalanced by his influence, but, on his diſgrace, roſe ſuperior to all controul.

He was perfectly acquainted with the temper and diſpoſition of the Empreſs. In his intercourſe, he affected to indulge a great ſpirit of independence, returned only laconic anſwers to pages written with her own hand, and governed her, no leſs by remonſtrating againſt her weakneſſes, than by adminiſtering to her paſſions. He gave a ſtriking proof of this ſpirit on the death of Lanſkoi. The Empreſs was ſo affected with the loſs of this favourite, that ſhe ſunk, like Elizabeth on the death of Eſſex, into a ſtate of deſpondency. She ſhut herſelf up in her apartment, admitted ſcarcely any one into her preſence but the ſiſter of Lanſkoi, and fed her melancholy, by viſiting the tomb which ſhe had erected to his memory. All buſineſs was ſuſpended. At this criſis Potemkin arrived from the Crimea, and remonſtrated againſt her weakneſs in ſuch ſtrong terms, that ſhe burſt into tears, and complained to Lanſkoi's ſiſter of his harſh and unfeeling conduct. His importunities, however, finally prevailed; and one evening ſhe ſuddenly quitted Zarſkoe Zelo, and repaired to the capital, where her grief gradually ſubſided. Catharine never forgot Potemkin's frankneſs; ſhe frequently declared her obligations to him, who alone ventured to rouſe her from her deſpondency; loaded him with higher honours, and repoſed in him additional confidence.

His honours, titles, and employments exceeded in number and diſtinction thoſe ever before poſſeſſed by a ſubject: to enumerate them would occupy no leſs than two or

three pages; I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to his principal diſtinctions. He was dignified with all the Ruſſian orders of knighthood, and the principal orders of Pruſſia, Sweden, and Poland. He was field-marſhal, commander in chief, and inſpector-general of all the Ruſſian forces, colonel of the Preobaſhinſki guards, and of three regiments of cuiraſſiers, grenadiers, and dragoons, and preſident of the college of war. He was grand admiral of the Euxine and Caſpian, grand hetman of the Coſſacs, and governor-general of the provinces of Ekatherineſlaf and Taurida. He was alſo created a Prince of the German empire.

His revenues were adequate to his dignities. He received during his time of favour large eſtates, and 9,000,000 roubles in money; he was lord over forty thouſand peaſants in Poliſh Ruſſia, and five thouſand in Ruſſia; he had a penſion of 75,000 roubles, and 30,000 for his table. Being conſiderably in debt by loſſes at play, he took an advance of his penſion for ten years; but was gratified by the Empreſs with the continuance of his ſalary.

Yet this unparalleled income was not adequate to his unbounded expences. During his campaigns, his march was conſtantly preceded by an Engliſh gardener, and ſix hundred helpers; they formed a garden in our ſtyle, in the environs of the ſpot where the tent of the Prince was pitched, even if he continued only a day. Walks of ſand or gravel were laid out, and decorated with borders of flowers; trees and ſhrubs of all ſorts and ſizes were tranſplanted, and ornamental buildings imitated by temporary wooden ſtructures; if his ſtay was protracted the withered trees were removed, and repleniſhed with freſh plantations. If the adjacent country produced no wood, ſhrubs and limbs of foreſt trees were conveyed from a conſiderable diſtance. He purchaſed an enormous quantity of diamonds, with which he not only ornamented his dreſs, but frequently amuſed himſelf with arranging them in various figures, and toſſing them with a childiſh ſatisfaction from one hand to the other. He laviſhed immenſe ſums on his numerous miſtreſſes, and expended ſtill more in buildings which he never inhabited, or never uſed but for the purpoſe of giving magnificent fêtes.

One of theſe galas, which he gave on his return from the conqueſt of Crim Tartary, in his Taurian palace, is minutely deſcribed in a foreign publication, which is copied verbatim by the French biographer of Catharine the Second, and literally tranſlated in the Engliſh verſion *. The deſcription of this fête ſeems to realiſe the extravagancies of an Oriental tale.

To ſupply theſe expences, and gratify his paſſion for amaſſing riches, he drew upon the treaſury for ſums to an unlimited amount; and none of his draſts were ever rejected.

He died at the cloſe of the ſucceſsful campaign againſt the Turks, and during the negociations for peace. He had been ſome time ſlightly indiſpoſed, and preſaged his approaching death. At the congreſs of Yaſſy, he was attacked by an epidemical diſtemper, which he encreaſed by every ſpecies of exceſs and intemperance; in his journey from Yaſſy to Nicolaief, his fever roſe to a criſis, he was ſeized with a violent cholic, alighted from his carriage, and throwing himſelf on the ground, expired in convulſions. The Empreſs was at firſt much affected with his death; but ſoon recovered, and ſeemed pleaſed with her emancipation from his influence.

Potemkin was clumſy in his perſon, but of Herculean ſize and ſtrength. A defect in his eye rendered his countenance lowering and forbidding; and his firſt addreſs was

* Almanach hiſtorique et genealogique de Berlin pour l'année 1790. Caſtera's Vie de Catharine II. and Tooke's Life of Catharine II.

not only aukward and embarraſſed, but even timid and diſtant. In mixed companies and with ſtrangers, he was ſilent and reſerved; but with thoſe with whom he was intimate, he was affable, cheerful, and indulged himſelf in mimicry and ſarcaſtic raillery, in which he excelled. In routs, balls, and large ſocieties, he was frequently ſeen ſtanding iſolated from the company, abſorbed in thought; the involuntary geſtures of his body, marked the reſtleſsneſs of his diſpoſition, and the agitation of his mind, which ſeemed labouring with vaſt projects. In fact he was fatiated with pleaſures, and miſerable becauſe he had no enjoyment left to deſire, and every thing to apprehend.

He was not ſatisfied with his high honours and exalted ſtation; but was perpetually forming ſchemes of diſtinction and aggrandiſement. He was ſolicitous to obtain the order of the garter, and felt extremely diſappointed that his application did not ſucceed. Through his influence, however, a treaty was negotiated between Great Britain and Ruſſia, by which Minorca was to be ceded to the Empreſs; and the whole artillery and ſtores, which were worth near a million ſterling, were to be yielded as a gratification to Prince Potemkin. In return, the Empreſs was to ſend ſeveral ſhips of the line to the aſſiſtance of England. This negotiation was interrupted by the capture of Minorca. At one time he aſpired, at the inſtigation of the court of Verſailles, to be Hoſpodar of Moldavia and Wallachia; at another, by the ſuggeſtions of the King of Pruſſia, to become Duke of Courland; and by the Houſe of Auſtria, he was perſuaded to aſpire to the throne of Poland. All theſe ſchemes, rapidly ſucceeding each other, kept him in a continual ſtate of reſtleſs agitation.

He was extremely attached to religious ceremonies, particularly to the pomp of the Greek church, and was well verſed in eccleſiaſtical matters. Whenever diſcontented with the court, or vexed with the cabals againſt him, he expreſſed an intention to retire, and affected an inclination to become a monk.

The room in which he received company was next to his bed-chamber, contained a billiard table, and was uſually crowded by perſons of all ranks and nations. I have ſeen at the ſame time the principal miniſters and generals, noblemen of the higheſt diſtinction, artiſts, and mechanics; Engliſh, French, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Perſians, Georgians, Turks, Calmucs, and Tartars. Cheſs boards and back-gammon tables were ſcattered about the room, and the company engaged in different games, as their fancy ſuggeſted. He uſually dined at three, then retired into his bed-chamber, to take his afternoon nap, and when he awoke, made his appearance in this room where the company was aſſembled, ſometimes full dreſſed, at other times in his robe de chambre, and ſlippers, and occaſionally even without ſtockings. He amuſed himſelf by overlooking thoſe who were playing, or in talking with the company, principally with foreigners or artiſts.

He treated the Ruſſian nobles with great haughtineſs; but was attentive and even affable to foreigners, when his firſt reſerve was worn off. In his own houſehold he was kind to his ſervants, and would not ſuffer them to be beaten, according to the cuſtom of the country, though he was aware that he was the worſe ſerved for this mild treatment.

He was ſingularly voracious, as well as capricious in his appetite. Beſides his uſual meals, in which he devoured indiſcriminately the moſt common as well as the moſt coſtly diſhes, he was continually eating ſmall pâtés and biſcuits, of which he had a conſtant ſupply placed even at his bed-ſide.

Dining one day at Baron Sutherland's, court banker, and a member of the Engliſh factory, he was ſo much pleaſed with a round of beef, that he deſired the remainder, with

with the pewter diſh, and carving knife and fork, might be ſent to his apartments in the palace. It was regularly ſerved at his table, and placed on a ſide-board in the anti-chamber, until it was eaten. The Prince applied to it himſelf ſeveral times in the courſe of the day, and preſſed thoſe who viſited him to partake of the Engliſh fare.

He was by nature and habit extremely indolent, and often neglected the moſt important buſineſs; but when rouſed to exertion, his activity was as remarkable as his ſupineneſs. He ſometimes ſtarted from his luxurious life at Peterſburgh, and, with ſcarcely a moment's notice, travelled like a courier, night and day, in a common kibitka; in theſe journies he adopted the food of the Ruſſian peaſants, particularly the black bread, garlic, and ſalted cucumbers, until he reached the place of his deſtination, when he re-aſſumed his cuſtomary mode of living.

He was fond of wild and expenſive ſchemes, and was always ſurrounded with projectors, who continually duped and deceived him.

A proof of his ſingular and whimſical diſpoſition in the conduct of the moſt important affairs, was communicated by a perſon preſent at the following ſcene. Sitting after dinner at Karakrim, or Old Crim, in company with ſeveral gentlemen, both Ruſſians and Engliſh, Potemkin ſaid, "let us ballot for the capital of Crim Tartary." Taking up a roſe, he laid a leaf in one place, and a ſecond in another, exclaiming "let this be for Achmetſchit, and that for Batcheſerai; let every one put a leaf near that to which he gives the preference, without alleging a reaſon." All did ſo, and the Prince, counting the leaves, found the majority for Achmetſchit, and he ſaid, "let Achmetſchit be the capital," and it became the capital.

He warmly encouraged commerce and manufactures, was the great patron of learning, and particularly promoted Greek literature. He poſſeſſed a quick comprehenſion, and ſurpriſing memory; his knowledge of books was general, though ſuperficial; his reading was principally confined to the French belles lettres, and tranſlations of the claſſics, particularly Plutarch, and to Ruſſian authors on religious ceremonies; but the information which he drew from perſons of eminence in every profeſſion was prodigious.

A well-drawn character of this extraordinary man, by M. de Segua, French ambaſſador at Peterſburgh, is given in Caſtera's Vie de Catherine II. 1ſt edition, and in Tooke's tranſlation, vol. iii. p. 326.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.—*Account of Peter III.—Appointed Great-Duke by Elizabeth.—Eſpouſes the Princeſs of Anhalt Zerbſt.—Diſcontented.—Reſides at Oranienbaum.—Conſtructs a Fortreſs.—Diſciplines the Garriſon.—Intrigues to exclude him from the Succeſſion.—Defeated.—Death of Elizabeth.—Acceſſion of Peter.—His Rage for Reformation.—Irritates the Clergy, Army, and Nobles.—Enthuſiaſtic Admiration of the King of Pruſſia.—Inconſiſtent Behaviour to his Conſort Catherine.—Her great Abilities, prudent Conduct, and Popularity.—In Danger of being arreſted.—Heads a Party.—Meetings of the Inſurgents.—Infatuation of Peter.—Catherine eſcapes from Peterhof.—Harangues the Guards.—Aſcends the Throne.—Her Manifeſto.—Advances againſt the Emperor.—His Arrival at Peterhof.—Deſpondency and Irreſolution.—Sails to Cronſtadt.—Is refuſed Admittance.—Retires to Oranienbaum.—Reſigns himſelf into the Hands of the Empreſs.—Signs his Abdication, is conveyed a Priſoner to Robſcha, and dies.—His Body laid in State and interred.—Lenity of the Empreſs to his Adherents.*

THE revolution of 1741 placed Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, on the the throne of Ruſſia. In the following year the Empreſs nominated Charles Peter Ulric, ſon of Charles Frederic Duke of Holſtein Gottorp, by Anne, her ſiſter, ſucceſſor to the crown. Having embraced the Greek religion, he was appointed Great-Duke of Ruſſia, with the accuſtomed formalities, and aſſumed the name of Peter Feodorovitch. In 1745 he eſpouſed Sophia Auguſta, daughter of Chriſtian Auguſtus, Prince of Anhalt Zerbſt, who, being re-baptized according the rites of the Greek church, was called Catharine Alexiefna. She was born* in 1729, and was ſixteen years of age at the time of her marriage. Their only iſſue were the Great-Duke Paul, born 1754; and Anne, who was born in 1757, and died in 1761.

During the firſt years of their marriage the moſt perfect union ſubſiſted between them, which was at length ſucceeded by mutual averſion and diſguſt. Peter, whoſe mind was warped by a bad education, and who was purpoſely eſtranged from political affairs, was held by Elizabeth in a ſtate of dependance: a prey to idleneſs, and without the power of amuſing himſelf with rational occupations of literature, he devoted himſelf to the moſt trifling purſuits, or to the loweſt gratifications. He was perpetually beſet with ſpies, who made unfavourable reports of his conduct to the Empreſs, ever ſuſpicious of his intentions, and conſtantly alarmed with the dread of a revolution ſimilar to that which had placed her upon the throne†. At Peterſburgh he had apartments in the imperial palace, and lived more in the ſtyle of a ſtate priſoner, than of a ſucceſſor to the crown. When the Empreſs removed to Peterhof, he reſided at his favourite palace of Oranienbaum; where he amuſed himſelf in training his ſervants to military exerciſes. The Empreſs, conſidering this employment as likely to draw his attention

* Catharine was born at Stettin, where her father, who was in the Pruſſian ſervice, reſided as governor, and was educated with great attention under the care of her mother, who was daughter of Chriſtian Auguſtus, Prince Biſhop of Lubeck. A lady who knew her before her marriage, deſcribed her to me as extremely beautiful, accompliſhed, and amiable, and added, that ſhe expreſſed great repugnance to go into Ruſſia; ſhe even burſt into tears, and declared that ſhe would rather marry a Count in Germany than the Great Duke.

† The horrors of mind which Elizabeth ſuffered from apprehenſions of this kind are ſcarcely to be credited. Had I not received the following anecdote from the beſt authority I ſhould not inſert it. Beſides conſtant wathes and guards about her apartment, a perſon, who was originally a taylor, and in whom ſhe repoſed the moſt perfect confidence, uſually remained at the foot of her bed while ſhe was aſleep. He occupied this extraordinary poſt two-and-twenty years, and at her death was gratified with a penſion.

from

from political intrigues, ordered a corps of ſoldiers to be draughted from ſeveral regiments, and to be quartered at Oranienbaum under his command.

Peter, ardent in purſuit of his new occupation, formed in the garden a fortreſs in miniature, a few feet ſquare, from which he ſtudied practical fortification. Pleaſed with this firſt eſſay, he cauſed a larger and more regular fortreſs to be conſtructed near the palace: within was a brick building, called the governor's houſe, wooden habitations for the principal officers, and barracks capable of containing fifteen hundred ſoldiers. Every thing wore a martial appearance *: the hours of morning and evening parade were marked by the firing of cannon, a regular guard was ſtationed, the troops were dreſſed in the German uniform, and taught, under his direction, the Pruſſian exerciſe. This houſe in the fortreſs was the principal ſcene of his convivial entertainments; there, when not employed in exerciſing his troops, or iſſuing military orders, he paſſed his time in drinking and ſmoking with the officers, and generally puſhed the pleaſures of the table to an exceſs of intoxication.

Impatient of conſtraint, he occaſionally broke into open and bitter invectives againſt the Empreſs; he often declared that he was called into Ruſſia to be confined like a ſtate priſoner, frequently expreſſed a deſire to return into Holſtein, and founded his only hopes of comfort on the death of Elizabeth. Theſe expreſſions, always carried to the Empreſs, and either wantonly exaggerated, or malignantly interpreted, made ſuch an impreſſion on that Princeſs, that ſhe was nearly induced, by the Chancellor Beſtuchef, to exclude him from the ſucceſſion, and declare Paul her heir, and Catharine regent, in caſe of a minority. Beſtuchef repreſented to the Empreſs, that Peter had proved himſelf unworthy of the crown, by openly expreſſing contempt for the Ruſſians, and placing his whole confidence in foreigners; that he was guilty of the baſeſt ingratitude to her, and that ſhe would confer a ſignal ſervice on her ſubjects, by excluding a perſon ſo diſqualified for directing the reins of empire. Elizabeth, won by theſe arguments, and alarmed with the apprehenſions of a conſpiracy ſaid to be forming againſt her perſon, almoſt conſented to the propoſal; but, on deliberate reflection, perſevered in her former appointment of Peter, and Beſtuchef † was diſgraced. Such was the ſituation of the court, when Elizabeth died on the 25th of December 1761.

Peter

* It is ſingular to obſerve the conformity in the manners, figure, and purſuits of the Emperor and his ſon Paul. The lively portrait which Rulhiere drew of Peter, equally reſembled Paul. "Une ſorte de manie militaire ſe repandait ſur toute ſa vie; ſa figure naturellement ridicule, le devenait beaucoup plus ſous un habillement où il avait outré la maniere Pruſſienne. Les guêtres qu'il portait toujours etoient ſi ſerrées qu'elles lui otaient le mouvement des genoux, et l'obligeaient à s'aſſeoir et à marcher tout d'une piece. Un vaſte chapeau bizarrement retrouſſé, couvrant un petit viſage laid et malin, dûne phyſiognomie aſſez vive; il ſe plaiſait à ſe deſigurer encore par de perpetuelles grimaces, dont il s'etait fait un amuſement. Son eſprit n'etait cependant ſans quelque vivacité, et on reconnaiſſat en lui un talent aſſez marqué pour la bouffonnerie." Rulhiere Anecdotes ſur la Revolution de Ruſſie, p. 18, 19.

† Of all the principal nobles diſgraced by Elizabeth, Beſtuchef alone was not recalled to court by Peter; a ſtrong proof of his intrigues againſt that Prince, who, with all his weakneſs, was of a temper exceedingly humane and forgiving. He was recalled at the acceſſion of Catharine.

It appears from ſome of Mr. Keith's diſpatches to Lord Holderneſſe, that Beſtuchef was diſgraced by the intrigues of the French party, and that he was ſuſpected of caballing in favour of the Great-Ducheſs. Two extracts from theſe diſpatches will ſerve to ſhew her melancholy ſituation, and the prevalence of theſe ſuſpicions.

"The poor Grand-Ducheſs is ſtill in diſtreſs; but it is thought a reconciliation, an apparent one at leaſt, will ſoon be brought about between the Empreſs and her; and as a forerunner of it, Count Peter Schuwallow aſſured her the other day, from Her Majeſty, that nothing ſevere ſhould happen to any of the priſoners. I believe this is true, as I know, by another channel, that the Empreſs does not intend to confiſcate the Chancellor's eſtate, and it is even ſaid, that Her Majeſty is uneaſy about what has already happened to him, as nothing of conſequence has yet appeared againſt him.

"Count

Peter assumed the reins of government with all the joy of a person enlarged from a long confinement; he released the principal state prisoners, particularly Biron, Duke of Courland, Marshal Munich *, and Lestof†; and in all state affairs conducted himself on political principles diametrically opposite to those of the late Empress.

Elizabeth, at the time of her decease, was, in conjunction with the courts of Vienna and Paris, engaged in a war with the King of Prussia, which promised a speedy and glorious termination. The resources of Frederick were nearly exhausted; and, notwithstanding his vigorous and successful opposition, he seemed on the point of being overwhelmed by the number and perseverance of his enemies. But Peter no sooner ascended the throne, than, sacrificing every other consideration to his extravagant enthusiasm for the character of the Prussian monarch, he dispatched an envoy to Berlin, to propose an immediate reconciliation, to which Frederic acceded, and a suspension of hostilities was soon concluded. Peter recalled his troops from the Austrian army, and in a short interval sent a reinforcement of twenty thousand men to his favourite hero. Thus, within the space only of a few months, Russian forces joined the Prussian army, in order to drive from Silesia those very Austrians who had been brought into that province by the Russian arms.

Having gratified his inclination without consulting his allies, or the honour of his empire, he aimed at recovering his paternal inheritance, the duchy of Slesvick; and did not hesitate to involve his subjects in an expensive war with Denmark, on account of claims considered by many as ill-founded and chimerical. Peter, as Duke of Holstein, formed pretensions to that duchy, although ceded by a treaty in 1732: and at the conclusion of the peace with the King of Prussia, ordered an army to march into Holstein, which he purposed to command in person.

With respect to the interior administration of affairs, the Emperor turned his atten-

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"Count Poniatowski is involved in the late intrigues, and it is thought he will not remain long at this court. Petersburgh, March 10/30, 1758. Private and Secret."

"As to the Great-Duchess, she has been all along in great distress: ill with the Empress, and still worse with the Grand-Duke, she received the other day a very sensible mortification; one of her favourite bedchamber women having been taken from her, and put under arrest. This, as I hear, occasioned an interview between the Empress and the Duchess about four days ago, in which, after some sharp reproofs on one side, and warm expostulations on the other, Her Imperial Highness fell at the Empress's feet, and told her that since she had been so unfortunate as to incur Her Majesty's displeasure, though innocently, and had thereby drawn upon herself so many, and such sensible mortifications, as, joined to family quarrels, made her life a burthen to her, she had but one favour to ask her, namely, that Her Majesty would allow her to retire out of Russia, and to pass the rest of her time with her mother, assuring the Empress, at the same time, that if Her Majesty should think it for the interest of her empire, that the Great-Duke should take another wife, neither she nor any of her family would make the smallest objection to it. The Empress, they say was greatly affected with this discourse, and talked with much more softness than before to the Grand-Duchess, entering into several particulars with a greater air of kindness than she had done for a long while past: and when in the conversation Her Imperial Highness was beginning to touch upon some things relating to the Grand-Duke's unkindness, (who was present all the while) the Empress made her a sign to hold her tongue, and in a low voice told her, that she must have another conversation with her alone, and that it should be very soon. It was thought Wednesday last was the day appointed for it, as Her Majesty, whose heart is at bottom both good and tender, was to take the sacrament the next day. It is hoped a reconciliation may have been the consequence of that meeting; and certainly the generality of people wish it very sincerely, the Great-Duchess having many friends among those of the first rank. St. Petersburgh, April 7/28, 1758. Secret."

* For an account of Biron, see book v. c. ix. and of Marshal Munich the next chapter.

† Lestof was a surgeon; by birth a German: he was a partisan of Elizabeth, and assisted her in planning the revolution of 1742. But that ungrateful Princess forgot this favour; and, because Lestof became haughty and impertinent, banished and detained him in prison until she died.

tion to reform his kingdom; and envy muſt allow, that, notwithſtanding his precipitancy and imprudence, Ruſſia dates ſeveral uſeful alterations from his ſhort reign. Peter annulled the ſecret council or inquiſition* of ſtate; aboliſhed many oppreſſive prerogatives, formed a plan for correcting the abuſes in the courts of judicature, and for introducing a leſs corrupt ſyſtem of juriſprudence. He freed the nobles from their obligation of ſerving in the army, and permitted them to travel into foreign countries, which before depended on the arbitrary will of the ſovereign.

During the firſt ſix weeks of his reign, Peter propoſed ſo many beneficial regulations, and made ſo many judicious reflections, that thoſe who had formed a mean idea of his capacity, conceived themſelves miſtaken; and imagined, that, during the reign of Elizabeth, he had, from motives of policy, affected a deficiency of underſtanding. His ſubſequent conduct, however, fully proved that he was ſtill the ſame weak and imprudent prince; that he could only adopt the ſchemes ſuggeſted by others, but did not poſſeſs abilities ſufficient to carry them into execution; that he had all the rage of reformation, without the judgment neceſſary for a reformer. Theſe ſalutary regulations were accompanied with others that were trifling, ſome that were detrimental, and ſeveral, which, although in themſelves uſeful, yet being contrary to the cuſtoms and genius of his people, were imprudently propoſed in the commencement of his reign.

He irritated the clergy by ſecularizing the eſtates of the monaſteries, and aſſigning penſions far inferior in value to incomes of the eccleſiaſtics before this alteration; by forbidding the admiſſion of novices into convents before the age of thirty, and by ordering many painted images of ſaints to be removed from the churches. He baniſhed the Archbiſhop of Novogorod, for refuſing to conſent to theſe ordinances; but finding this act of arbitrary power attended with general diſcontent, he was obliged to recall him. Being himſelf educated in the Lutheran church, he had embraced the Greek religion with a view of ſucceeding to the throne; but he was no ſooner in poſſeſſion, than he imprudently diſplayed his contempt of many rites and ceremonies, regarded by his ſubjects with profound reverence. He built a Lutheran chapel in the fortreſs of Oranienbaum, was preſent at the dedication, and diſtributed with his own hand books of hymns to the German ſoldiers. This circumſtance might have paſſed unnoticed, had he not been abſent at the conſecration of a Ruſſian church in the ſame place.

He offended the army by his preference of the Holſtein troops, by introducing the Pruſſian diſcipline, and appointing new uniforms to ſeveral regiments. He particularly gave umbrage to the guards, accuſtomed to reſide in the capital, by ordering two regiments to march into Pomerania, where the army againſt Denmark was aſſembled.

He affronted the nobility by appointing his uncle Prince George of Holſtein generaliſſimo of the forces, and by the ſuperior confidence which he placed in foreigners. He inflamed the general odium by the public contempt he expreſſed for the Ruſſian nation, for their religion and manners. He raiſed great diſcontents, as well by engaging in the war with Denmark, a war which ſeemed totally unconnected with the intereſts of the empire, as by his boundleſs admiration of the Great Frederick, with

* This ſtate inquiſition was invented by Alexèy Michaelovitch; it conſiſted of a ſecret committee of confidential perſons, appointed to judge criminals ſuſpected of high treaſon. Perſons of all ranks and ſexes were liable to be arreſted upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, and tortured in the moſt dreadful manner. There was a catch-word—Slovo i delo, "Words and deeds;" which, if any one only pronounced againſt another, was ſufficient cauſe for his being immediately apprehended, and ſent to the ſecret committee.

whom

whom Ruſſia had been ſo lately and ſo long in a ſtate of hoſtility. During the life of Elizabeth, he expreſſed his concern to one of the foreign miniſters, that the Empreſs had invited him to Ruſſia: "If," added he, "I had remained Duke of Holſtein, I ſhould now have commanded a regiment in the Pruſſian ſervice, and have the honour of ſerving perſonally ſo great a monarch; an honour which I eſteem far ſuperior to that of being Great-Duke." After his acceſſion, he uſed publicly to call him *maſter*. Talking with one of his favourites upon this topic, he ſaid, "You know I have been a faithful ſervant to my *maſter*; for you remember that I tranſmitted to him intelligence of all the ſecrets of the cabinet." And as the perſon, to whom this diſcourſe was addreſſed, heſitated making a reply; "What are you afraid of?" returned the Emperor, "the old woman is not now alive, and cannot ſend you into Siberia." He generally wore a Pruſſian uniform; expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction at the formality of being appointed an officer in the King's ſervice; and when he ſent his miniſter to Berlin to negotiate a mutual alliance, gave him ſecret inſtructions to be careful that no perſon ſhould be promoted above him in the Pruſſian army. On receiving the patent which conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant-general in that ſervice, he dreſſed himſelf in his new uniform, ordered a general diſcharge of the cannon in the fortreſs of Oranienbaum, gave a magnificent entertainment in honour of his promotion, and drank his *maſter's* health until he became quite intoxicated *.

During his ſhort reign he maintained a conſtant correſpondence with the King of Pruſſia, and always received from him the moſt ſalutary advice. That able monarch earneſtly diſſuaded him from the Daniſh war; but finding him obſtinately determined, adviſed him to be firſt crowned at Moſcow with the uſual ſolemnities, and, when he marched to Holſtein, to carry in his train all the foreign miniſters, and ſuch of the Ruſſian nobles as were ſuſpected of diſaffection. Frederick alſo cautioned him againſt alienating the lands of the monaſteries, and interfering with the dreſs of the clergy, and particularly recommended a due attention to his conſort. Indeed, the King, whoſe penetration is equal to his valour, foreſaw the conſequences which were likely to reſult from the Emperor's imprudent conduct, and ordered his ambaſſador at Peterſburgh to ſhow every mark of reſpect to the Empreſs.

Had the advice of the King of Pruſſia been adopted, Peter might have avoided his unhappy deſtiny; but it was the character of that miſguided Prince to purſue with unremitted obſtinacy what he had once reſolved. Though his plans of reformation were, in many reſpects, highly ſalutary; yet the precipitancy with which he endeavoured to carry them into execution, and his impolitic defiance of popular prejudices, deſtroyed the affection of his ſubjects, fomented the intrigues of the oppoſite party, and terminated in his dethronement.

In no light did the inconſiſtency of his character manifeſt itſelf more ſtrongly, than in his behaviour to his conſort. During the reign of Elizabeth, Catharine employed her hours of leiſure in a courſe of aſſiduous ſtudy, and particularly applied herſelf to thoſe authors who were moſt eminent for political knowledge: born with ſuperior abilities, ſhe improved them by a conſtant habit of reflection, and paid an unremitting attention to the cultivation of her mind. Her mild and inſinuating manners, her engaging addreſs, the graces of her perſon, her unwearied aſſiduities, and a perpetual

* Lord Buckinghamſhire, in a private letter to Lord Hardwicke, thus accounts for the predilection of Peter in favour of the King of Pruſſia: "Peter III. was, in his youth, at the court of Pruſſia, and being greatly ſtruck with the military diſcipline, the impreſſion it made on him was ſo ſtrong, that he thought any deviation from it inexcuſable, and a little before his misfortunes, he remonſtrated in a letter to his Majeſty, againſt ſome alterations he had lately made in the uniform."

fund of intereſting converſation, conciliated the favour of the ſuſpicious Elizabeth, who treated her with complacency and affection. Even her huſband, though his general behaviour to her was contemptuous and unmannerly, occaſionally teſtified great reſpect for her ſuperior abilities, and uſually demanded her advice in every important emergency. Whenever any miſunderſtanding aroſe between him and Elizabeth, Catharine was employed as mediatrix; and Peter not unfrequently owed a favourable reception at court to her influence. After his acceſſion, though he gave public marks of deep-rooted averſion, yet he would often behave to her with deference. By an unaccountable act of imprudence, he, in a full court, inveſted her with the exterior decorations of ſovereignty; while, in the character of Colonel, he preſented to her the officers of his regiment. At the bleſſing of the waters, when the Ruſſian monarch appears in all the pomp of majeſty, the ceremony was left to the Empreſs, and he mounted guard as Colonel, and ſaluted her with his pike. Under all theſe circumſtances, the dignity of her deportment was ſo ſtriking, that it was impoſſible not to contraſt her behaviour with the trifling levity of her huſband's conduct; and to give the preference where it was ſo evidently due. Thus this infatuated Prince, at the very time he was fully determined to divorce and impriſon his wife, imprudently diſplayed to his ſubjects her capacity for empire; and, while he proclaimed her forfeiture of his own eſteem, adopted every method to ſecure to her that of the whole nation. Meanwhile the breach was continually widened: he occaſionally behaved to her with the moſt brutal contumely; and once, in particular, at an entertainment he gave in honour of the King of Pruſſia, he publicly affronted her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe burſt into tears, and retired from table. Thus his inſults, no leſs than his deference, equally attracted odium to himſelf, and popularity to Catharine.

It is alſo a well-known fact, that he more than once avowed an intention of arreſting both her and the Great-Duke, whom he propoſed to exclude from the ſucceſſion, and of marrying Elizabeth Counteſs of Voronzof, his favourite miſtreſs. Information of this alarming meaſure was immediately conveyed to Catharine, through the imprudence of the Counteſs. By the ſame, or other means, as well as by the indiſcretion of Peter himſelf, the Empreſs obtained early intelligence of every reſolution formed againſt her perſon. She was thus enabled to ſeize the deciſive moment of enterprize, and ſecure her ſafety by preventing the deſigns of her huſband.

Indeed her danger became every day more and more imminent, and the moment of her arreſt ſeemed at hand. A brick houſe, conſiſting of eleven rooms, had, by the Emperor's order, been conſtructed in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh *, for a perſon of very conſiderable conſequence, and with ſuch expedition as to be almoſt finiſhed within ſix weeks. Peter went himſelf to Schluſſelburgh with a view to examine it; and no great depth of penetration was requiſite to perceive that it was built for the Empreſs. In this important criſis a meeting of her party was held at Peterſburgh. This party was extremely ſmall, and, excepting the Princeſs Daſhkof, and her particular adherents, conſiſted only of a few among the principal nobility. The moſt conſpicuous of theſe were Prince Volkonſki, Count Panin, Governor of the Great-Duke, and Count Razamofski, Hetman of the Ukraine. In the firſt conſultations for dethroning Peter, it was propoſed, according to the plan of Chancellor Beſtuchef, to declare the Great-Duke Emperor, and Catharine regent during his minority; and this would have been the meaſure naturally followed in any country, wherein the order of ſucceſſion was more fixed than in Ruſſia. Only a few days before the revolution, the inconvenience

* See the deſcription of this building in book iv. chap. 7.

attending a minority, joined to the popularity and abilities of the Empreſs, induced her party to adopt the reſolution of placing her upon the throne. At theſe meetings various plans of an inſurrection were propoſed; but it was at length unanimouſly agreed to delay their attempt until Peter's departure for Holſtein.

Although only a few perſons were engaged in this momentous enterpriſe; yet the deſigns of the party could not be concealed from the friends of the Emperor, who earneſtly intreated him to inveſtigate the foundation of the report. But Peter, who had committed the care of the Empreſs's perſon to thoſe in whom he placed the higheſt confidence, could never be prevailed upon to give the ſlighteſt credit to the rumour; and indeed he was ſo convinced of its falſehood, that any ſuggeſtions on that head always offended him. One of his confidents preſented him a memorial in writing, in which the names of ſeveral conſpirators were mentioned. "What, always the old ſtory!" ſaid the Emperor; "here, take back your paper, and do not trouble me any more with ſuch idle tales." His uncle, Prince George of Holſtein, was frequently heard to ſay, that he was tired of tendering remonſtrances, and that the Emperor was inſenſible to the danger of his ſituation. On the very morning of the revolution, about two o'clock, an officer, who had a great ſhare in Peter's confidence, arrived at Oranienbaum, and demanded to ſpeak with him on an affair of the greateſt importance. Being, after ſome difficulty, admitted, he acquainted the Emperor with ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeemed to indicate a conſpiracy on the point of breaking out: but the infatuated Prince, far from paying the leaſt attention to the intelligence, ordered the officer under immediate arreſt, for preſuming to diſturb him at ſo late an hour. And yet at this very hour his dethronement was determined, which event was accelerated by a circumſtance perfectly unconnected with the intentions of the oppoſite party.

The arreſt of one of the Empreſs's adherents, a lieutenant in the guards, whoſe name was Paſſec, greatly alarmed her friends, as they concluded that the Emperor had penetrated their deſign; and although they ſoon diſcovered that it had been occaſioned by ſome irregularity of which he had been guilty as an officer; yet their conſternation haſtened the execution of the enterprize. Every moment was big with danger; and a diſcovery ſeemed inevitable if the inſurrection was delayed until the Emperor's departure for Holſtein.

The Empreſs, however, who continued at Peterhof, ſhuddered at the advice to precipitate the hour of action: her reſolution at this awful criſis, when immediate deciſion was neceſſary, ſeemed for a moment to fail, and ſhe heſitated to aſſent; but her party at Peterſburgh, convinced that the leaſt delay would prove fatal, diſpatched, on the evening of the 27th of June, an empty carriage to Peterhof, the appointed ſignal for her approach to the capital. Catharine, whoſe greatneſs of mind ſoon returned to ſupport her in this dreadful ſtate of ſuſpenſe, inſtantly eſcaped from her apartment; and, at three o'clock in the morning, having traverſed the garden to the place where the carriage * was waiting for her, was conveyed with all ſpeed to Peterſburgh. It was preconcerted that Count Panin ſhould attend to the ſafety of the Great-Duke's perſon; that Gregory Orlof ſhould remain in the capital to win over ſome of the guards; and that Count Razomofski ſhould prepare his regiment for the reception of the Empreſs.

* This carriage was conducted by one of the Empreſs's moſt confidential adherents, I believe by Count Alexèy Orlof; but as I found it impracticable poſitively to aſcertain the perſon, I was unwilling to advance any fact, of which I was not as perfectly convinced as the intricate nature of theſe affairs would admit. I have reaſon to believe that he was aſſiſted by Prince Baratinſki, who remained with the carriage, while he repaired to the Empreſs's apartment.

In

In conſequence of this determination, Catharine repaired to the quarters of the Iſmailofski guards. The hour was ſo early that Razomofski, the Colonel, was not yet arrived, a circumſtance ſufficient to have diſconcerted a perſon of leſs ſpirit; but the Empreſs, having diſpatched a meſſenger to him, ſummoned the officers and ſoldiers. A few who had been apprized by Orlof were ready; while the greater part, being roufed unexpectedly from their ſlumber, made their appearance ſcarcely half dreſſed.

The Empreſs laid before them the bad conduct of the Emperor, his avowed contempt of the Ruſſians, his averſion to their cuſtoms, and his attachment to foreigners. She expoſed the dangers which awaited herſelf, her ſon, and the principal nobility; ſhe expatiated upon the probable ſubverſion of their religion and government, and exhorted all thoſe to follow her, who were deſirous of ſaving their country, and reſcuing her and the Great Duke from deſtruction. Her ſpeech, occaſionally interrupted with ſighs and tears, was ſhort and pathetic, and, further enforced by the graces of her perſon, made an inſtantaneous impreſſion. The greater part of the ſoldiers anſwered her with loud acclamations; a few officers, indeed, at firſt ſeemed to heſitate; but the arrival of Razomofski quieted their apprehenſions, and the whole regiment offered to ſacrifice their lives in her cauſe. Catharine then proceeded to the church of the Virgin Mary of Caſan, and was joined by other bodies of guards, and by many of the principal nobility. Service being performed by the Archbiſhop of Novogorod, the Empreſs took the accuſtomed oath, after which the nobles and people flocked in crowds to ſwear allegiance to the new ſovereign. At the concluſion of this ceremony ſhe repaired to the ſenate, the members of which body acknowledged her ſole Empreſs. A report, induſtriouſly circulated, that Peter was killed by a fall from his horſe, proved favourable to the ſucceſs of the revolution. The ſuite of the Empreſs continually augmented. Two regiments of guards, who had ſcarcely quitted Peterſburgh to join the army in Pomerania, were immediately recalled, and repaired without delay to the ſtandard of the Empreſs.

Even in thoſe governments where the pretorian bands, ſtationed in the capital, depoſe ſovereigns, or raiſe them to the throne, ſome plauſible pretence muſt be urged to render a revolution popular, and engage the general voice to ratify the deed of the ſoldiery. When Elizabeth ſeized the reins of empire, the attachment of the nation to the memory of her father induced the public to applaud that tranſaction; and in this inſtance Peter had, by ſome parts of his conduct, rendered himſelf ſo odious, and, by others, ſo contemptible to his ſubjects, that the firſt account of his dethronement, and of Catharine's acceſſion, announced in the manifeſto, was received with univerſal joy.

"Catharine II. by the grace of God Empreſs and Autocratix of All the Ruſſias, to all our faithful ſubjects, &c.

"All the true ſons of Ruſſia have clearly ſeen the danger which threatened the whole Ruſſian empire. Firſt, the foundation of our orthodox Greek religion has been ſhaken, and its tradition expoſed to total ruin, ſo that it was to be feared that the faith, which has been eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia from the earlieſt times, would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced. In the ſecond place, the glory which Ruſſia had acquired at the expence of ſo much blood, and which was carried to the greateſt height by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by the peace lately concluded with its greateſt enemy. And, laſtly, the domeſtic regulations, which are the baſis of the country's welfare, have been totally overturned.

"For theſe cauſes, overcome by the imminent dangers with which our faithful ſubjects were threatened, and ſeeing how ſincere and expreſs their deſires were on this head,

head, we, putting our truſt in the Almighty and his divine juſtice, have aſcended the Imperial throne of All the Ruſſias, and have received a ſolemn oath of fidelity from all our faithful ſubjects.

"Peterſburgh, June 28, O. S. 1762."

All the adherents of the Emperor were arreſted; among the reſt Prince George of Holſtein, who came to Peterſburgh on the 26th, under pretence of making preparations for the Emperor's departure; but, in reality, to watch the oppoſite party. Not the leaſt oppoſition was made from any quarter to the proceedings of the Empreſs; and, notwithſtanding the ſtreets of Peterſburgh were filled with ſoldiers, who are generally tumultuous and ungovernable in ſuch dreadful periods; yet the greateſt order and diſcipline were preſerved, and no injury was offered to any individuals*.

At ſix in the evening the Empreſs, habited like a man, in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn ſword in her hand, and mounted upon a grey ſteed, marched towards Peterhof, accompanied by the Princeſs Daſhkof, the Hetman Razomofski, the Orlofs, and her principal adherents, at the head of ten thouſand troops.

About eight miles from the capital, Catharine entered a public-houſe called Kraſnoi-Cabak †, and employed herſelf for ſome time in tearing and burning a large quantity of papers. She then flung herſelf in her clothes upon an ordinary bed, ſlept about an hour and a half, was on horſeback by break of day ‡, and proceeded about four miles to the convent of St. Sergius at Strelna, into which ſhe retired while the troops encamped around. At eight General Iſmailof arrived at Strelna with a meſſage from the Emperor, whoſe ſituation was now become truly critical.

While the revolution was carrying on at Peterſburgh, Peter remained at Oranienbaum in thoughtleſs ſecurity. He paſſed the evening which preceded the revolution in the fortreſs, in company with a few choſen friends, with whom he indulged, as uſual, in the pleaſures of the table, and retired late to reſt intoxicated. In the morning he dreſſed himſelf in his Pruſſian uniform, and ſet out at eleven for Peterhof, in order to celebrate the feaſt of the Apoſtles St. Peter and Paul, expecting to meet the Empreſs at dinner, and intending, as it is reported, to put her under an arreſt §. He was accompanied by Elizabeth Vorontzof, her uncle Count Vorontzof, his favourite Godovitz, Marſhal Munic, and many of the nobility of both ſexes, who formed his court ‖. He

* Several Engliſh merchants had quitted their houſes before they were apprized of the revolution; but found no difficulty in returning through the ſoldiers poſted in different parts of the town. One gentleman in particular informed me, that he went about ſix in the morning to the cuſtom houſe, and was ſurpriſed to find no one there. After ſtaying ſome time, he returned home: and, in his way over the bridge of the Neva, met a friend, who aſked him what was the matter, for every thing appeared in confuſion. He had ſcarcely finiſhed theſe words, when about three hundred horſemen, with drawn ſwords in their hands, galloped acroſs the bridge; a prieſt traverſing the bridge at the ſame time in a carriage, the two Engliſhmen ſtood by the ſide of it. Some of the guards, as they paſſed by the prieſt, waved their ſwords over their heads, crying out at the ſame time, "All goes well—vivat Catherine II." And this was the firſt intelligence theſe merchants received of the revolution.

† Rulhiere dignifies this public-houſe with the appellation of Château.

‡ From the landlady of the inn, who was alive when I viſited Ruſſia, and ſtill kept the houſe.

§ If Peter really, as it is ſaid, intended to arreſt the Empreſs, his former conduct is in ſome meaſure accounted for. He thought that her party was of no conſequence, and accordingly diſbelieved, or pretended to diſbelieve, all the reports of the conſpiracy, thinking to cruſh it at once by ſecuring her perſon. He put implicit confidence in the nobles whom he placed about the Empreſs; and theſe very perſons were the firſt to betray him.

‖ From the Intendant of Oranienbaum, who witneſſed theſe tranſactions.

had not proceeded far before he was met by a perſon * who had eſcaped from Peterſburgh, and ſtopping the carriage, acquainted the Emperor that he wiſhed to ſpeak with him in private. Peter, however, ordered his attendants to proceed, adding, "Why are you in ſuch a hurry? turn back to Peterhof, and there you will have time enough to ſpeak to me." The other repeating his ſolicitations, the Emperor at length alighted from his carriage, and was informed of the revolution at Peterſburgh. Yet his infatuation was ſtill ſo great, that he doubted the truth of the intelligence; but, when an enumeration of particular circumſtances at length awakened him to a ſenſe of his danger, he teſtified the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of amazement and horror, and was reduced almoſt to a ſtate of ſtupefaction. Recovering from this paroxyſm of deſpair, he diſpatched an adjutant to Oranienbaum, ordering the garriſon to Peterhof. On his arrival, he found the Empreſs departed, and could obtain no information of her proceedings from any perſon of her court. Marſhal Munic adviſed him to put himſelf at the head of his Holſtein troops, and march without delay to the capital: "I will go before you," ſaid the gallant veteran, "and Your Majeſty's perſon ſhall not be touched but through mine." Had this advice been followed, it would have been attended with a glorious, and perhaps a ſucceſsful event. The Holſtein troops, though not exceeding a thouſand, were zealouſly attached to Peter; and Munic was worth a regiment. The courage of the Emperor, however, deſerted him in this emergency; he fluctuated between hope and fear; formed new reſolutions one moment, and renounced them the next.

His own agitation was ſtill further encreaſed by the behaviour of the principal perſons, who accompanied him from Oranienbaum, or whom he found at Peterhof. The women vented ſhrieks, and hung about the Emperor in agonies of the deepeſt diſtreſs; every one clamorouſly offered advice; but the uproar was ſo great, that the advice could ſcarcely be heard, and if heard was not attended to, becauſe it was repeatedly changed. Several of the Empreſs's party were preſent, and artfully fomented the general confuſion: under the ſpecious appearance of affection and zeal, they alarmed the fears of the Emperor, and objected to every vigorous meaſure as inadmiſſible and dangerous. In theſe circumſtances Peter, perplexed by ſuch diſcordant or treacherous advice, was ſoftened into cowardice by the tears of the women, and remained the whole day in a ſtate nearly bordering on diſtraction. Every moment brought him freſh cauſe of terror and diſmay. He was ſucceſſively informed, that the Empreſs had received the oath of allegiance from perſons of all ranks, that ſhe was miſtreſs of the capital, and was advancing at the head of 10,000 troops. Diſheartened by this intelligence, he diſpatched repeated meſſengers to his conſort, with propoſals of accommodation; and as not one of them came back, he at length determined to take refuge in Cronſtadt †; a meaſure which, if he had earlier embraced, might have given a favourable turn to his affairs.

Soon after his firſt arrival at Peterhof, he had diſpatched general Devier and another officer to Cronſtadt to reconnoitre the place; the general was admitted without difficulty, and the officer returned to Peterhof with the account that no news of the revolution had reached Cronſtadt, that Devier was preparing for his immediate reception,

* According to Mr. Keith, the perſon who met him was the ſervant of Count Alexandrovitch Narischkin.

† A town upon a ſmall iſland in the Gulf of Finland, where the Ruſſian navy is ſtationed. See the deſcription in the chapter on the Ruſſian navy. Book vi. ch. 2.

that

that His Majeſty would find there an aſylum, where the Empreſs's troops could not penetrate, and from whence he might, in caſe of extreme neceſſity, eſcape by ſea to his dominions in Holſtein. In conſequence of this repreſentation, the Emperor ordered the Holſtein troops, who were on their march to Peterhof, to return to Oranienbaum; but, by an unaccountable fatality, protracted his departure till near midnight. On his arrival at the harbour, the imperial boat was refuſed admittance by the centinels, who objected to the lateneſs of the hour; and when it was repreſented to them that the Emperor was on board, they ſtill perſiſted in their refuſal, and threatened to fire from the batteries if the veſſel did not inſtantly retire.

This unexpected reception was occaſioned by the following circumſtances. General Devier, on his arrival at Cronſtadt, took the command of the fortreſs; perceiving that the garriſon had no knowledge of the revolution, he was unwilling to give alarm by ſpreading the report, and thought it more adviſable to wait for the Emperor's appearance before he attempted to ſecure the fidelity of the garriſon, or iſſued orders hoſtile to the party of the Empreſs. During this interval, admiral Taliezen came to Cronſtadt; he was diſpatched from Peterſburgh by the Empreſs, who had forgotten, in the firſt hurry of the revolution, to ſecure that important fortreſs; and was now ſent, if not too late *, for that purpoſe. Being admitted without oppoſition, and perceiving the ſituation of affairs, he inſtantly commanded the arreſt of General Devier, which was inſtantly obeyed; the marines and ſailors being more inclined to execute the orders of an admiral than thoſe of a general. Having ſecured the general's perſon, he announced to the garriſon the revolution at Peterſburgh: the Emperor, he ſaid, is depoſed; the army and ſenate have declared for Catharine, and all oppoſition will be fruitleſs and dangerous. Theſe arguments, joined to a large quantity of ſpirituous liquors, produced the deſired effect; and Catharine was proclaimed Empreſs. Thus a place of ſo much importance as to have delayed, if not prevented, the final ſucceſs of the inſurrection, was ſeized by admiral Taliezen without oppoſition.

On this diſappointment, Peter's only remaining reſource was to crowd ſail for the Gulf of Bothnia, and ſeek an aſylum in Sweden; from whence he might penetrate to his army in Pomerania, or to his dominions in Holſtein. But it was the fate of the unfortunate monarch to act no deciſive part in this important criſis †: ſtill flattering

* Conſidering the great importance of Cronſtadt, this neglect ſeems hardly credible; but I was informed from very good authority, that ſo late as ten in the morning no ſtep had been taken at Peterſburgh towards obtaining poſſeſſion of that fortreſs. About that time a private perſon mentioned it by chance to one of the principal inſurgents, who, without delay, acquainted the Empreſs. She, conſcious of its great importance, immediately diſpatched admiral Taliezen. It was paſt eleven before he left Peterſburgh, and as he went by water, the diſtance being twenty miles, it muſt have been paſt three before he arrived at Cronſtadt. The diſtance from Peterhof to the ſame place being only ſix miles, the Emperor might have arrived there long before Taliezen.

† A note from the Earl of Buckinghamſhire to the Earl of Hardwicke, will ſhew that the misfortunes of the Emperor aroſe from his want of reſolution as well as from treachery.

April 16, 1766.

Many ladies, ſome of whom were wives to perſons engaged in the conſpiracy, attended the Emperor to Cronſtadt, and their tears and terrors added to his irreſolution. I have had account of what paſſed from almoſt all of them, and they were too much frightened to be conſiſtent in their relations. In two points they all agreed, his timidity, and the reproaches made him by his miſtreſs, for not having followed her advice, and prevented all miſchief by confining the Empreſs. One expreſſion they in general ſay ſhe made uſe of. "Thou fool, (Durach) had you complied with my requeſt, and ſhut up this bad woman, the ruin of this day had never fallen upon us." Panin and Villebois were the only men of conſequence amongſt them; for, notwithſtanding all the aſſertions to the contrary, I know the Hetman did not engage in the deſign till the morning it took effect, and even then he was not without difficulty perſuaded to act the part he did.

himſelf with the hopes of a reconciliation with the Empreſs, and prevailed upon by the cries and entreaties of the women who were on board, he returned to Oranienbaum, where he arrived at four in the morning. When Peter quitted that palace on the preceding morning, he was dreſſed in his Pruſſian regimentals; on his return he was in his Ruſſian uniform; he now ſaw his error in deſpiſing the prejudices of his ſubjects, but it was too late. Little circumſtances of this kind are not unworthy of the hiſtorian's notice, as great events frequently turn upon them; and they often diſcover the true character of the principal perſonages concerned in the ſcene.

On his return to Oranienbaum, he retired alone, and in great agitation, to his houſe in the fortreſs, leaving Marſhal Munic and the reſt of the court in the palace. At ten he again made his appearance in a more compoſed ſtate of mind. The Holſtein guards no ſooner beheld their royal maſter, than they all * crowded round him; ſome ſtruggled to kiſs his hand, others hung about his perſon; many knelt down; ſome even proſtrated themſelves before him; all ſhedding tears of affection, and in terms of the ſtrongeſt attachment conjuring him to lead them againſt the Empreſs, offering to ſacrifice their lives in his defence. Peter, animated by theſe affecting marks of zeal and fidelity, caught their ſpirit for a moment, and cried out, "To arms!" but the tears of the women, and his own irreſolution, ſoon damped this momentary fit of courage, and he again reconciled himſelf to ſubmiſſion.

Early in the morning he diſpatched Major-General Iſmailof, in whom he repoſed implicit confidence, to the Empreſs, with a letter, offering to reſign his crown, on condition that he ſhould be permitted to retire into Holſtein, with Elizabeth Vorontzof and Godovitch. Iſmailof found the Empreſs in the convent of Strelna, and was immediately admitted to her preſence. The great policy on the ſide of Catharine now conſiſted in obtaining poſſeſſion of the Emperor's perſon without effuſion of blood; it was her object, therefore, to amuſe him, without driving him to deſperate meaſures; for it was yet in his power to head his Holſtein troops, and defend his life to the laſt extremity; or he might be able to make his eſcape, and involve the empire in all the horrors of a long civil war. The judicious manner in which ſhe conducted this delicate affair, ſhews her no leſs able in the arts of negociation than in the ſpirit of enterprize.

She calmly repreſented to Iſmailof the madneſs of oppoſing her, now in full poſſeſſion of ſovereign authority; ſhe pointed to her troops, who were poſted in large bodies upon the adjacent grounds, adding, that reſiſtance would only draw on Peter and his party the vengeance of an enraged army; ſhe propoſed, therefore, that he ſhould himſelf repair to Peterhof, where the terms of his abdication might be adjuſted. Iſmailof, finding the tide of ſucceſs on the ſide of the Empreſs, and perceiving the clergy, army, and principal nobles engaged in her cauſe, was convinced that nothing was left to Peter but ſubmiſſion. Seduced by the inſinuating eloquence, engaging addreſs, and promiſes of the Empreſs, he undertook to perſuade his unhappy maſter, by immediate ſubmiſſion, to ſave an effuſion of blood, which could be productive of no effectual advantage to his cauſe. With this view he returned to Oranienbaum between ten and eleven, and found the Emperor in the palace with Munic, Elizabeth Vorontzof, Godovitch, and others, anxiouſly expecting his arrival. Having retired into another apartment, the reſult of their conference was, that in leſs than an hour the Emperor, with Elizabeth Vorontzof, Godovitch, and Iſmailof, entered the carriage in which the latter had returned to Ora-

* I was informed of theſe circumſtances from the intendant of Oranienbaum; he ſhed tears while he deſcribed the animated behaviour of the Holſtein troops. He ſaid he never witneſſed a more affecting ſcene.

nienbaum.

nienbaum. Peter quitted the palace without a ſingle attendant; but he had ſcarcely proceeded a mile, before a corps of Huſſars, of the Empreſs's party, ſurrounded the carriage, and accompanied it to Peterhof, where he arrived at half paſt twelve. He was immediately ſeparated from his companions. The Empreſs declined a perſonal conference; but ſent Count Panin, who was admitted alone. What paſſed during this awful interview between that nobleman and his depoſed ſovereign, is not, nor probably ever will be, diſcloſed to the public; but nothing can convey a ſtronger picture of the Emperor's weakneſs and puſillanimity, than the abdication in form which was the reſult of their converſation *.

"During the ſhort period which I have reigned over the Ruſſian empire, I have found from experience, that my abilities are inſufficient to ſupport ſo great a burden; and that I am not capable of directing the Ruſſian empire in any way, and much leſs with a deſpotic power. I alſo acknowledge that I have been the cauſe of all the interior troubles, which, had they continued much longer, would have overturned the empire, and have covered me with eternal diſgrace. Having ſeriouſly weighed theſe circumſtances, I declare, without conſtraint, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the Ruſſian empire, and to the whole world, that I for ever renounce the government of the ſaid empire, never deſiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an abſolute ſovereign, or under any other form of government. I declare alſo, that I will never attempt to re-aſſume the government. As a pledge of this, I ſwear ſincerely before God, and all the world, to this preſent renunciation, written and ſigned with my own hand,

PETER.

"June 29, O. S. 1762."

Having ſigned this abdication, he was conveyed in the evening to Robſcha, a ſmall imperial palace twenty miles from Peterhof; and the Empreſs returned about the ſame time to Peterſburgh. At ſeven ſhe made her triumphant entry on horſeback, amidſt continued huzzas; the ſtreets were filled with a prodigious concourſe of people, who were drawn up in lines, and kiſſed her hands, which ſhe held out to them as ſhe paſſed along. A great number of prieſts were aſſembled upon this occaſion about the avenues of the palace; as ſhe rode through their ranks, ſhe ſtooped down to ſalute the cheeks of the principal clergy, while they were kiſſing her hand; a mode of ſalutation in Ruſſia, expreſſive of the higheſt deference.

The firſt hurry of the revolution was no ſooner paſt, and the ſpirit of revolt had ſcarce time to ſubſide, before many repented of having deſerted their ſovereign. The populace, always prone to change, began to pity their dethroned monarch, and loſt ſight of his defects in the contemplation of his calamity; they regarded him no longer in the light of a miſguided ruler, but as an unfortunate Prince, driven from the height of power to the moſt abject ſtate, and ſubject to the horrors of perpetual impriſonment. Peter, notwithſtanding his violence and incapacity, poſſeſſed ſeveral qualities of a popular nature, and was greatly beloved by thoſe who had acceſs to his perſon. During the Empreſs's march to Peterhof, ſeveral ſoldiers manifeſted ſtrong ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction; ſome openly murmured at being led againſt their ſovereign, and had Peter, on the firſt news of the revolution, made his appearance in perſon, many would have deſerted to his ſtandard. This ſpirit of diſcontent was obſerved, and ſecretly fomented by the

* I have ſufficient reaſon to believe that this abdication was made at Peterhof; if, however, as ſome perſons with leſs probability have aſſerted, he ſigned it at Oranienbaum, before he was in the hands of his enemies, his puſillanimity admits of no palliation.

partizans of the Emperor; the tide of popularity was even turning in his favour, and a new riſing hourly expected: at this criſis the deceaſe of Peter delivered Ruſſia from the impending horrors of a civil war *. This event happened at Robſcha on the 6th of July, O. S. on the ſeventh day of his confinement, and in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His body was brought to the convent of St. Alexander Nevſki at Peterſburgh, and there lay in ſtate; where perſons of all ranks were admitted, according to the cuſtom of Ruſſia, to kiſs the hand of the deceaſed. His remains were then buried in the church of the convent, and the place of the ſepulchre was not diſtinguiſhed either with a tomb or inſcription †.

The death of Peter was not followed by any of thoſe tragical ſcenes which had hitherto diſgraced the revolutions in Ruſſia: not one of the nobles were ſent into Siberia; there were no public or private executions; even the perſonal enemies of the Empreſs were forgiven. Marſhal Munic had offered to ſupport the Emperor at the hazard of his own perſon. Catharine mildly inquired the motives of ſuch an oppoſition to her intereſts. "I was at that period," replied Munic, with a ſpirit which twenty years impriſonment could not ſubdue, "engaged by the ſtrongeſt ties of duty and gratitude to exert myſelf in behalf of my late maſter: Your Majeſty is now my ſovereign, and you will experience the ſame fidelity." The Empreſs, ſtruck with the magnanimity of his anſwer, with equal greatneſs of mind repoſed in him the moſt unbounded confidence, which was juſtified by his ſubſequent conduct. As ſoon as the danger of a new inſurrection was diſpelled, Count Vorontzof was releaſed, and afterwards employed. Elizabeth Vorontzof experienced from the Empreſs no expreſſion of either jealouſy or reſentment; her perſon was untouched, and ſhe even retained, undiminiſhed, all the fruits of Peter's bounty. Catharine, with peculiar magnanimity, forgave the indignities which ſhe had received at her ſuggeſtion, and even her preſumption in aſpiring to a participation of the crown. She was permitted to eſpouſe a private perſon, and ſtill remains at Peterſburgh, a living monument of the Empreſs's unparalleled lenity ‡. Godovitch, who was particularly obnoxious to the Empreſs, was allowed to retire to his native country §, and the Holſtein guards, who had importuned the Emperor to lead them againſt his conſort, were not treated with the leaſt ſeverity; thoſe who choſe to inliſt were incorporated in the different regiments, and the others withdrew themſelves unmoleſted from Ruſſia. Prince George of Holſtein, uncle to Peter, and not unacquainted with the deſign of arreſting the Empreſs, was detained a priſoner in his own palace during the progreſs of the revolution; but was afterwards promoted to the rank of field-marſhal, and appointed adminiſtrator of Holſtein during the minority of the Great Duke.

* There can be no doubt but this unfortunate monarch was put to death; but in what manner the deed was perpetrated, or by whom, no authentic account has ever tranſpired. Nor is it a matter of wonder that ſo dark a tranſaction ſhould be involved in the deepeſt myſtery. Public report deſignated Count Alexèy Orlof, and Prince Baratinſki, as the principal actors in this horrid tragedy. I am, however, firmly convinced in my own opinion, that the death of the Emperor was not perpetrated by the command, nor even with the knowledge of the Empreſs.

† On the acceſſion of Paul, as I have before obſerved, his remains were re-interred with imperial honours in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul.

‡ I was often in her company during my ſecond reſidence at Peterſburgh. She was then in an advanced age, and poſſeſſed no remains of elegance or beauty.

§ The Empreſs was ſo much pleaſed with the fidelity of Godovitch to his unfortunate maſter, that ſhe afterwards recalled him into Ruſſia, and employed him.

Catharine

Catharine was in the thirty-fourth year of her age when she ascended the throne; and the success of this revolution * was no less owing to her own personal

* Gregory Orlof, who is mentioned in this account as one of the principal agents of the revolution, was aid-de-camp to Count Peter Schewalof, and bore an inferior rank in the army, when his youth and comeliness captivated Catharine, then Grand Duchess, soon after the recal of her favourite Count Poniatowski. Even at this early period she did not attempt to conceal her attachment from those in whom she reposed any confidence. Pointing him out one day to Mr. Wroughton, "Do you see," she said, "that young man? He has had the audacity to make love to me." This intrigue greatly contributed to facilitate the revolution which placed her on the throne. Orlof himself was a man of a determined and enterprising spirit, and had considerable influence among the officers and soldiers of his own regiment; his attempts were also supported by his four brothers, Alexèy, Vlodomir, Feodor, and Ivan, but particularly by Alexèy, who was in the guards, and was one of the most active agents in the revolution.

It was principally owing to the suggestions of Orlof that Catharine ventured to assume the authority as Empress, and not as regent. He was little known before the revolution, and Mr. Keith thus mentions his first public appearance at Court. "He wore the ribband of St. Alexander, and the key of chamberlain, and is a good looking man, with a very modest behaviour. I could not recollect having ever seen him before." He was afterwards rapidly promoted to the highest honours and offices of government, both civil and military, and was created Prince of the German empire. He gained such an ascendency over his royal mistress, that she was only prevented from marrying him by the strong remonstrances of Count Panin, and Marshal Razomofsky.

Orlof gradually diminished the affection of the Empress by the coarseness of his manners, his gross inattention, and frequent infidelities. During his journey to Moscow in 1771, to check the progress of the plague, his enemies availed themselves of his absence to undermine his influence. Informed of these cabals, he suddenly returned to Petersburgh, and regained, by increased assiduity, his former ascendancy, though he did not wholly recover her affections.

Deeming his power too strongly rooted to be again shaken, he repaired to Fotzani in 1772, to negotiate a peace with the Turks, where he displayed all the pomp of imperial magnificence. This absence gave success to the cabals of his enemies, and his disgrace was announced by the introduction of a new favourite, Vassilchikef, at the instigation of Count Panin and Marshal Romanzof.

With a view to crush this cabal by his presence, Orlof instantly broke up the congress of Fotzani, and travelled with such expedition as to perform a journey of one thousand eight hundred miles in nine days and nights. Arriving at the gates of Petersburgh, he was refused admittance, and received an order from the Empress to repair to his country house at Gatchina, under pretence of performing quarantine. Still, however, he flattered himself with hopes of being recalled, and when undeceived by a letter from the Empress, forbidding him to appear at court, was so much affected that he fainted away.

Being afterwards ordered to Revel, he passed through Petersburgh, and without previous notice, called upon his brother Alexèy, while he was at dinner with a large company. A gentleman who was present described the Prince as extremely agitated; after embracing his brothers, he sat down to table, started up, resumed his seat, again rose, whispered his brothers, and retired with them into another apartment. On the following day he departed for Revel, and soon after set out on his travels; but he had scarcely reached Dresden before the Empress recalled him to Petersburgh, and offered him his former apartments in the palace, which he declined, probably at the instigation of his brothers, and resumed his journey.

He afterwards espoused his niece, and was so much affected with her death, that he lost his senses, and died in a state of insanity.

By Prince Orlof the Empress had a son, whom I saw at the corps de cadets, where he was educated; he appeared to me, in 1779, to be about seventeen years of age. He lodged in the house of Ribas, the principal manager under M. de Betskoi. He passed at first for the son of a gentleman of the name of Schwerin, but assumed that of Bobrinski, from an estate which the Empress purchased for him. He was apprised of his origin from the high marks of distinction which he received. He was often admitted to the Empress. Prince Orlof called him his son, and carried his portrait in the lid of his snuff-box. A Russian nobleman told me that he once took up the box by chance, and knew the picture from its striking resemblance. He ventured, however, to ask whom it represented, and Princess Orlof, who was present, replied with a smile, "It is my portrait in a man's dress, before I was married." Bobrinski afterwards travelled, and I heard of him when I was at Geneva, in 1784.

The Empress always retained a high degree of regard for the memory of Prince Orlof, and treated his brothers with great marks of favour and confidence. The family received estates, containing forty-five thousand peasants, and to the amount of 3,000,000l. sterling in money, houses, plate, and jewels.

spirit

ſpirit and engaging addreſs, than to the zeal of her party, and the popularity of her cauſe *.

CHAP. XIV.—*Family and Birth of Ivan.—Emperor on the Death of Anne.—Depoſed by Elizabeth.—Impriſonment at Riga, Dunamund, Oranienburgh, and Schluſſelburgh.—Deſcription of his Apartment.—Mode of Life.—Intellects.—Ferocity.—Viſited by Peter. III. —Removal to Kexholm.—Brought back to Schluſſelburgh.—Attempt of Mirovitch in his Favour.—Death of Ivan.—Trial and Execution of Mirovitch.—Puniſhment of his Accomplices.—Suſpicion of a Colluſion between the Court and Mirovitch.—Refuted.—Account of Ivan's Parents and Family.—Biographical Anecdotes of Count Munic.*

Ivan, the unfortunate ſubject of the preſent narrative, was lineally deſcended, on the female ſide, from the Tzar Ivan Alexievitch, elder brother of Peter the Great †; and was ſon of Anne of Mecklenburgh, by Anthony Ulric Prince of Brunſwick. He was born on the 4th of Auguſt 1740, created Great Duke by his aunt the Empreſs Anne, and at her demiſe, on the 28th of October, ſucceeded to the throne, from which he was depoſed by Elizabeth on the 6th of December, 1741.

* This was the firſt circumſtantial account ever publiſhed of this extraordinary revolution; and I have the ſatisfaction to find, from the peruſal of ſeveral documents which have ſince fallen into my poſſeſſion, and of the various narratives which have appeared ſince the death of the Empreſs, that no material fact has been juſtly controverted. This Tour being publiſhed during the life of the Empreſs, and of the principal perſons concerned in the revolution, delicacy prevented me from acknowledging the ſources from which I derived the principal information; but I now have it in my power to diſcloſe many of my authorities.

I was principally indebted to Count Solmes, the Pruſſian envoy, who had reſided at Peterſburgh ſince 1763, and collected various anecdotes relative to the life and acceſſion of the Empreſs. From theſe materials he formed an intereſting narrative, which he read to me, during my continuance at Peterſburgh.

I alſo received from Muller, the celebrated hiſtorian, much intereſting information, as well as from Staehlin, counſellor of ſtate, and author of ſeveral valuable publications, and from ſeveral Britiſh merchants, who witneſſed the revolution. Beſides theſe, ſome anecdotes were communicated to me by ſeveral Ruſſian nobles and officers, ſome of whom were with Peter at Oranienbaum, and others who eſpouſed the party of the Empreſs. Theſe different accounts I noted down, and afterwards compared and combined them, to form my narrative.

During my ſtay at Warſaw, many circumſtances were communicated by Sir Thomas Wroughton, who long reſided at Peterſburgh. He was the intimate friend of the King of Poland, when Count Poniatowſki, and poſſeſſed the implicit confidence of the Empreſs.

After my return, I had the good fortune to obtain from the late Earl of Hardwicke, two curious diſpatches from Mr. Keith, the Engliſh miniſter at St. Peterſburgh, to the ſecretary of ſtate, and a private note from the Earl of Buckinghamſhire, who ſucceeded Mr. Keith. This note I have printed in this chapter, and have given in the Appendix the letter of Mr. Keith as an authentic document.

Rulhiere has written the hiſtory of this revolution, which was long anxiouſly expected but was not publiſhed till after the death of the Empreſs. It contains many intereſting anecdotes, which could only have been collected by a perſon who was at Peterſburgh, at the time of this event; but they are blended with vague accounts and coffee-houſe ſtories.

† IVAN ALEXIEVITCH.

CATHARINE. ANNE, Empreſs of Ruſſia.

ANNE, married to Anthony Ulric, Prince of Brunſwick.

IVAN.

See Genealogical Table of the Houſe of Romanof, chap. iv. of this volume.

The

The ſoldiers ſent to arreſt the young Emperor, were ordered to ſteal ſoftly into his apartments, and if aſleep, not to diſturb him. As he was ſlumbering by the ſide of his nurſe, they ſtood round the cradel in reſpectful ſilence, at leaſt an hour before the Prince opened his eyes, then the ſoldiers diſputing who ſhould carry him, the child was terrified, and cried; they immediately deſiſted, and permitted the nurſe to approach, who covered him with a cloke, and accompanied him in a ſledge to the palace. Elizabeth took the child, kiſſed it, and while it was yet in her arms, a body of ſoldiers paſſing by, ſhouted, "Long live Elizabeth!" The infant, pleaſed with the acclamations, ſtretched out his little hand, and ſmiling, tried to imitate the ſhouts of the ſoldiers; on which Elizabeth exclaimed, "Innocent creature! thou perceiveſt not that thou art endeavouring to ſpeak againſt thyſelf *."

It is difficult to trace Ivan diſtinctly from the time of his depoſition to his impriſonment at Schluſſelburgh; but the following account ſeems the moſt probable. He and his parents were firſt confined in the fortreſs of Riga, a year and a half; removed from thence to Dunamund †, and afterwards to Oranienburgh, a ſmall town in the province of Vorentz. Here they remained two years under the care of Baron Korf, who behaved to his priſoners with great humanity. From Oranienburgh the whole family was tranferred to Kolmogori; but Ivan was impriſoned there for ſeveral years ſeparately, and unknown to his parents.

Buſching ſays, that when his parents were ſent to Kolmogori, Ivan, then in the eighth year of his age, was left at Oranienburgh; and that ſome time afterwards a certain monk contrived to releaſe him from priſon, and convey him as far as Smolenſko, where they were ſurprized and taken ‡. He was alſo confined in a convent ſituated on an iſland in the lake of Valdai, not far from the high road between Peterſburgh and Moſcow. The time of his impriſonment in this convent, and his ſituation until his removal to Schluſſelburg, are circumſtances which I was not able to aſcertain: but it is not ſurprizing, that there ſhould be much obſcurity in the hiſtory of a ſtate priſoner immured from his infancy.

During the laſt eight years of his life, Ivan was impriſoned in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh, whither he was brought in 1756, in the ſixteenth year of his age. In the ſame year he was ſecretly conveyed, by Count Peter Shuvalof, grand maſter of the artillery, to the houſe of his couſin Ivan Shuvalof, at Peterſburgh, where Elizabeth ſaw and ſpoke to him without making herſelf known. It is ſaid that ſhe burſt into tears at this interview. On the enſuing day the Prince was re-conducted to his priſon.

When I viſited Schluſſelburgh, I was admitted into the fortreſs, but was not ſuffered to enter the room in which he had been confined; yet as I examined one that was ſimilar, and have converſed with ſeveral perſons who have ſeen it, I am able to give the following deſcription; it is ſituated towards the fartheſt extremity of the corridore, deſcribed on a former occaſion §; is about twenty-feet ſquare, and vaulted; the walls are of bare ſtone, and the floor of brick. The window was not cloſed, like thoſe of the adjacent cells, but glazed, and covered with a kind of plaiſter, which, while it admitted

* Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. vol. i. p. 374. † Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 315.

‡ Buſ. Hiſ. Mag. vi. p. 529. There is an inaccuracy in Buſching's account, probably only a falſe print, viz. that he was in the eight year of his age when his parents were ſent to Kolomogori; for in March 1746, the time of Anne's death, he was only ſix years and ſeven months old: and ſome time muſt be allowed for conveying his parents from Oranienburgh to Kolmogori. Buſching was informed, by Baron Korf, that they were all confined together at Oranienburgh; and I was told by an Engliſh gentleman, who had been at Kolmogori, that Ivan had been there impriſoned for a ſhort time.

§ Chap. vii.

the

the light, could not be ſeen through*. There was no other furniture than a truckle-bed, a table, and ſome chairs. In this diſmal apartment he was immured during the ſpace of eight years, excepting when he was occaſionally conducted to the interior fortreſs †, which communicated at top with the air; but in the enjoyment of which the apprehenſions of his eſcape rendered it impolitic to gratify him, as often as humanity could have wiſhed.

With reſpect to his intellects, as he had been impriſoned from the ſecond year of his age, his ideas of courſe were few, and his knowledge exceedingly limited, and though not abſolutely an ideot, he diſcovered occaſional ſymptoms of inſanity. He could neither read nor write; he ſpoke the Ruſſian language, and knew a few German words, which he muſt have learned when almoſt a child from his parents; he was rather inarticulate in his ſpeech, and when agitated, ſtammered exceedingly ‡. He was not ignorant of his deſcent, and that he had once been Emperor. He was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the hopes of re-aſcending the throne, uſed frequently to allude to his behaviour when that event ſhould take place, and whenever he was roufed to paſſion, would threaten to puniſh thoſe who provoked him. He was exceedingly choleric and ferocious, and would rage almoſt to madneſs whenever he was intoxicated. For ſome time he was improperly indulged in every article for his table; he was ſerved in plate, had a great variety of diſhes, and all kinds of wine. But to prevent his frequent exceſſes, theſe luxuries were judiciouſly diminiſhed, though his maintenance was ſtill amply provided for by the allowance of 20l. a month §.

He would change his dreſs twenty times a day, and walk about his room, admiring himſelf with puerile ſatisfaction. In regard to his religious opinions, he had a faint knowledge of the Greek perſuaſion, and uſed frequently to pray in the moſt fervent manner. Once a year he was accuſtomed to confeſs, and receive the ſacrament, and often boaſted of obtaining revelations from the angel Gabriel.

He certainly knew that the Empreſs Elizabeth was ſeated upon that throne from which he had been depoſed; but it does not appear that he was ever acquainted with her death, and the ſubſequent changes. Peter III. ſoon after his acceſſion, came to Schluſſelburgh, accompanied by Godovitch, Leff Alexandrevitch Nariſhkin, Volkof, and Baron Korf. In croſſing the arm of the Neva to the iſland, the boat which conveyed Peter and his ſuite ſtruck againſt a fragment of the ſtone, and was nearly overſet. On land-

* In ſome recent publications, the apartment of Ivan is erroneouſly deſcribed as a caſemate of the fortreſs, the very hole of which was bricked up.

† See the account of Schluſſelburgh, chap. vii.

‡ As Caſtera, in his life of Catharine the Second, and others on the authority of M. de Segur, ſome time French ambaſſador at the court of Peterſburgh, have aſſerted that Ivan was not deficient in ſenſe, did not ſtammer, and was capable of reading and writing, I deem it neceſſary to mention the authorities from which I derived my information. 1. Count Solmes, who was at Peterſburgh before the death of Ivan. 2. Mr. Lieman, a Dane, who had been long reſident in England, was, during my travels in Ruſſia, ſettled at Schluſſelburgh, where he had eſtabliſhed a manufactory for printing cottons, and was in habits of intimacy with Berednikof, the governor of the fortreſs. 3. Berednikof himſelf, whom Mr. Lieman at my requeſt invited to dinner. 4. A Ruſſian nobleman of undoubted veracity, who received the account from Volkof the counſellor of ſtate, ſent by Peter the Third to Schluſſelburgh, to diſcover the real character of Ivan. 5. Lef Alexandrevitch Nariſhkin, great chamberlain to the Empreſs, who was preſent at the interview between Peter and Ivan ——In my ſecond viſit to Peterſburgh, he confirmed my narrative, and even expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the accuracy of my ſtatement. From theſe authorities, and others which I am not at preſent at liberty to mention, I compiled the whole of my narrative.

It is barely ſufficient to notice the improbability of another aſſertion advanced by the biographer of Catharine, that Peter intended to nominate Ivan his ſucceſſor, and had even brought him to Peterſburgh for that purpoſe, where he is ſaid to have been at the time of the revolution.

§ An ample allowance in Ruſſia, where proviſions were ſo cheap.

ing, the Emperor ſent one of his ſuite to the governor, with an order of admiſſion ſigned by himſelf, was immediately received within the fortreſs, and conducted to the Prince's apartment. Peter for a ſhort time remained concealed, while his nobles and attendants converſed with Ivan; but he ſoon joined the company, drank a diſh of coffee, and entered into diſcourſe with the Prince.

I endeavoured to collect ſome intelligence of what paſſed at this conference; but the information I received, even from perſons of good authority, was extremely various and contradictory. Inſtead, therefore, of detailing uncertain and diſcordant anecdotes, I ſhall ſubmit to the reader a tranſlation from Buſching's account of this interview, which muſt be deemed authentic, becauſe he received it from Baron Korf, who was preſent.

"In March 1762, Peter III. deſirous of ſeeing Ivan, ſet off early in the morning for Schluſſelburgh, accompanied by Baron Korf, Leff Alexandrievitch Nariſhkin, and Volkof. He travelled with poſt-horſes, and kept his intention ſo ſecret, that it was noon before his uncle Prince George of Holſtein was made acquainted with his departure. Peter aſſumed the character of an officer; and having ſhewn the Governor of Schluſſelburgh an order for admiſſion, previouſly ſigned by himſelf, went, with his attendants, to the apartment of Prince Ivan, which he found a wretched place, provided with the meaneſt furniture. His clothes were clean and in good condition, but extremely coarſe, and he was remarkably neat in his perſon, as well as in his linen. He had the appearance of an ideot, and ſpoke in a confuſed manner. One moment he affirmed that he was the Emperor Ivan, and the next, that the ſoul of that Emperor, who was no longer alive, had migrated into his body. On being aſked what induced him to imagine that he was an Emperor, he replied, 'he learnt it from his parents and the ſoldiers who guarded him.' Being queſtioned whether he recollected his parents, he anſwered in the affirmative; and then bitterly lamented, that the Empreſs Elizabeth had always kept them, as well as himſelf, in a wretched ſtate; adding, he well remembered that he and they were formerly under the care of an officer, who was the only perſon that had ever ſhewn them any tenderneſs or humanity. Korf inſtantly demanding, whether he ſtill ſhould know this officer, 'I could not recollect him at preſent,' anſwered Ivan, 'as it is ſo long ago ſince I ſaw him, and I was then a child, but his name I have not forgotten, it is Korf.' The General was greatly affected. Ivan had heard of the Great Duke and his wife*; and as he repeatedly ſaid that he hoped again to be Emperor, he was aſked in what manner he would then behave to them; 'I would have them both executed,' returned the Prince. Peter was much ſhocked; he determined, however†, to order the conſtruction of a ſmall houſe in the fortreſs for the unhappy priſoner, and propoſed to treat him in a more humane manner. Prince George of Holſtein even adviſed Peter to reſtore the Prince to liberty, to ſend him into Germany, together with his father, Anthony Ulric, and the reſt of his family, and allow them a handſome penſion; but the Emperor did not ſeem to approve the advice ‡."

To this curious account I am enabled to add an authentic anecdote. Peter had not been long with Ivan before he became diſpirited and ſuddenly indiſpoſed; he accordingly quitted the room, and went out into the air. "I feel myſelf now," ſaid he, to

* Namely, Peter and Catharine.

† We may collect from theſe expreſſions, that Buſching ſuppoſed the houſe within the ſmall fortreſs to have been conſtructed for Ivan, and not for the Empreſs; but he was probably unacquainted with the circumſtance, that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June; this removal was perhaps occaſioned by the deſign which the Emperor had formed, of confining the Empreſs in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburgh. When Peter viſited Schluſſelburgh the ſhell of the houſe was nearly finiſhed.

‡ See Geſchichte des Ruſſiſchen Kayſers Johann. des Dritten. Buſ. H. M. VI. p. 530, & ſeq.

one of his ſuite, "much refreſhed; I was indeed, exceedingly ſhocked, and very near fainting." He then returned into the apartment, and renewed his converſation with Ivan, with whom he ſtaid near an hour.

Peter, it is ſaid, propoſed to releaſe Ivan from his impriſonment; and as he had conceived an idea that, perhaps, policy had induced the Prince to counterfeit idiotiſm, for the purpoſe of diſcovering the truth, he ordered a confidential perſon * to remain for ſome days in Ivan's apartment. This perſon ſoon perceived that his behaviour was not the effect of diſſimulation; he at times talked wildly, as if he was really diſordered in his underſtanding; and frequently with raptures aſſerted, that the angel Gabriel appeared to him in viſions, and brought him revelations from heaven. Being aſked by this perſon, why he imagined that he had once been Emperor, he replied, "I was told ſo by one of my guards, who looking ſtedfaſtly at me, burſt ſuddenly into tears; on my demanding the reaſon, he informed me, that he, as well as the whole nation, had formerly taken the oath of allegiance to me as Emperor; and he then gave me the account of my dethronement, and of the acceſſion of Elizabeth."

Peter, fully convinced that Ivan's underſtanding was diſordered, ſoon relinquiſhed all thoughts of releaſing him; and afterwards ordered him to be ſent by water to Kexholm, a fortreſs ſituated in a ſmall iſland where the Voxen flows into the lake of Ladoga. He was conveyed acroſs that lake in a ſmall open boat to a galliot, which lay at anchor to receive him at ſome diſtance from Schluſſelburgh. The wind being boiſterous, and the water extremely agitated, he at firſt trembled with fear, but in a ſhort time became compoſed, although there aroſe a violent ſtorm, which the watermen could ſcarcely weather. The waves indeed ran ſo high, that the boat was overſet, and the Prince was not ſaved without the greateſt difficulty. In the month of Auguſt, Ivan was again removed from the fortreſs of Kexholm to that of Schluſſelburgh, by order of the Empreſs Catharine. The carriage in which he was conducted breaking down near the village of Schluſſelburgh, he was let through the palace covered with a cloak, and thus ſettled again in his former habitation †.

This unhappy ſtate-priſoner was detained in the ſame fortreſs until his deceaſe, the morning of the 5th ‡ of July, 1764. Two officers, Captain Vlaſief and Lieutenant Tchekin, were appointed for his guard, and ſtationed in his apartment. In the fortreſs was a company, conſiſting of near an hundred ſoldiers, of whom eight or ten ſtood centinel in the corridore cloſe to the door of his room, and within the paſſage leading to it; the reſt were poſted in the guard houſe, at the gate, and in different parts of the fortreſs, under the command of the Governor. At that time the regiment of Smolenſko was quartered in the village of Schluſſelburgh, and every week an hundred men relieved the guard in the fortreſs. Vaſſili Mirovitch, an under-lieutenant in this regiment, by attempting to releaſe Ivan, was the cauſe of his death. He was grandſon of the rebel of the ſame name, who followed Mazeppa Hetman of the Coſſacs, when he revolted from Peter the Great, and joined Charles XII. in his ill-concerted expedition into the Ukraine. Mirovitch had applied to the Empreſs to reſtore the eſtates of his grandfather, which had been confiſcated after the battle of Pultava; but meeting with a refuſal, as well in this as in other applications, he formed the deſperate reſolution of delivering Ivan, and replacing him on the throne. Being, however, without fortune or connexions, the means he was enabled to adopt were inadequate to the raſhneſs of the enterprize.

* Volkof, who was afterwards governor of Peterſburgh.
† Theſe two curious circumſtances I received from Berednikoff himſelf.
‡ O. S. 16th N. S.

A few

A few months before the purpoſed time of executing this daring enterprize, he communicated it at Caſan to Apollon Uſhakof, a lieutenant in the regiment of Veliki-Luki. Theſe two aſſociates repaired to the church of the Virgin Mary, where they took an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity on the altar, and mixing fanaticiſm with treaſon, invoked the Almighty to aſſiſt and ſanctify their deſigns. They alſo joined in drawing up a manifeſto, which they purpoſed to diſtribute as ſoon as Ivan ſhould be reſtored to liberty. The execution of this enterprize was delayed until ſummer, when the Empreſs was expected to be abſent from the capital on an expedition into Livonia. Soon afterwards Mirovitch joined his regiment, which was quartered at Schluſſelburgh; but his confederate Uſhakof was accidentally drowned, on the 29th of March, in his journey to Smolenſko.

Mirovitch, deprived of his aſſociate, does not appear to have found any other perſon in whom he could repoſe equal confidence. He ſounded, however, Tikon Caſatkin, a ſervant of the court; and artfully endeavoured to infuſe into his mind rebellious principles, in order to make him, at a proper ſeaſon, the inſtrument of his purpoſes. But he was ſomewhat more explicit with Simeon Tchevaridſef, lieutenant in the corps of artillery, to whom he communicated, firſt by dark and obſcure hints, and then in ſomewhat plainer terms, a deſign of releaſing Ivan, and of conducting him to that corps ſtationed at Peterſburgh. But he mentioned it merely as a project, without fixing any preciſe time for attempting it, or naming himſelf as the perſon who would dare to undertake it.

With ſo little management, and no precaution in caſe of failure, did Mirovitch reſolve to carry his deſign into execution; but he was upon duty during a whole week in the fortreſs, without finding a favourable opportunity. He obſerved, however, and ſet a private mark on the door of Ivan's apartment, and ſhewed it to Simeon Tchevaridſef, who came from Peterſburgh to viſit him. At the cloſe of the week his turn expired; but he obtained, under ſome ſpecious pretence, the permiſſion of being continued on guard on the evening of the 4th of July*. He did not, however, previouſly gain more than one commom ſoldier, whoſe name was Jacob Piſkof. It was not till about ten at night that he firſt hinted his intention to three corporals and two ſoldiers, who, though they at firſt poſitively refuſed to join him, yet, by the aſſiſtance of Piſkof, and by his own artful perſuaſions, were at length prevailed upon to favour his deſigns; but could not be induced to act with that determined reſolution which the circumſtances required. On the contrary, they continued wavering, and alarmed with the danger, propoſed to defer the enterprize until a more convenient opportunity. Mirovitch at firſt artfully appeared to yield to their fears; but between one and two in the morning he ſuddenly renewed his ſolicitations; when, incapable of reſiſting his plauſible manner, the diſtribution he made among them of ſome money, the promiſe of more, the expectation of great promotion, and his authority, as commanding officer, they were induced to ſecond his attempt.

Having thus ſecured ſix aſſiſtants, he ſummoned about forty of the ſoldiers ſtationed in that part of the fortreſs, ſome of whom were aſleep, and others upon guard; and under pretence of an order from the Empreſs, commanded them to load their pieces with ball, and to follow him; and before they were aware of his intention, led them towards the apartment of Ivan. In his way he was met by Berednikof the governor. This officer had retired to reſt, but being alarmed by one of the guards, haſtily dreſſed himſelf, and accoſting Mirovitch, commanded him to declare the cauſe of the diſturbance.

* 15th, O. S.

Mirovitch returned no anſwer, but ſtriking him on the forehead with the butt-end of his muſket, delivered him a priſoner to ſome of his party, and with the remainder advanced to a wooden gate, which guarded the paſſage leading to the Prince's apartment. He demanded admittance; but meeting with a refuſal from the centinels, ordered his followers to diſcharge their muſkets and force their way; they obeyed, and the centinels returned the fire. The ſoldiers, deceived by Mirovitch, had expected no oppoſition; ſurprized, therefore, and alarmed at the reſiſtance of the centinels, they retired with precipitation, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their leader, and inſiſted on ſeeing the order of the Empreſs. Mirovitch immediately read to them a paper *, which he had forged, at the bottom of which he had counterfeited the imperial ſignature; and as it was no difficult matter to deceive ignorant men, few of whom could read, he prevailed upon them by entreaties, promiſes, and threats, to make a ſecond attempt. During this ſhort interval, a cannon was drawn from one of the baſtions, which Mirovitch himſelf pointed againſt the paſſage leading to the Prince's apartment, when the door was ſuddenly opened, and the whole party ſuffered to enter without oppoſition.

On the firſt attempt of Mirovitch, Vlaſief and Tchekin had diſperſed the aſſailants by ordering the centinels to fire; but when they returned, and Mirovitch, with his cannon pointed, ſeemed determined to force his way, the officers, finding no poſſibility of further reſiſtance, attacked with their drawn ſwords the unfortunate object of this conteſt, who had been awakened by the tumult, and had ſtarted out of bed. The Prince, though without any weapon, and almoſt naked, yet, animated with deſpair, made a vigorous defence; he parried their repeated thruſts; and, though pierced through the hand, broke one of their ſwords, until overpowered and ſtabbed in ſeveral places, he was diſpatched by a wound in the back. The officers immediately threw open the door, and, pointing to the body of Ivan, exclaimed, "Here is your Emperor!" Mirovitch, beholding the dead body, ſtarted back in an agony of ſurprize; ſoon, however, recollecting himſelf, he made no other attempt; but returned with perfect compoſure to the Governor, and delivering up his ſword, calmly ſaid, "I am now your priſoner†."

On the following day, the body of Ivan was expoſed in a ſhirt and a pair of drawers before the guard-houſe in the fortreſs, whither an immenſe concourſe of people flocked

* It is difficult, at this diſtance of time, to find out the contents of this paper; but it appeared, from the examination of Mirovitch and his aſſociates, to have been obſcurely drawn up. As he aſſerted that what he read to them iſſued from the Empreſs, he could not lay open his deſign of releaſing Ivan; and probably the paper contained only an order to take the Prince from the cuſtody of Vlaſief and Tchekin, who might be repreſented as betraying their truſt: this ſuppoſition is confirmed by the violent abuſe which the ſoldiers, on their return to the ſecond attack, threw out againſt theſe two officers. Nikita Lebedef, the next in command to Mirovitch, was the only perſon who perceived that the order was counterfeited, and, though he did not aſſiſt Mirovitch, he was afterwards puniſhed for not diſcovering the impoſition to the miſguided ſoldiers.

† Such was the account of this tranſaction, which I received from the governor; but I deem it a duty to inſert a note from the Earl of Buckinghamſhire to the Earl of Hardwicke, which relates more circumſtantially the behaviour of Mirovitch.

July 26th, 1764.

"The officer then (after having ſtabbed Ivan) produced the body to the Lieutenant and his ſoldiers, and told them they might now do with their Emperor what they thought proper. Mirvitz carried the corps to the foot of the guard, and covered it with the colours, and then, with all his ſoldiers, proſtrated himſelf before it, and kiſſed the hands; then taking off his own gorget, ſaſh, and ſword, laid them by the body, and addreſſing himſelf to the Colonel of Korgalow, who was then arrived, and pointing to the body, told him, 'There is your Emperor, you may do as you pleaſe. Adverſe fortune has blaſted my deſign. I mourn not for my own fate, but for the miſery of my poor fellow ſoldiers, the innocent victims of my undertaking.' He then embraced the under officers, and ſurrendered himſelf and his ſoldiers."

from all quarters. I was informed by a gentleman *, who was preſent on the occaſion, that he found it impoſſible to deſcribe the animated grief which appeared in the countenances, attitudes, and expreſſions of the people at the ſight of a Prince, who had once been ſeated upon the throne, whoſe misfortune only, and no crime, had occaſioned his impriſonment, and whoſe wretched exiſtence had been prematurely cloſed by the hand of violence. The concourſe at laſt being ſo great as to excite apprehenſions of a tumult, the body was wrapped in a ſheep-ſhin, put into a coffin, and buried in an antient chapel of the fortreſs, which is now demoliſhed.

According to the information I received from thoſe who had ſeen the body of Ivan, he was ſix feet in height, handſome, and athletic; he had ſmall fiery eyes, reddiſh hair and beard, and a complexion uncommonly fair, though pallid from confinement.

The account of this wild enterpriſe, and of Ivan's death was forwarded to Count Panin, together with ſeveral copies of the manifeſto, found upon Mirovitch. It contained the moſt virulent abuſe and dreadful imprecations againſt the Empreſs, who was repreſented as an uſurper of the throne of which Ivan was the lawful ſovereign; and the copies were to have been diſtributed as ſoon as the Prince ſhould be reſcued and brought to the capital. Count Panin diſpatched immediate intelligence to the Empreſs in Livonia; who commanded Lieutenant-General Weymar to repair without delay to Schluſſelburgh, to examine Mirovitch and his aſſociates. This information, together with the confeſſion of Mirovitch and his accomplices, was laid before a committee compoſed of five principal eccleſiaſtics, the ſenate, and of other nobles high in rank and office. Mirovitch and his abettors, being removed to Peterſburgh, were examined at different times before this committee, both ſeperately and together; and the reſult of all theſe enquiries tended to ſhew, that Mirovitch had not been inſtigated to this attempt; but had originally contrived the plot, and acted throughout the whole tranſaction ſolely from himſelf.

During ſeveral meetings held on this occaſion, Mirovitch aſtoniſhed the committee by his inſolent and undaunted behaviour; at laſt, however, he was brought in ſome meaſure to a ſenſe of his crime, by the repreſentations of the Archbiſhop of Roſtof, and four nobles ſpecially deputed for that purpoſe, and being again exhorted to confeſs if he had any aſſociates, he firmly replied, "As a man devoted to die, I ſolemnly declare, that my confeſſion contains all I know. I call upon the Almighty to witneſs the truth of this aſſertion, and denounce his ſevereſt vengeance upon me in the next world, if I have miſrepreſented any circumſtance, or concealed any accomplice." Being convicted of high treaſon, he was condemned to loſe his head; and the body, together with the ſcaffold upon which he was to ſuffer, were ordered to be burnt upon the ſpot. The ſentence was performed on the 26th of September, in the city of Peterſburgh. Mirovitch walked to the place of execution along the ſtreets, through an innumerable concourſe of people, with an unconcerned air, and ſteady countenance. Having mounted the ſcaffold, he caſt his eyes around him with a look of indifference, then croſſed himſelf, and without uttering a ſingle word †, laid down his head upon the block, and it was ſevered from his body at one ſtroke.

Mirovitch alone ſuffered capitally; his abettors were ſubjected to different penalties, according to the degrees of their guilt. Piſkof, who was the moſt criminal, was ſentenced to run the gauntlet twelve times through a line of a thouſand men, and his five aſſociates ten times; they were then condemned for life to hard labour and impriſon-

* Mr. Lieman.

† It may not be improper to remark, that Mirovitch was not gagged, as has been falſely aſſerted.

men

ment; a ſentence heavier than death itſelf. It is needleſs to diſcriminate the penalties impoſed upon the others, which conſiſted chiefly in the gauntlet, in degradation, and in condemnation to ſerve in diſtant garriſons. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that fifty-five delinquents were involved in the guilt of Mirovitch: to theſe muſt be added Caſatkin and Tchevaridſef, who were convicted of holding treaſonable converſations with him; and Nikita Lebedef, who was puniſhed for not having undeceived the ſoldiers, by expoſing the falſity of the order forged by Mirovitch.

Such are the principal facts which I was able to collect reſpecting the life and death of Ivan; and I have endeavoured to ſtate them with perfect impartiality. The ſame regard to truth prevents me from concealing reports induſtriouſly circulated, that the court not only connived at, but even encouraged the attempt of Mirovitch. The accuſation is thus ſtated. Orders were previouſly given to Vlaſief and Tchekin to deſtroy Ivan, if any attempt to releaſe him ſhould be likely to ſucceed, and for the purpoſe of furniſhing them with a pretence for diſpatching him, Mirovitch was privately inſtigated to form a conſpiracy in his favour. In ſupport of this accuſation it is urged: 1. In the attack of Mirovitch and his party on the guards of Ivan, not one perſon on each ſide was either killed or wounded. 2. The conduct of Mirovitch on the failure of his project, his daring behaviour under his trial, and his calm compoſure at the place of execution, are not, on any other ſuppoſition, to be accounted for. 3. Orders were given to Vlaſief and Tchekin for putting Ivan to death; and they were promoted for executing thoſe orders.

1. With reſpect to the firſt aſſertion, we may readily allow the fact to have been very extraordinary, but by no means improbable. It is a well-known circumſtance, that in the outſkirts of an army large bodies of light troops frequently approach cloſe to each other, and fire without effect. And if this frequently happens in the day-time, the probability is ſtill further increaſed, when we conſider that the rencounter in queſtion happened at two in the morning, and in the midſt of a thick fog*. Nor is it extraordinary that the centinels of Ivan, who were but few, and ſome of theſe few ſheltered in the paſſage, and others probably behind the pillars of the corridore, ſhould not be wounded by the random ſhots of the aſſailants, wavering in their reſolutions, and uncertain whether to comply with, or diſobey, the orders of their leader. With reſpect to the party of Mirovitch, the whole number did not attack in a collective body; many of them continued at ſome diſtance; and they were all ſo alarmed at the unexpected return of their fire, that they inſtantly diſperſed, and probably before all the guards had diſcharged their muſkets; and as the guard conſiſted only of eight or ten, as the night was dark, and the area large, it cannot be deemed ſurpriſing that they miſſed the aſſailants. To a perſon who has been upon the ſpot, and examined the poſition of the place, theſe ſuppoſitions are far from appearing improbable; whereas, on the other hand, if we conclude the whole to have been concerted, we muſt allow that every individual, on both ſides, was previouſly informed that the attack, as well as defence, ſhould be feigned: a caſe in itſelf impoſſible, that a deſign of ſuch importance, and the mode of accompliſhing it, ſhould be entruſted to ſo many, and thoſe of no higher rank than common ſoldiers †.

2. The

* The truth of this circumſtance has been erroneouſly called in queſtion; for I was informed at Schluſſelburgh, that almoſt every morning in ſummer a fog precedes ſun riſe, which is naturally accounted for from the ſituation of the iſland on which the fortreſs ſtands, in a marſhy ſoil, and cloſe to the largeſt lake in Europe.

† In reply to this argument, it has been ſaid that the cartridges diſtributed to the ſoldiers on both ſides were without balls; but no authority has ever been adduced in ſupport of this aſſertion. If we could ſuppoſe

2. The ſecond argument is drawn from the conduct of Mirovitch on the death of Ivan, during his trial, and at the place of execution. In regard to his behaviour on the death of Ivan, it is objected, that, inſtead of attempting to make any reſiſtance, he calmly, and of his own accord, delivered himſelf a priſoner. To this it may be anſwered, that he had founded all his hopes of ſucceſs on obtaining poſſeſſion of Ivan's perſon; the moment, therefore, that thoſe hopes were fruſtrated by the death of the Prince, his fate was decided. He had great difficulty in perſuading the ſoldiers to make the ſecond attack, when the Prince was alive; what aſſiſtance, therefore, could be expected from them when they knew that he was dead? They had no other object than to releaſe Ivan, and had even been unwillingly hurried on to favour that attempt. Could Mirovitch ſuppoſe that they would deſperately aſſiſt him in attacking the officers, and in forcing an eſcape? And indeed whither could he eſcape? He could neither conceal himſelf in the fortreſs; nor could he eaſily withdraw from the iſland. He had, therefore, no other alternative than ſelf-deſtruction, or an immediate ſurrender. His preference of a ſurrender may be attributed to impulſe of the moment, or rather perhaps to the cool intrepidity of his character. He had ventured his life and fortunes upon one riſk of extreme hazard, and when that failed him, he knew and was prepared for the worſt, and ſullenly reſigned himſelf to his fate. But after all, it is too much to expect that we ſhould juſtify the conduct of an enthuſiaſt, in the moment of diſappointment and deſpair, on the principles of ſound judgment and deliberate reaſon*.

His daring inſolence before the committee, and his calm indifference at the place of execution, are, it is alleged, not to be accounted for, but on the ſuppoſition that he either endeavoured to prevent the idea of colluſion, or becauſe he was ſecure of pardon. It is ſurmiſed, therefore, that he was only to lay down his head on the block, and a reprieve was to be ready at the place of execution. To this I briefly anſwer, that it is not to be conceived by what promiſes a man could poſſibly be perſuaded to hazard himſelf in ſo critical a ſtate. What could induce him to riſk his life under a momentary ſtroke, to be given or ſuſpended by a power intereſted in his deſtruction? For the dead betray nothing; and his death would preclude all diſcovery of ſo infamous a tranſaction. And theſe ſtrange ſuppoſitions are advanced, as if no rebel was ever un-

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poſe that the murder was committed intentionally, ball-cartridges could not have been withheld from a motive of humanity.

* I cannot in this place avoid citing a paſſage from an anonymous author, who ſuppoſes a colluſion between Mirovitch and the court: "Après un ſi noble exploit Meſſrs. Wlaſef et Tchekin jettent le corps du Prince aſſaſſiné devant la porte; et par un effet miraculeux Mirovitz, *qui ne connoiſſoit alors le Prince Ivan que de nom, le reconnoit dans ce moment pour ſon Empereur nonobſtant le brouillard épais.*" A ſtrange objection! as if, becauſe Mirovitch was not acquainted with the perſon of Ivan, he ſhould not know, or at leaſt believe, the dead body to be his, when the guards cried out, "Here is your Emperor!" Could he conceive they had murdered an innocent perſon, merely with the view of deluding him? And were not the doors of the apartment thrown open, and he at full liberty to ſearch and ſatisfy himſelf? Another paſſage from the ſame author muſt be mentioned for its glaring falſity: "Le coup inattendu le frappa tellement, qu'il temoigne ſon repentir et ſon affliction à toute ſa troupe, ſe rend priſonnier; et *de toute ſa garde qui étoit complice du même crime, lui ſeul qui en eſt le chef, eſt arreté, et lui ſeul en eſt puni.*" The reader will be able to judge whether the ſoldiers who aſſiſted Mirovitch were equally guilty with him; and whether he was the *only* perſon arreſted, and the *only* perſon puniſhed. The author of the above malevolent paragraph did not know, perhaps, that, by the laws of Ruſſia, capital penalties are ſeldom inflicted; or that the accomplices of Mirovitch were ſeverely puniſhed. We may remind him, that even in the rebellion of Pugatchef, that impoſtor and four of his principal confederates were the only perſons who ſuffered death; the other rebels were knooted and condemned to hard labour and impriſonment. The cauſe muſt be very bad indeed, when its defenders have recourſe to ſuch frivolous objections, and ſuch glaring falſehoods. See Pieces concernant la Mort du Prince Ivan.

daunted during trial; nor any malefactor every met death with firmneſs and even indifference.

3. With reſpect to the third argument, which reſts on the previous orders to the officers Vlaſief and Tchekin, their execution of thoſe orders, and promotion in conſequence, I clearly and deciſively reply, that ſuch orders were not peculiar to the guards of Ivan; they are always given to thoſe who are appointed to ſecure ſtate-priſoners of any conſequence in Ruſſia. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, this precaution had always been taken; and the orders were renewed whenever the perſons entruſted with the care of Ivan were changed.

But, in ſupport of this argument, it is further alleged, that the officers were too precipitate in diſpatching the Prince; they might have conveyed him to ſome place of greater ſecurity, when the conſpirators had been repulſed in their firſt onſet. But whither could they convey him? They could not conceal him in the fortreſs, or remove him from the iſland. There could be no apartment more ſecure than that in which he was confined; and even if they had attempted to remove him, the ſhortneſs of the interval between the firſt and ſecond aſſault would have prevented them. The aſſailants inſtantly returned as ſoon as the forged order was read to them, and they returned with a loaded cannon. It follows, therefore, that the officers and centinels found themſelves incapable of reſiſtance, and that Ivan muſt have fallen into the hands of Mirovitch; they had, therefore, no other alternative than to put him to death. Dreadful alternative indeed! but which they were obliged to embrace, for the preſervation of the public tranquillity. If they performed their duty in this emergency, the approbation of their ſovereign, and their ſubſequent promotion, were the natural, and I even add, the juſt conſequences.

But ſurely the whole conduct of Mirovitch, his aſſociation with Uſhakof, their oath of fidelity, the violent manifeſto againſt the Empreſs, together with his treaſonable intercourſe with Caſatkin and Tchevaridſef, are evident proofs that his deſign was not feigned, that it originated from himſelf, and had been planned ſome time before an opportunity offered for its execution. To ſuppoſe that the Empreſs had formed the project of deſtroying Ivan, that ſhe employed Mirovitch as the inſtrument, that ſhe ſecretly promiſed him his pardon, that ſhe ſuffered him to go to the place of execution fully ſecure of a reprieve, that ſhe there deceived him, that ſhe puniſhed his aſſociates, of whoſe criminality ſhe was herſelf the immediate cauſe, imply ſuch an abſurd complication of the baſeſt fraud and horrid barbarity, that we ought not to liſten to the imputation, were it founded even on ſome degree of probable conjecture; whereas the arguments alleged amount only to mere ſurmiſes and vague ſuppoſitions; and are totally refuted by the moſt valid arguments and indiſputable teſtimony.

I cannot cloſe this hiſtory without annexing a ſhort account of Ivan's family. His father Anthony Ulric was ſon of Ferdinand Albert, by Antonietta Amelia, ſiſter of Charlotte Chriſtina, who eſpouſed the Tzarovitch Alexèy. He was brother of Charles Duke of Brunſwick, and of that diſtinguiſhed general Prince Ferdinand. Anthony Ulric was born in 1714; in 1733 was betrothed, on his arrival at Peterſburgh, to the Princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, the preſumptive heireſs of the Ruſſian throne. He ſerved in the campaign againſt the Turks, under General Munic, aſſiſted at the ſiege of Otchakof, and was a true Brunſwick for valour and ſpirit of enterprize. On the 14th of July 1739, his nuptials with the Princeſs Anne were celebrated with great magnificence. On the day of that ceremony, "* who would have imagined that their union

* Manſtein's Memoirs, p. 248.

would

would one day produce their greateſt misfortune?" and that the Prince was called into Ruſſia, not to ſhare a throne, but a priſon with his conſort?

The mother of Ivan, Elizabeth Catharine Chriſtina, was daughter of Charles Leopold, Duke of Mecklenburgh, by Catharine Ivanofna; ſhe was born in 1718, and in 1731 invited to Peterſburgh by her aunt the Empreſs Anne. Having embraced the Greek religion, ſhe was re-baptized by the name of Anne, and eſpouſed in 1739 Anthony Ulric. Soon after the birth of Ivan, ſhe was not only excluded from the throne, but even from any ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs during her ſon's minority, by the intrigues of Biron, who, upon the acceſſion of Ivan, was declared regent. Having, by the aſſiſtance of Count Munic, arreſted Biren, the Princeſs Anne aſſumed the regency and title of Great Ducheſs, and was on the point of declaring herſelf Empreſs, when Elizabeth ſeized the reins of government.

Upon that revolution this illuſtrious couple were ſucceſſively confined at Riga, Dunemund, and Oranienbaum; from thence they were removed to Solomonſkoi Oſtrof, an iſland in the White Sea, and finally, to Kolmogori, a ſmall town, ſituated in an iſland of the Dvina, about forty miles from Archangel. Anne had four children by her huſband during their joint impriſonment, and died in child-bed at Kolmogori, in March 1746. Her body was brought to Peterſburgh, and buried in the church of the convent of St. Alexander Nevſki.

Manſtein * has well drawn the weak, capricious, and indeciſive character of the regent Anne; who, with a moderate degree of firmneſs and prudence, might have defeated the deſigns of Elizabeth; but an anecdote recorded by Buſching, will perhaps diſplay, in the ſtrongeſt light, her mild and indolent character. During her confinement in the fortreſs of Riga, the Prince of Brunſwick frequently blamed her for having diſregarded the information ſhe daily received concerning the attempts of the oppoſite party: once in particular he vehemently reproached her for rejecting his advice to arreſt Elizabeth, adding, "had that advice been followed, you and your family would not have been involved in your preſent misfortunes." "It may be ſo," returned the Princeſs with great indifference; "but I ſhall never repent of my conduct; and it is better as it is, than to have preſerved our ſovereignty by ſhedding a deluge of blood †."

Beſides Ivan, ſhe left four children, two ſons, and as many daughters, who were confined with their father at Kolmogori.

Anthony Ulric died in 1776, in the thirty-fifth year of his impriſonment, and in the ſixty-third of his age. He had been long afflicted with the gout, and a year before his death was totally blind.

The place of their confinement at Kolmogori was the biſhop's ancient palace and garden; ſeparated on one ſide from the cathedral by a high wall, and on the other ſurrounded by paliſadoes ‡. Within the encloſure, near the entrance, was a barrack for the ſoldiers who guarded them, commanded by a lieutenant and three inferior officers. Another guard, commanded by lieutenant Karikin, was ſtationed in the epiſcopal palace, in which the illuſtrious priſoners were confined; theſe two guards had no communication with each other.

* Memoirs, p. 316.

† Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. vol. i. p. 32. Buſching had this anecdote from a favourite maid of honour who attended the regent in her confinement.

‡ Buſching's Hiſt. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 418.

The governor of Archangel kept the keys of the gates, and without his permiſſion no one, not even the phyſician, if they were indiſpoſed, could venture to viſit them. From the windows of their houſe they were able to deſcry, towards the ſouth-eaſt, a ſmall turn of the river Dvina, and towards the ſouth-weſt, the high road leading to St. Peterſburgh. They inhabited the apartments on the ground-floor, which lead by a ſmall flight of ſteps into a garden, planted with a few birch, and containing a muddy fiſh-pond, ſurrounded with avenues of trees. In this fiſh-pond floated an old and crazy boat. They had the uſe of an old-faſhioned coach, drawn by ſix horſes, and attended by the ſoldiers, in which they could drive backwards and forwards along an alley about a quarter of a mile within the encloſure.

Theſe illuſtrious priſoners, whoſe birth entitled them to a better fate, ſaw no other perſons but their attendants; had no other amuſement than to play at whiſt or ombre, and dared not read any thing but books of prayer in the Ruſſian language.

Godovin, governor of Archangel, under whoſe inſpection they remained ſeventeen years, treated them with great neglect. He ſuffered the houſe and garden to fall into decay, furniſhed an indifferent table, and gave no account of the money allotted for their ſupport. But in 1779 they experienced a more favourable change of circumſtances. Melgunef being diſpatched by the Empreſs to divide the province of Archangel into two governments, viſited the priſoners, and was moved with compaſſion at their forlorn ſituation. By his advice the youngeſt Princeſs Elizabeth wrote to the Empreſs, in an artleſs and pathetic manner, and laid before Her Majeſty an account of their deplorable ſituation. Catharine, greatly affected at the peruſal, reſtored them to liberty, and placed them under the protection of the Queen-Dowager of Denmark.

By her order, Melgunef prepared every thing for their departure; and at two o'clock in the morning, on the 27th of June 1779, releaſed them from the priſon-houſe, and accompanied them to Archangel. On their arrival in the fortreſs, he informed them of the Empreſs's gracious intentions to ſend them into Denmark. This unexpected news at firſt filled them with apprehenſions; they miſtruſted ſome hidden danger, and expreſſed a deſire to remain at Kolmogori with the enjoyment of more liberty. But when Melgunef aſſured them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, of the goodneſs of the Empreſs, delivered to them a valuable preſent of clothes, plate, and diamonds, and informed them, that they would be placed under the protection of the Queen-Dowager of Denmark, their aunt, they burſt into tears, and falling upon their knees, expreſſed the warmeſt gratitude for this unexpected favour, and offered up prayers to Heaven for their kind benefactreſs.

On the 30th of June they went on board the frigate prepared for their voyage, ſet ſail on the following night, and after a paſſage of three months, and being expoſed to a violent tempeſt, reached Berghen in Norway. There they embarked on board a Daniſh veſſel, and landed at Flatſtrand, on the coaſt of Jutland. Being conveyed to Aalberg, they remained five days with the governor, Count Oſten*, and from thence proceeded by eaſy journies, and fixed their reſidence at Horſens, a town of Jutland, ſituated at the extremity of a bay of the Baltic, a few miles from the frontiers of Sleſwic.

In my ſecond tour to the North, in 1784, I purſued my travels to Horſens, from a deſire to pay my reſpects to theſe illuſtrious perſonages. On our arrival we waited on

* I received theſe particulars from Count Oſten himſelf, whom I met at Copenhagen.

the

the principal officer attendant on the Ruſſian Princes, and requeſted to have the honour of being preſented. We received a favourable anſwer; but when we expected our requeſt to be complied with, we were put off with various excuſes. We did not know, until we were informed by Mr. Guldberg, whom we had the honour of ſeeing at Aarhuus, that by ſpecial orders from the court of Denmark no foreigners were preſented to them. They were only accompanied by a Ruſſian lady, and a prieſt and his wife. From their ignorance of any language but the Ruſſian, and their inability to converſe with moſt of thoſe who were placed about them, on their firſt arrival at Horſens they appeared even to regret their priſon at Kolmogori. But they were ſoon reconciled, and became quite delighted with the change in their ſituation.

They are ſtill a kind of ſtate priſoners, though, in compariſon with their former ſituation, they may be ſaid to enjoy perfect liberty. They never go out without attendants, and have not yet been permitted to viſit any family in the town. The gates of their houſe or palace, as it is called, are carefully cloſed in winter at ten, and in ſummer at eleven. They amuſe themſelves with reading, playing at billiards, cards, riding, and walking; they walk much about the town, and in the environs, and drive out in carriages. The princes often ride, particularly Alexèy, who is fond of that exerciſe, and is ſaid to be expert. They not unfrequently pay viſits in the country, and dine with the neighbouring families.

The names of theſe deſcendants of the imperial family are Catharine, born July 26, 1741, Peter, born March 31, 1745, Alexèy, born March 7, 1746, of whom Anne died in childbed. This prince is ſince dead. Elizabeth, the youngeſt ſiſter, was a woman of high ſpirit and elegant manners. On being releaſed, ſhe wrote a letter of thanks to the Empreſs, ſo well expreſſed as to excite admiration. Her father is ſaid to have inſtructed her; but ſhe likewiſe obtained conſiderable information from ſeveral officers who were her guards, and whom ſhe conciliated by her captivating manners. On her arrival at Horſens ſhe poſſeſſed portraits of her father and mother, and had even contrived to procure a rouble of her brother Ivan ſtruck in his ſhort reign. She alone, of her brothers and ſiſters could ſpeak a little German, and ſerved as an interpreter between them and Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who more than once viſited his nephews and nieces. She is reported to have died of chagrin; but, as far as I could collect, her death was occaſioned by a violent fever, which was ſoon attended with a delirium, and hurried her to the grave on the ſixteenth day of her illneſs.

But though we were unſucceſsful in our attempt to be preſented, we did not quit Horſens without ſeeing their perſons; as on the day after our arrival there was a great fair, and many people were aſſembled in the market-place, the Princes frequently appeared at the windows of their palace. The Princeſs ſeemed pale and thin, the Princes were about the middle ſize, fair complexioned, with ſtrong features, light hair, and expreſſive eyes.

As I beheld theſe auguſt deſcendants of the Tzar Ivan, I felt extreme ſatisfaction, in reflecting that they were enlarged from the precincts of a Ruſſian priſon; and admired the humanity and magnanimity of Catharine the Second, who, above the ſuſpicions of ſtate-jealouſy, releaſed from a long confinement perſons whoſe parents had died in priſon, whoſe brother had once filled the Ruſſian throne, and cloſed his unfortunate life by the hand of violence.

Having had frequent occaſion to mention Count Munic, I ſhall here throw together a few anecdotes of that extraordinary man, who enjoyed the favour of five ſovereigns, who attained, at one period of his life, the higheſt honours, and at another was

doomed to a rigorous confinement of twenty years, which he ſuſtained with an unbroken ſpirit *.

Count Burchard Chriſtopher Munic, ſon of a Daniſh officer, was born at New-Huntorf, in the county of Oldenburgh, on the 9th of May 1683. He received an excellent education, and, in the ſeventeenth year of his age, entered into the ſervice of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, who, on account of his knowledge in tactics, conferred on him the rank of captain. He ſerved his firſt campaign in 1701, when the Emperor Joſeph commanded againſt the French, and was preſent at the ſiege of Landaw. In 1705 he was employed as a major by the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and improved himſelf in the art of war under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his cool intrepidity in ſeveral engagements and ſieges, and particularly at the battle of Malplaquet, when, in recompence for his bravery, he was made lieutenant colonel. Being, in 1712, dangerouſly wounded at the battle of Denain, he was taken priſoner by the French, and ſoon after his releaſe in the enſuing year, raiſed to the command of a regiment.

In 1716 he quitted the Heſſian, and entered into the Poliſh ſervice under Auguſtus II., and was ſoon promoted to the rank of major general; but, in 1721, being inſulted by Count Fleming, the King's favourite, he went into Ruſſia, and was received in the moſt honourable manner by Peter. Being charged by that great monarch with the execution of ſeveral important truſts, both civil and military, he ſucceſſively filled the higheſt poſts in the army and ſtate. He was created marſhal by the Empreſs Anne, and placed at the head of the war department; he obtained the command of the army againſt the Turks, and proved his military talents by his ſucceſſes in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738.

Soon after the death of the Empreſs, he adviſed, planned, and executed the arreſt of Biren, and was rewarded by the regent Anne with the office of prime miniſter. But as he was diſcontented at not being appointed generaliſſimo, and as his power and ambition gave umbrage to the court, he requeſted permiſſion to reſign his employments, and was aſtoniſhed at the readineſs with which his requeſt was granted. Inſtead of repairing to the Pruſſian court, to which he was ſtrongly invited, he imprudently remained in Ruſſia, flattering himſelf with the hopes of being re-inſtated in his former dignity, and was arreſted on the 6th of December 1741, by order of Elizabeth. The oſtenſible reaſon of his diſgrace was, that he had perſuaded the Empreſs Anne to nominate Ivan her ſucceſſor; but the real cauſe, as I was informed by a perſon of veracity, who received it from Count Munic himſelf, was that, by order of that Empreſs, he had taken into cuſtody one of Elizabeth's favourites.

Munic was brought before a committee appointed to examine the ſtate priſoners. Being fatigued with repeated queſtions, and perceiving the determination of his judges to find him guilty, he ſaid to them, "Dictate the anſwers which you wiſh me to make, and I will ſign them." The judges immediately wrote down a confeſſion of ſeveral charges, which being ſubſcribed by Munic, his mock trial was concluded. Being thus convicted of high treaſon, he was condemned to be quartered, but his ſentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual impriſonment. For the ſpace of twenty years he was confined at Pelim in Siberia, in an oſtrog, or priſon, of which, according to Manſtein,

* I have chiefly extracted this account from the Life of Count Munic, by Buſching, who was intimately acquainted with him; I have been enabled to add a few anecdotes, which I obtained from unqueſtionable authority. See Lebens Geſchichte Burchard Chriſtophs von Muenich. In Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. III. p 389 to 536.

he had himſelf drawn the plan for the reception of Biren. It was an area encloſed with high paliſadoes, about one hundred and ſeventy feet ſquare, within which was a wooden houſe, inhabited by himſelf, his wife, and a few ſervants, and a ſmall garden, which he cultivated with his own hands. He received a daily allowance of 12s. for the maintenance of himſelf, his wife, and domeſtics; which little pittance he increaſed by keeping cows, and ſelling part of their milk, and by occaſionally inſtructing youth in geometry and engineering. He behaved, during his long confinement with the utmoſt reſignation, tranquillity, and even cheerfulneſs. He was accuſtomed every day at dinner to drink to his wife, "a happy return to Peterſburgh." He had prayers twice a day, from eleven to twelve in the morning, and from ſix to ſeven in the evening; they were read in the German tongue by his chaplain Martens, who dying in 1749, the Count himſelf afterwards performed the ſervice. Beſide the culture of his garden, and the hours he paſſed in giving inſtruction, he found ſufficient leiſure for compoſing hymns; for tranſlating ſeveral pſalms and prayers into German verſe; and for writing a treatiſe on the art of war, which he propoſed, if releaſed from his confinement, to preſent to the King of Pruſſia. In the laſt year of his impriſonment, a centinel informing againſt Munic's ſervants for ſupplying him with pens and paper, the Count, in order to prevent diſcovery, was obliged to deſtroy all his writings, the amuſements and labour of ſo many ſolitary years.

He had always ſupported himſelf with the expectation of recovering his liberty at the acceſſion of Peter the Third; but he was no ſooner informed of that event, than, with the agitation natural to a perſon in his ſtate, he began to dread that his expectation was ill founded. He ſuffered, during ſeveral weeks, the moſt alarming anxiety, perpetually fluctuating between hope and fear, and often declared that theſe few weeks appeared to him much longer than all the former years of his confinement. At length, on the morning of the 11th of February 1762, the long-expected meſſenger arrived from Peterſburgh with the order for his releaſe. Munic, who happened to be engaged in his prayers, did not perceive him, and his wife made ſigns to the meſſenger not to diſturb her huſband. Being informed of his recall, he was ſo affected as to faint away; but ſoon recovering, he fell down upon his knees, and, in the moſt fervent manner, offered up his thanks for this change in his ſituation. On the 19th he departed from Pelim, and on the 24th of March arrived at Peterſburgh, in the ſame ſheepſkin dreſs which he had worn in his priſon. On the 31ſt he was admitted to an audience by the Emperor*: Peter, after hanging round his neck the order of St. Andrew, and reſtoring him to his antient rank, ſaid to him, "I hope that your advanced age will ſtill permit you to ſerve me."—"Since Your Majeſty," replied the Count at the concluſion of a long ſpeech, "has raiſed me from darkneſs into light, and recalled me from Siberia to proſ-

* An account of his firſt appearance at court is contained in a letter from Mr. Keith to the Earl of Bute, dated April 7/13, 1762.

"Marſhal Munic was preſented to the Emperor laſt Sunday morning, and in the evening the Duke of Courland and he appeared together at court with their ribbands, and were both treated by His Imperial Majeſty with great marks of diſtinction. It was really an affecting ſcene to ſee thoſe two reſpectable perſons, after having ſurvived ſo long a courſe of misfortunes, appear again, at their age, at a court where they had formerly made ſo great a figure, and to ſee them, that being their firſt interview, converſe together with great civility, and without any appearance of that animoſity and jealouſy, which had drawn all their unhappineſs upon them. The Duke of Courland's two ſons are both made major generals, and Count Munic is declared firſt veldt marſhal, Prince George of Holſtein having, in a very handſome manner, quitted the *pas* to him. The Emperor, to compliment him, gave for the parole that evening, *Vive le premier veldt marſhal de Ruſſie*. The Duke of Courland is in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and Count Munic in the ſeventy-ninth of his.

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trate myſelf before your throne, I ſhall always be moſt willing to expoſe my life in your ſervice. Neither a long baniſhment from the throne of Majeſty, nor the climate of Siberia, have been able to damp, in the ſmalleſt degree, that fire which formerly ſhone with ſuch luſtre for the intereſts of the Ruſſian empire, and the glory of its ſovereign."

Munic enjoyed the favour and protection of Peter and Catharine, and died on the 16th of October, 1767, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

CHAP. XV.—*Impoſtors who aſſumed the Name of Peter the Third, particularly Pugatchef.—His Origin and Hiſtory.—State of the Ruſſian Sectaries, and the Mutiny of the Coſſacs of Yaitſk favour his Rebellion.—He aſſumes the Character of Peter the Third.—Collects an irregular army.—His Progreſs.—Barbarity.—Weakneſs and Ill-conduct.—Repeated Defeats, and Eſcapes, ſubſequent Appearance.—Finally routed.—Betrayed by his Adherents.—Executed at Moſcow.*

ALTHOUGH the body of Peter III. was expoſed to public view in the convent of Alexander Nevſki; yet ſeveral impoſtors ſtarted up in the diſtant regions of the Ruſſian empire, and paſſed for that monarch.

The firſt was a ſhoe-maker of Voronetz, who appeared under the name of Peter, a few years before the rebellion of Pugatchef; but he was ſoon taken and executed.

The ſecond was a deſerter from the regiment of Orlof: his name was Tchernichef, and he roſe in 1770, in the ſmall village of Kopenka on the frontiers of Crim Tartary, as a corps of troops was marching through that place. Some diſſenting prieſts, having ſuborned a number of followers, raiſed him upon the altar of the church, and were preparing to acknowledge him; but the colonel of the regiment repairing to the church at the head of a ſtrong guard, took him from the altar, and led him to immediate execution.

A third was a peaſant belonging to the Vorontzof family, who deſerting from his village, engaged as a common Coſſac among thoſe who are ſettled upon the Volga at Dubofka. A body of theſe Coſſacs marching in the ſpring of 1772, from Tzaritzin to join the Ruſſian army, he aſſembled them in a ſmall poſt-houſe ſituated in the lonely deſert between the Don and the Volga, and declared himſelf Peter the Third. Having perſuaded them to ſalute him Emperor, and take the oath of allegiance, he appointed ſeveral officers of ſtate. A few hours after this tranſaction, the commander of the troop unexpectedly arriving, confounded the ſoldiers by his preſence, ſeized the impoſtor by the hair, and with the aſſiſtance of the aſtoniſhed Coſſacs, bound and conducted him a priſoner to Tzaritzin. During his trial the inhabitants, excited by falſe reports of his followers, roſe in his favour, and were not without great difficulty diſperſed by the commander Colonel Zipletof. The impoſtor being conveyed to an iſland of the Volga, was knooted to death.

About the ſame time a malefactor, who had been tranſported to Irkutſk, made a ſimilar attempt, and even gained over an officer who had a penſion from the crown; but his ſecret being diſcovered, he was alſo put to death.

Yemelka Pugatchef narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate at his firſt appearance. This extraordinary man, ſon of the Coſſac Ivan Pugatchef, was born at Simoveiſk, a village on the Don. He was a common Coſſac in the war againſt the King of Pruſſia, and ſerved likewiſe during the campaign of 1769 againſt the Turks. He was at the ſiege of Bender; and on the ſurrender of the town, demanded his diſmiſſion, which being refuſed, he deſerted and fled into Poland: he was there concealed by ſome hermits of the Greek

religion, and afterwards ſupported himſelf by begging alms in the town of Dubranka. From thence he repaired to the colonies in Little Ruſſia, and continued among the ſectaries, who are there eſtabliſhed in great numbers; but apprehenſive of diſcovery, he went to the principal ſettlement of the Coſſacs of the river Yaik *, and perſuaded ſeveral to accompany him to Kuban. Being arreſted at Malekofka for treaſonable converſation, he was ſent for trial to Caſan; where the indolence of the goveror, and the delays in bringing him to juſtice, gave him an opportunity of eſcaping with a prieſt, who privately furniſhed him with money for intoxicating the centinels. He then went down the Volga, and up the river Irghis into the deſert; and not long afterwards appeared under the character of Peter, at the head of numerous inſurgents. The peculiar circumſtances which ſerved to favour his enterprize were derived from the religious prejudices of the Ruſſian diſſenters, and the mutiny of the Coſſacs of the Yaik.

The Ruſſian diſſenters, called by the eſtabliſhed church *Roſkolniki* or ſeparatiſts, diſtinguiſh themſelves by the name of *Staroverſki*, or old believers. Theſe ſectaries have been frequently perſecuted, particularly under Peter I. who compelled them to pay double taxes, and wear a badge of diſtinction. Perſecution, however, only tended to increaſe their numbers; and they are ſtill numerous in Siberia, and among the Coſſacs in the government of Orenburgh, where the rebellion of Pugatchef firſt broke out. They conſider the ſervice of the eſtabliſhed church as profane and ſacrilegious; they have their own prieſts and ceremonies; and Pugatchef artfully availed himſelf of their religious opinions, which he profeſſed to eſpouſe and protect.

The mutiny of a large body of Coſſacs operated no leſs in favour of Pugatchef. The Coſſacs of the Yaik, deſcended from thoſe of the Don, are a valiant race; enthuſiaſts for the antient ritual, and prizing their beards almoſt equal to their lives; they are rich from their conſiderable fiſheries of ſturgeons; they have alſo acquired a ſpirit of independence by being ſituated in a deſert between the Calmucs and the Kirgheſe, who are continually at variance with each other, and often with the Coſſacs themſelves. During the war with the Turks in 1771, ſome recruits were required of theſe Coſſacs for a corps of huſſars; their beards were ordered to be ſhaven; and as they oppoſed this infringement of their liberties, Major-General Traubenberg, a Livonian officer, who was ſent at the head of a few ſoldiers to Yaitſk to quell the tumult, imprudently commanded the recruits to be publicly ſhaven in the midſt of the town. The inhabitants, irritated by this wanton inſult, roſe in arms, wounded ſeveral officers, maſſacred the general and the chief of the Coſſacs, and broke into open rebellion. In ſpring, General Freyman forced Yaitſk, captured ſeveral ringleaders of the mutiny, and garriſoned part of his troops in the town. Many of the rebels made their eſcape, and retiring into the deſert, chiefly reſorted to the marſhy grounds about the lake Kamyſh-Samara, where they derived a ſubſiſtence from fiſhing, and ſhooting wild boars, and were ſupplied by their relations with bread and proviſions. By theſe means this deſperate troop ſupported themſelves during the ſpace of two years, until Pugatchef made his appearance among them.

On his eſcape from priſon, Pugatchef went ſecretly to Yaitſk about the middle of Auguſt, 1773; where he gained over a number of followers among the people, who were enraged againſt the garriſon, and had ſhewn a ſtrong diſpoſition to revolt, when a report was circulated that a new Emperor was coming amongſt them; a report probably occaſioned by the firſt appearance of Pugatchef in theſe parts. Obtaining, at Yaitſk, intelligence of the late mutiny, he followed the deſerters; and having, in October,

* In order to extinguiſh all remembrance of this rebellion, the river Yaik is now called Ural, Yaitſk, Uralſk, and the Coſſacs of the Yaik, the Uralian Coſſacs.

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found a large body employed in fiſhing, informed them that he was the Emperor, and had made his eſcape from priſon, where perſons were ſuborned to aſſaſſinate him; he added that the rumour of his death was only a fiction invented by the court, and that he now threw himſelf under their protection.

Pugatchef did not bear the ſmalleſt reſemblance to Peter; but founded his hopes of gaining belief on the diſtance from the capital, on the ignorance of the people, on their actual inſurrection, and above all, on their attachment to their religious prejudices. Few arguments being neceſſary to win over theſe Coſſacs, already in a ſtate of rebellion, they unanimouſly ſaluted him Emperor, and offered to ſacrifice their lives in his defence. With theſe, and other bodies of Coſſacs, whom he found equally inclined to follow his ſtandard, he made his firſt expedition to the new Poliſh colonies lately eſtabliſhed on the river Irghis; where he gave no proof of his ſubſequent barbarity, deſpoiling the inhabitants of nothing but arms and horſes. He then preſented himſelf before Yaitſk; and after ineffectually ſummoning the governor to ſurrender, gave orders for an immediate aſſault. Being repulſed by the intrepidity of the garriſon, he blockaded the place with a view of reducing it by famine; but his attempt was fruſtrated by the reſolution of the governor Rendſdorf, and the incredible perſeverance of the garriſon, who refuſed to capitulate, although they were ſo far ſtreightened for want of proviſions, as not only to eat their horſes, but even to feed upon leather. This obſtinate reſiſtance protracted the ſiege until Yaitſk was relieved.

Pugatchef, baffled in this enterprize, was more ſucceſsful in his future operations: he led his followers againſt the Coſſac colonies of Ilets, aſſaulted and carried, without oppoſition, the fortreſſes of Raſypnaya and Oſernaya, attacked Tatiſcheva, where he met with greater reſiſtance; but as the fortifications were only of wood, he ſet fire to them, and forced the place. A body of troops ſent againſt him from Orenburg, under Colonel Bulof, partly through weakneſs, and partly through miſconduct, was overpowered. Another corps, who in order to join the former, marched from Simbirſk up the Samara, under the command of Colonel Tchernichef, arrived too late. Deceived by parties of Pugatchef's followers, they were drawn into the defiles near Tchernoretchinſk, and ſo ſuddenly beſet, that they were incapable of making reſiſtance. In all theſe actions, the officers who fell into Pugatchef's hands, were indiſcriminately maſſacred; and the common ſoldiers were either made priſoners, or joined the rebels. His army being conſiderably augmented by theſe ſucceſſes, he ventured to beſiege Orenburg, where the governor had not force ſufficient to defend the fortifications; and the town would have been inevitably taken, had not the garriſon of Kraſnagorſk thrown themſelves into the place by forcing their way through the beſiegers.

The report of Pugatchef's progreſs being diſſeminated, the Baſchkirs, a people unſettled under the Ruſſian government, declared for the impoſtor, and joined him in large bodies: their example was followed by many Ruſſian coloniſts, particularly by the peaſants employed in the mines and founderies of the Uralian mountains *. Theſe forces he either employed in the ſiege of Orenburg, before which town he ſpent part of the winter in acts of wantonneſs, drunkenneſs, and cruelty, or ſent them to collect money from the founderies, and to caſt copper guns, and balls. This winter he received a powerful reinforcement by the junction of eleven thouſand Calmuc horſe from the neighbourhood of Stauropol, who revolted and killed their commander, Brigadier Veghezak. Strengthened by theſe acceſſions, his troops roved over the whole mountainous diſtrict of Orenburgh, where only the ſmall town of Upha made the leaſt reſiſtance.

* The Uralian mountains abound in copper mines.

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He was even advancing to Catharinenburgh, where he would have found copper coin to the value of 200,000l.; but a delay, occaſioned by a falſe report that a ſuperior force was marching againſt him, fortunately afforded time to collect the ſoldiers ſtationed on the Siberian frontiers, and cover the place.

The people were ſo greatly attached to the cauſe of Pugatchef, that he never wanted proviſions or forage. Colonel Michaelſon, to whoſe ſpirit and activity the defeat of Pugatchef was principally owing, ſuddenly entering a large village at the head of his corps, the inhabitants taking him for the impoſtor, flocked about his ſtandard, and exclaimed, "We have long expected Your Majeſty's preſence as that of a god *!" The Colonel obſerved before each houſe a table ſpread with bread, milk, honey, and other proviſions, for the purpoſe of regaling the followers of Pugatchef, which were unwillingly reſigned to the imperial troops.

At firſt Pugatchef affected the appearance of uncommon ſanctity: he frequently wore the epiſcopal dreſs, gave benedictions to the people, renounced all ambitious views for himſelf, and expreſſed a reſolution that, as ſoon as he had raiſed his ſon the Great Duke to the throne, he would again retire into the monaſtery, in which he had found an aſylum. He was alſo active and enterprizing, eager to ſignalize his arms, and ready to ſeize every advantage which the ſituation of the enemy preſented; but incapable of ſupporting with equanimity his rapid ſucceſſes, he began to conſider all further diſſimulation as unneceſſary; and his natural temper broke out into the moſt unwarrantable exceſſes. He maſſacred, with the moſt ſavage barbarity, all the officers and nobles who were brought before him; and openly avowing an intention of exterminating the whole Ruſſian nobility, he ſpared neither ſex nor age. His conduct was as imprudent as it was barbarous. Though already married to Sophia, the daughter of a Coſſac, by whom he had three children, he eſpouſed a common woman of Yaitſk, delayed his march againſt the enemy for the celebration of his nuptials, and exhibited continued ſcenes of intoxication and riot.

He was ſupported by no perſons of rank or conſequence; but, to impoſe upon his army, ſome of his moſt confidential adherents aſſumed the names of the principal Ruſſian nobles, and wore the orders of knighthood. By a ſignal to his attendants, he ordered all the German officers who were brought into his preſence, to be maſſacred, in order to prevent his ignorance of their language from being obſerved by his followers.

During theſe tranſactions, General Bibikof, advancing at the head of a very conſiderable army, detached his Major-General, Prince Peter Galitzin, againſt the rebels, who ſurpriſed Pugatchef with his whole force near Tatiſcheva, and worſted him for the firſt time†. He was cloſely purſued and overtaken by Prince Galitzin near Kargula, upon the river Sakmara, about the diſtance of twelve miles from Orenburgh; he was completely routed, his troops were diſperſed, and he himſelf, with a few followers, narrowly eſcaped into the Uralian mountains. Notwithſtanding this diſcomfiture, he collected his ſcattered men, and ſoon re-appeared with a formidable force on the eaſt ſide of the mountains. He carried ſeveral ſmall fortreſſes, and burnt Troitzk; but being attacked by Lieutenant-General de Colm, was obliged to retreat a ſecond time into the mountains.

* This anecdote I had from Colonel Michaelſon himſelf.

† This firſt defeat of Pugatchef himſelf in perſon happened on the 23d of March, but on the 22d, Colonel Michaelſon, with only one thouſand troops and ſix cannon, had routed his general, who called himſelf Colonel Tchernichef, at the head of ſixteen thouſand men, and took forty-two cannon and eight mortars. Pugatchef offered a reward of 100,000 roubles for the head of Colonel Michaelſon.

Rendered deſperate by theſe repeated defeats, and deſirous of again ſignalizing his arms by ſome brilliant exploit, he ſuddenly directed his march towards Caſan, committing in his progreſs the moſt dreadful devaſtations. Having burnt the ſuburbs, he laid ſiege to the citadel, whither Major-General Paul Potemkin the Governor, and all his attendants, had retired. Forced to raiſe the ſiege, by the approach of Colonel Michaelſon, at the head of only twelve hundred troops, he was routed near Caſan, after ſeveral obſtinate engagements, which continued with little interruption during three days. In theſe engagements ſix thouſand were taken priſoners, and ſo many killed, that the peaſants employed ſix days in burying the dead; and Pugatchef, accompanied by only three hundred well-armed Coſſacs of Yaitſk, who were the moſt deſperate rebels, fled acroſs the Volga. But he was afterwards joined by large bodies of Coſſacs and Baſhkirs; while ill-armed peaſants flocked to his ſtandard from conſiderable diſtances. In this manner the impoſtor ſeemed to gain ſtrength from his loſſes; and derived ſuch deluſive hopes from the number of his troops, which occaſionally amounted to ſeventy thouſand men, that he even formed the reſolution of proceeding to Moſcow, where one of his emiſſaries had raiſed a ſpirit of ſedition among the common people. But apprehenſive, leſt, as peace was concluded with the Turks, part of the army on the Danube might be employed againſt him, he changed his plan of operations.

He marched down the Volga, routed at Dubofka a party under the command of Baron Dies, ſtormed Penſa and Saratof, where the Governor eſcaped only with fifty ſoldiers, obtained poſſeſſion of Demitreffk by treachery, and executed the commander. Near that fortreſs, the aſtronomer Lowitz, who was employed in levelling the projected canal between the Don and Volga, was murdered in a moſt inhuman manner. In this inſtance, inſult was added to cruelty; being informed that he was an aſtronomer, Pugatchef wantonly ordered him to be tranſfixed upon pikes, and raiſed in the air, that he might be nearer the ſtars; and in that ſituation ordered him to be maſſacred.

But the enormities of this monſter were ſoon cloſed by a fate which he had long deſerved. The court, no longer embarraſſed with a Turkiſh war, was able to turn its whole attention towards cruſhing this diſtant rebellion; and Count Peter Panin, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the capture of Bender, was ſent againſt the impoſtor. Panin, moving towards the Volga, detached ſeveral troops to the aſſiſtance of Colonel Michaelſon, who compelled Pugatchef to raiſe the ſiege of Tzaritzin, drove him towards Tchernoyarſk, cut off his proviſions, and finally attacked him unawares as he was marching with his half-ſtarved multitude, embarraſſed with a large train of loaded carriages and women. The rebel army, ſurprized in a defile between two ridges of mountains, which run towards the Volga, was entirely routed; many were cut to pieces; more, endeavouring to eſcape, were forced down the ſteep precipices with their horſes and carriages, and the greater part of the remainder ſurrendered at diſcretion. Pugatchef, after many deſperate efforts of valour, eſcaped, with a few of his principal followers, by ſwimming acroſs the Volga, and retired through the deſert towards the river Uſem, where he began his expedition. Here he was gradually deſerted by his followers, who were worn out with miſery and hunger, and was at laſt betrayed by thoſe in whom he placed the greateſt confidence. Tvogorof, a Coſſac of Iletz, and Tchumakef and Fidulef, Coſſacs of Yaitſk, were induced by the promiſe of a pardon to betray him. One of them repreſented to the impoſtor, that ſurrounded as he was by the enemy, he could entertain no hopes of ſafety; and he adviſed him to reſign himſelf into the hands of the Ruſſians, on condition of pardon. Pugatchef, enraged at this propoſal, drew his dagger, and attempted to ſtab the author of ſuch daſtardly advice; but his companions inſtantly

inſtantly diſarmed, bound, and conducted him priſoner to a corps of troops poſted on the river Yaik, under the command of General Suvarof*. He was conveyed to Yaitſk,

* This was the celebrated General, who has ſince been ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed for his military exploits.

Alexander Vaſſilievitch Suvarof, deſcended from a Swediſh family ennobled in Ruſſia, was born in 1730, and at the age of twelve enrolled in the Ruſſian army. He made his firſt campaign againſt the Pruſſians in 1759; became brigadier in 1768, and firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a general againſt the confederates in Poland, in 1771, when he obtained the order of St. Alexander Nevſki for his military ſervices.

He afterwards ſignalized himſelf on various occaſions, too numerous to be repeated, and cloſed his military career by his aſtoniſhing campaign againſt the French in Italy, and his no leſs aſtoniſhing retreat over the Alps of Switzerland.

Several accounts of his life and character have been already given to the public; and I am happy to have it in my power to add ſome authentic anecdotes of his diſgrace and death.

After the unfortunate battle of Zurie, Suvarof was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, probably occaſioned by the violent fatigue he had undergone in his paſſage through Switzerland. The news of his indiſpoſition had no ſooner reached Peterſburgh, than a phyſician (Dr. Viſchart) was diſpatched to attend him; orders for his return were at the ſame time forwarded; and it was ſignified to him, that apartments were prepared in the palace for his reception, and that he was to receive the ſame honours as the imperial family.

Suvarof, ſuſpecting the intention of the Emperor to ſecede from the alliance, pleaded ill-health to remain at his poſt, and repreſented, in ſtrong terms, the neceſſity of an immediate re-inforcement. Theſe repreſentations ill accorded with the views of Paul, who had conceived a violent diſguſt againſt the Houſe of Auſtria. Orders being again diſpatched to Suvarof to return, he repeated his remonſtrances; but at length commenced his march, moving by ſlow ſtages, and fixed his winter quarters in Bohemia. At laſt a courier from St. Peterſburgh arrived with poſitive commands to return to Ruſſia without delay; and acquainted him, in terms ſtrongly marking the high diſpleaſure of the ſovereign, that the apartments deſtined for him in the palace were already diſpoſed of, and that his preſence was not neceſſary in the capital.

From this moment his intellects were ſenſibly affected. Notwithſtanding the efforts of his phyſician, he perſiſted in travelling inceſſantly; and on the days in which his fever intermitted, underwent ſuch fatigue as thoſe in health could not bear without inconvenience.

At length reaching Peterſburgh, he was obliged to take refuge in a ſmall houſe ſituated in an obſcure quarter of the town, and belonging to a diſtant relation, of the name of Quaſtof. On the night of his arrival, according to the information of a perſon who ſaw him, his appearance was humiliating and affecting; he was wan and emaciated, more reſembling a corpſe than an animated being; his intellects were diſordered, but his underſtanding returned at intervals, and he occaſionally recollected, and ſpoke affectionately to many of thoſe who were preſent.

The medicines which were adminiſtered, and the repoſe which he enjoyed after his fatiguing journey, reſtored his faculties, and he gave a proof of the ſingularity of his diſpoſition, and the independence of his ſpirit, by the manner in which he received a meſſage from the Emperor Paul who two days after his arrival, ſent his favourite and prime-miniſter, Count Raſtofsin, (who had been formerly a ſubaltern in his regiment) to inquire after his health. He affected to diſbelieve that Raſtofsin was prime-miniſter, becauſe he appeared in the new military coſtume, and when his quality was repeatedly declared, at length pretended to apologize, and ſaid he had miſtaken him from his jack-boots for an officer of the police. In the courſe of the converſation, he ſuddenly apoſtrophiſed the miniſter by his chriſtian name, and ſaid, ſurely you were an under officer in my regiment. Raſtofsin replying in the affirmative, Suvarof exclaimed, "happy Ruſſia! whoſe miniſters are drawn from every ſtation. In other countries, indeed, the employments of ſtate are filled by thoſe who have been bred up in the details of office, and grown grey in the ſervice. But Ruſſia is above theſe antiquated prejudices!"

A perſon who viſited him two days before his death, found him totally childiſh; he amuſed himſelf with giving away eſtates which he did not poſſeſs, as well as in making imaginary gifts of Perſian horſes, and rich furs, which thoſe to whom he diſtributed his largeſſes pretended to receive with great acknowledgments of his liberality.

In this melancholy ſtate, he continued till the hour of his death, which happened on the 18th of May. His body was laid in ſtate in the houſe where he died, and the room was ſo ſmall as ſcarcely to admit ſufficient ſpace for the canopy, and for the numerous cuſhions on which his different orders of knighthood were placed. All ranks of people crowded to viſit his remains, and the enthuſiaſtic attachment of the Ruſſians to their general was as great at this period, as in the midſt of his victorious career, notwithſtanding the diſapprobation of the ſovereign.

The indignation of the Emperor, which had been firſt excited by his bitter ſarcaſms againſt the new military ſyſtem, and his delays in marching back his troops, was increaſed by his treatment of Raſtofsin, and ſurvived his deceaſe. The funeral of Suvarof completed his ſingular and unmerited diſgrace: after having

Yaitſk, and delivered to Count Panin at Simbirſk, who ſent him, with his principal aſſociates to Moſcow; where he arrived in the month of November 1774. On his examination, he acknowledged all the circumſtances of his impoſture, and was publicly beheaded in the city of Moſcow, on the 21ſt of January. His body was then quartered, and expoſed in different places.

Nothing can place the humanity of the Empreſs in a ſtronger light, than that, at the concluſion of a rebellion which almoſt ſhook her throne, the impoſtor Pugatchef was not put to the torture *; and that only he and four of his principal confederates ſuffered death.

CHAP. XVI.—*Deſcription of the Knoot.—Penal Laws of Ruſſia.—Abolition of capital Puniſhments by the Edict of Elizabeth.—Remarks on that Edict.—Abolition of Torture by the preſent Empreſs.—Her Majeſty's Anſwers to the Authors Queries on Priſons.—Outlines of the new Regulations.—Their Excellence and beneficial Tendency.*

ONE morning, as I ſtrolled through the ſtreets of Peterſburgh, near the market-place, I obſerved a large crowd of people, and on inquiring the cauſe of this concourſe was informed, that the multitude was aſſembled to ſee a felon, who had been convicted of murder, receive the knoot. Although I naturally ſhuddered at the idea of being a ſpectator of the agonies of a fellow-creature, yet curioſity overcame my feelings. I penetrated through the crowd, and aſcended the roof of a wooden houſe; from whence I had a diſtinct view of the dreadful operation. The executioner held in his hand the knoot †: this inſtrument is a hard thong, about the thickneſs of a crown-piece, and three

having been honoured by every diſtinction a ſovereign could beſtow, after being prayed for in the chapel of the court, together with the imperial family, after being made a prince of the empire, and generaliſſimo of all the forces, a rank equal to that poſſeſſed by the Emperor himſelf, and after having conducted a brilliant and victorious campaign, he was buried without common military honours. A few ſoldiers from a marching regiment attended the proceſſion inſtead of the batalions of guards, no artillery was allowed excepting ſome ſmall pieces of cannon, which ſeemed to burleſque inſtead of adding dignity to the ceremony, and even the capariſoned horſe was forbidden to be led. The populace felt and diſplayed their indignation at this inſulting and ſtudied diſreſpect; but the vigilance of the police obliged them to murmur in ſecret; and in a ſhort time all ſeemed to have been forgotten, excepting by thoſe who were able to appreciate the merit of Suvarof.

The reſentment of the Emperor did not confine itſelf to the remains of the deceaſed hero, but extended to his family. His ſon, who, in conſideration of his father's ſervices, had been ſuddenly raiſed to the rank of major-general, was totally deprived of his military character, and reduced to the poſt of chamberlain, which he held before his elevation, and his marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Courland was broken off, by the interference of the court.

It appears from recent accounts, that the Emperor Alexander has attempted to compenſate for the neglect of Paul, by erecting the ſtatue of Suvarof in the imperial garden at Peterſburgh.

* When I viſited the priſon of Moſcow, I ſaw ſeveral horrid inſtruments, which had been made to torture Pugatchef, but which, by the Empreſs's poſitive orders, were not uſed. L'Evefque, who is ſeldom miſtaken, is therefore wrong, in aſſerting that he was racked to death. "*Il perit du ſupplice de la roue.*" Vol. v. p. 43.

† The following are the exact dimenſions and weight of a knoot, which I procured in Ruſſia, and which is now in my poſſeſſion.

Length of the thong 2 feet; breadth of the top $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch; at the bottom $\frac{1}{4}$.—Thickneſs $\frac{1}{2}$.—Length of the platted whip feet.—Circumference of ditto $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—Diameter of the ring 1 inch and $\frac{1}{2}$.—Length of the leather ſpring 1 inch and $\frac{1}{2}$.—Length of the handle 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Length of the whole 5 feet 5 inches and $\frac{1}{2}$.—Weight 11 ounces.

three quarters of an inch broad, and tied to a thick plaited whip, which is connected, by means of an iron ring, with a ſmall piece of leather faſtened to a ſhort wooden handle.

The executioner, before every ſtroke, receded, and at the ſame time drew back the hand which held the knoot; then, bounding forwards, he ſtruck the flat end of the thong on the naked back of the criminal in a perpendicular line, reaching ſix or ſeven inches from the collar towards the waiſt. He began with the right ſhoulder, and continued his ſtrokes parallel to each other quite to the left ſhoulder; nor ceaſed till he had inflicted three hundred and thirty-three laſhes, the number preſcribed by the ſentence. At the concluſion of this terrible operation, the noſtrils of the criminal were torn with pincers, his face was marked with a hot iron, and he was re-conducted to priſon, in order to be tranſported to the mines of Nerſhinſk in Siberia.

As ſeveral authors have erroneouſly deſcribed the puniſhment of the knoot, I have been thus particular in relating what fell under obſervation; and I ſhall take this opportunity of making a few remarks on the penal laws of Ruſſia.

By the antient ſtatutes, felons, as well as traitors, were publicly executed; but by an edict of Elizabeth, corporal penalties were, except in ſome caſes of high treaſon, ſubſtituted in the room of capital ſentences; a circumſtance peculiar to the Ruſſian code.

According to the preſent penal laws, offenders are puniſhed in the following manner. Perſons convicted of high treaſon are either beheaded or impriſoned for life. Felons, after receiving the knoot, having their noſtrils torn and their faces marked, are condemned for life to work in the mines of Nerſhinſk. Petty offenders are either whipped *, tranſported into Siberia as coloniſts, or ſentenced to hard labour for a ſtated period. Among the coloniſts are included peaſants, who may be arbitrarily conſigned by their maſters to baniſhment †.

All theſe perſons are tranſported in ſpring and autumn from different parts of the Ruſſian dominions. They travel partly by water and partly by land, are chained in pairs, and faſtened to a long rope. When the whole troop arrives at Tobolſk, the governor aſſigns the coloniſts, who are verſed in handicraft trades, to different maſters in the town; others he diſpoſes as vaſſals in the neighbouring country. The remainder of the coloniſts proceed to Irkutſk, where they are diſtributed by the governor in the ſame manner. The felons are then conveyed to the diſtrict of Nerſhinſk, where they are condemned to work in the ſilver mines, or at the different forges.

Travellers, who viſited Ruſſia before the reign of Elizabeth, uniformly concurred in relating the various modes of public executions, and in reprobating the ſeverity of the criminal laws. But though we may join with every friend to humanity in rejoicing that many of theſe dreadful puniſhments no longer exiſt; yet we cannot aſſent to the high encomiums paſſed on the ſuperior excellence of the penal code ſince the edict of Elizabeth, which is ſuppoſed to have totally annulled capital condemnations.

From this ſuppreſſion of capital puniſhment in all inſtances excepting treaſon, Elizabeth has been repreſented, not only by the lively Voltaire, but even by the ſagacious

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The reader will judge of the great force which the ſkilful executioner can give to this inſtrument, when informed, that if he receives a private order, he can diſpatch the criminal by ſtriking him two or three blows upon the ribs

* There are three inſtruments for whipping in Ruſſia: the knoot, the katze, and the plett, both of which latter are a kind of cat-o'-nine-tails.

† Their maſters are empowered to inflict this puniſhment, only aſſigning the offence.

Blackſtone *, as a pattern of legiſlative clemency. Though the infliction of death for offences, which ought not to be capital, is too frequent in many countries; yet Elizabeth's modification of the criminal laws is perhaps no leſs exceptionable, in point of policy and expedience, than illuſive in regard to its ſuppoſed lenity.

For ſhould we even erroneouſly imagine, with ſome authors, that the edict has been literally obeyed, and that, during the ſpace of forty years, *not one criminal ſuffered death* throughout the vaſt empire of Ruſſia; ſurely this lenity to the moſt atrocious crimes muſt be conſidered as extremely injurious to ſociety. As a denunciation of death is, to the generality of mankind, the moſt formidable prevention of crimes, the removal

* Voltaire thus expreſſes himſelf upon this edict. "*L'Impératrice Elizabeth a achevé, par la clémence, l'ouvrage que ſon père commença par les loix. Cette indulgence a été même pouſſée à un point, dont il n'y a point d'exemple dans l'hiſtoire d'aucun peuple. Elle a promis, que pendant ſon regne perſonne ne ſerait puni de mort, & a tenu ſa promeſſe. Elle eſt la premiére ſouveraine qui ait ainſi reſpecté la vie des hommes.* Les malfaiteurs ont été condamnés aux mines aux travaux publics: leurs châtimens ſont devenus utiles à l'état; inſtitution non moins ſage que humaine. Partout ailleurs on ne ſait que tuer un criminel, avec appareil, ſans avoir jamais empêché les crimes. La terreur de la mort fait moins d'impreſſion peut-être ſur des méchants pour la plûpart fainéants, que la crainte d'un châtiment & d'un travail pénible qui renaiſſent tous les jours." Hiſt. de Ruſſie, p. 120.

Sir William Blackſtone makes the following remark upon the ſame prohibition.

"Was the vaſt territory of all the Ruſſias worſe regulated under the late Empreſs Elizabeth, than under her more ſanguinary predeceſſors? Is it now, under Catharine II., leſs civilized, leſs ſocial, leſs ſecure? And yet *we are aſſured, that neither of theſe illuſtrious Princeſſes have, throughout their whole adminiſtration, inflicted the penalty of death*; and the latter has, upon full perſuaſion of its being uſeleſs, nay, even pernicious, given orders for *aboliſhing it entirely* throughout her extenſive dominions." Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 10.

And lately L'Eveſque, "Les grands crimes ont commencé à devenir plus rares ſous ce regne, *où perſonne n'a été puni de mort.*" Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. v. p. 92.

Voltaire aſſigns, as the grounds of his encomium on Elizabeth's ſuppreſſion of capital puniſhment, two reaſons: 1. The permanent chaſtiſement which entails on the offender a long continuance of hardſhips and miſery, has a greater effect on the multitude, than the ſummary pangs of death. 2. The preſervation of malefactors is ſubſervient to public emolument. 1. On the firſt reaſon I ſhall briefly remark, that the horror of diſſolution has been repeatedly obſerved in the generality of mankind to preponderate beyond any other terrors; and if we could deviſe a puniſhment more terrible than death, this new puniſhment, in order to work its effect upon vulgar minds, ought to be inflicted within the reach of vulgar obſervation, and not in the remote region of Siberia. For can we ſuppoſe that the lower claſs of mankind, who are governed by their ſenſes, receive any ſtrong impreſſion from the caſual report of ſufferings endured at a great diſtance? 2. Voltaire's ſecond reaſon for his applauſe of Elizabeth's edict, namely, the profit which the community derives from the labour of a malefactor whoſe life is ſpared, will hardly be allowed to hold good in regard to murderers; for if capital puniſhments be really the moſt efficacious prevention of crimes, they will neceſſarily form a ſtronger bulwark round the lives of orderly citizens than any other penalties. The legiſlator, therefore, who ſubverts this ſecurity with a view to the emolument of the ſtate, actually revives the old barbarous cuſtom of weighing the life of man in a ſcale againſt pecuniary advantage, with this material difference, however, in favour of that barbarous cuſtom, that the latter aſſigned the price of blood to the relations of the perſon whoſe blood had been ſhed, and who had a more immediate claim, than the community at large, on any compenſation made by the offender.

Judge Blackſtone intimates his doubts concerning the ſuperior efficacy of capital puniſhments over other penalties in the ſhape of a query. Was the vaſt territory, &c. But no reader can perhaps anſwer this queſtion in the negative; nor could the ſagacious author himſelf anſwer it in the affirmative. For can it be deciſively determined, except by a collection and compariſon, during a long ſeries of years, of felonies reſpectively committed under the two different modes of juriſprudence? and judge Blackſtone does not pretend to have formed his theory on this ground. But after all, this reaſoning ſuppoſes a fact which in reality does not exiſt, that no criminal has ſuffered capitally ſince the acceſſion of Elizabeth; the fallacy of which aſſertion is, I flatter myſelf, abundantly proved in the text.

I entered Ruſſia fully prejudiced in favour of the notion, that no perſons were ever puniſhed with death. I was firſt undeceived by a foreign gentleman, to whom I addreſſed the queſtion, Whether there were any capital executions in Ruſſia? "Malefactors, indeed," he returned, "are not beheaded or hanged; but are not unfrequently knooted to death."

of this ſalutary terror withdraws a material ſafeguard from the lives and property of worthy citizens, and diminiſhes that ſecurity which they have a right to claim from the protection of the laws.

The moſt benevolent perſon will probably entertain no extraordinary veneration for this boaſted abolition of capital puniſhment, when he reflects, that though the criminal laws of Ruſſia do not *literally* ſentence malefactors to death, they ſtill conſign many to that doom through the medium of puniſhments in ſome circumſtances, almoſt aſſuredly, if not profeſſedly, fatal, which mock with the hopes of life, but in reality protract the horrors of death, and embitter with delay an event which reaſon and humanity wiſh to be inſtantaneous. For when we conſider that many felons expire under the infliction, or from the conſequences of the knoot; that ſeveral are exhauſted by the fatigue of the long journey to Nerſhinſk *, and that the forlorn remnant periſh prematurely from the unwholeſomeneſs of the mines, it will be difficult to view the doom of theſe unhappy outcaſts in any other light than that of a lingering execution. In effect, ſince the promulgation of the edict, a year has never paſſed in which many atrocious criminals, though legally condemned to other penalties, have not ſuffered death. And indeed, upon a general calculation, perhaps it will be found, that notwithſtanding the apparent mildneſs of the penal code, not fewer malefactors ſuffer death in Ruſſia, than in thoſe countries wherein that mode of puniſhment is appointed by the laws. It is therefore evident, that capital penalties are virtually retained, although the chief utility reſulting from the terror of death is conſiderably diminiſhed.

The panegyriſts of Elizabeth would have entertained ſome doubts concerning her boaſted clemency, had they recollected that ſhe ſtill retained a horrid proceſs for the purpoſe of extorting confeſſion from perſons charged with treaſonable deſigns. The arms of the ſuſpected perſon being tied behind by a rope, he was drawn up to a conſiderable height; from whence, being ſuddenly precipitated and ſuddenly checked, the violence of the concuſſion diſlocated his ſhoulders, and in that deplorable ſituation he underwent the knoot. To this dreadful engine of barbarity and deſpotiſm, Elizabeth gave unlimited ſcope: during her whole reign it was applied even at the diſcretion of inferior and ignorant magiſtrates, and was not aboliſhed until the acceſſion of Catharine, who has prohibited the uſe of torture.

Although the ſovereign is abſolute in the moſt unlimited ſenſe of the word; yet the prejudice of the Ruſſians in regard to the neceſſity of torture (and a wiſe legiſlator will always reſpect popular prejudices, however abſurd,) was ſo deeply rooted by immemorial uſage, that it required great circumſpection not to raiſe diſcontents by an immediate abolition of that inhuman practice. Accordingly, the cautious manner in which it was gradually ſuppreſſed, diſcovered as much judgment as benevolence. In 1762, Catharine took away the power of inflicting torture from the vayvodes, or inferior juſtices, by whom it had been ſhamefully abuſed. In 1767, a ſecret order was iſſued to the judges, that whenever they ſhould think torture neceſſary to force confeſſion, they ſhould lay the general articles of the charge before the governor of the province for his conſideration; and all the governors had received previous directions to determine the caſe according to the principles laid down in the third † queſtion of the tenth chapter of inſtructions for a code of laws; wherein torture is proved to be no leſs uſeleſs than cruel. This, therefore, was a tacit abolition of torture, which has been ſince formally

* Four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix miles from Peterſburgh.

† Queſtion III. "*La queſtion ne bleſſe-t-elle pas la juſtice, et conduit-elle au but, &c.*" See Inſtructions de Catharine II., &c. p. 51 to 55.

and

and publicly annulled. The prohibition of this horrid ſpecies of judicature throughout the Ruſſian empire, forms a memorable æra in the annals of humanity.

At Moſcow and Peterſburgh I viſited the priſons, of which I have given an account in a former publication *. In this place I ſhall only remark in general, that the Empreſs, informed of my reſearches in relation to priſons, with a condeſcenſion peculiar to her character, permitted me to deliver to Count Ivan Tchernichef, vice-preſident of the admiralty, a liſt of queries, on ſome of which I received information, by her orders, from her beſt-informed governors †, and others ſhe even condeſcended to anſwer herſelf. Her anſwers I ſhall here ſubjoin, with a full conviction, that obſervations even of leſs moment would be rendered acceptable by the authority of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character.

Queries upon the Ruſſian priſons, delivered to the Empreſs.

1. *Is there any general plan for the conſtruction of priſons, and their interior diſtribution? and are they uſually ſituated in the ſuburbs, and near the running water?*

2. *What precautions are taken, in order to keep the priſons clean, and to prevent epidemical diſtempers?*

3. *Is there a ſeparate infirmary for the ſick?*

4. *Are petty offenders kept apart from the felons, and are the felons alſo ſeparated from each other?*

5. *Are the priſoners permitted to purchaſe ſpirituous liquors, and do the jailors ſell them?*

6. *Are female criminals put in irons?*

Anſwers dictated by the Empreſs to her ſecretary, and ſent to the author.

"1. There has been hitherto no general plan for the conſtruction of priſons, nor rules for their diſtribution and ſituation.

"2. There is no more regulation for the cleanlineſs of the priſons, than for their conſtruction and ſituation. By an abuſe favourable to the priſoners, they are in many places permitted to go to the baths. It is probable that the cold alone prevents epidemical diſorders.

"3. Not every where.

"4. Although it is preſcribed by the ancient laws that a felon, ſentenced to death, ſhall be kept in a ſeparate room, called the chamber of repentance, nevertheleſs, there are no where chambers of that deſcription.

"5. Every ſpecies of food is ſold in the priſons, but the jailor cannot ſell ſpirituous liquors, and that for two reaſons: Firſt, becauſe ſpirituous liquors can only be ſold by thoſe who farm the right of vending them from the crown. Secondly, which is very extraordinary, there are no jailors ‡ to any of the priſons, although the laws make mention of them.

"6. The laws are ſilent upon this head. So that whenever this cuſtom is practiſed, it muſt be reckoned among thoſe

* Account of the priſons and hoſpitals in Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark.
† I have made uſe of theſe papers in the treatiſe mentioned in the laſt note.
‡ The priſoners are guarded by ſoldiers.

innumerable

innumerable abuſes which ought to be aboliſhed *.

7. Is the fate of criminals condemned to hard labour ever mitigated in caſe of reformation? Do they wear any badge of infamy, and is it taken away upon good behaviour?

" 7. Criminals condemned to public labour are tranſported: for murder they are branded in the face with a hot iron, &c.; ſome are chained, others have their noſtrils torn, and, unleſs upon a general or particular amneſty, they receive no mitigation.

8. *Are there fixed times and places in the ſeveral provinces for the trial of criminals?*

" 8. The laws ſettled indeed certain times for this purpoſe; but as a great number of different affairs and trials were decided in the ſame tribunal, the courts of criminal juſtice were very dilatory in their proceedings.

" See the manifeſto of 1775, at the head of the Regulations †, &c."

" New plan for the Ruſſian priſons, to be introduced into each government.

" 1. To divide the priſons into civil and criminal. 2. The criminal priſon ſhall be diſtributed into three parts. The firſt for criminals before and during trial; the ſecond for perſons ſentenced to confinement for a ſtated time; and the third for felons capitally convicted, condemned to perpetual impriſonment, or to the public works. 3. Each part ſhall be ſeparate, one for the men, the other for the women. 4. There ſhall be an infirmary for ſick priſoners. 5. The priſon ſhall be conſtructed without the town, in an airy ſituation, and near the water."

It cannot be otherwiſe than a ſubject of pleaſing reflection, that this great Princeſs thus condeſcends to contemplate and alleviate the ſufferings of even the wretched victims to public juſtice; but how much more will our veneration be encreaſed, when we conſider her as erecting the glorious ſuperſtructure of national happineſs on the firm baſis of equal legiſlation?

The Empreſs, at her acceſſion, found the Ruſſian code of laws a rude and indigeſted chaos, and ſaw the immediate neceſſity of reformation. The courts of juſtice were regulated by the ſtatutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch ‡, extremely defective both as to order and preciſion; and by the *ukaſes* or imperial mandates iſſued by Peter and his ſuc-

* The original paſſage, which is in the French language, does not admit of a literal tranſlation:

" *Les loix paſſent ſous ſilence ce point: ainſi ce que pourroit ſe faire à cet égard peut être compté parmi l'inombrable quantité des abus. Ces abus ſont pour la plupart autant de cloux qu'il faut tirer du corps politique de l'etat où on les trouve.*"

† Reglements de Sa Maj. Imp. pour l'adminiſtration des gouvernements, &c.

‡ The earlieſt regular code of written laws was formed in 1542, by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II from precedents and ancient cuſtoms. The ſtatutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch, alluded to in the text, were chiefly compoſed from the above-mentioned code, from the mandates of the ſovereigns ſubſequent to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II., from the deciſions of the boiars, who in thoſe times preſided in the high courts of juſtice, and from the Byzantine laws or edicts iſſued by the Greek Emperors of Conſtantinople. The new ſtatutes compiled from theſe ſources, with a few additions, being in 1650 read in the Tzar's preſence, were printed, and a copy ſent into each province.

See Statuta Moſchovitica in Herberſteini Itin. in Moſchoviam; alſo Von Juſtiz-Weſen in Haygold's Beylagen, p. 379.

ceſſors, uncommonly numerous, and in many important points contradictory to each other.

The vaſt empire of Ruſſia was diſtributed into a few extenſive governments; each government was ſubdivided into provinces, and each province into diſtricts, or circles. Over each government was a governor, over the provinces a wayvode and his officers, who formed a chancery; over the diſtricts an inferior wayvode, or juſtice of peace. The abuſes reſulting from this diſtribution are ſufficiently detailed in a paſſage, from the manifeſto of the Empreſs prefixed to the firſt part of the new code *:

"We find that many governments are not ſufficiently provided with tribunals or officers of juſtice, in proportion to their extent; that not only the affairs of the treaſury and police, but alſo civil and criminal cauſes, are tried in the ſame court in which the adminiſtration of the government is carried on. Nor are the provinces and diſtricts leſs ſubject to ſimilar inconveniencies; as the ſole chancery of the wayvode is the only court which has cognizance of ſo many and ſuch different affairs. The diſorders reſulting from theſe circumſtances are but too evident. On one ſide delays, omiſſions, and vexations, are the natural conſequences of ſo incongruous and defective a conſtitution; where one buſineſs impedes another; and where the impoſſibility of terminating matters ſo various in the ſole chancery of the wayvode occaſions procraſtination, neglect of duty, and admits only a partial diſpatch of buſineſs. On the other ſide, theſe delays generate chicanery, and encourage the commiſſion of crimes; becauſe the puniſhment does not follow the tranſgreſſion of the laws with that celerity which is neceſſary to repreſs and ſtrike terror into offenders; while endleſs appeals from one court to another are perpetual obſtructions to juſtice."

But the greateſt evil to the lower claſs of people aroſe from the enormous authority of the inferior wayvode, who, though uſually a perſon of low birth, and totally ignorant of the laws, yet could not only impoſe puniſhment for petty offences, but had even the power of ordering the knoot, inflicting torture, and tranſporting to Siberia. Hence, perſons ſuſpected of crimes were detained in priſon ſeveral years without being brought to a final trial, were tortured without ſufficient proof, and frequently more than once.

Many ſovereigns ſince Alexèy Michaelovitch, particularly Peter I. framed projects for amending the Ruſſian juriſprudence, but never carried it into execution. The completion of this arduous undertaking was reſerved for Catharine II.; who, in 1767, ſummoned deputies to Moſcow from every part of her extenſive dominions, and having appointed commiſſioners for compoſing a new code of laws, delivered to them her Grand Inſtructions †, written by Her Imperial Majeſty in the true ſpirit of genuine legiſlation. In conformity to theſe inſtructions, the firſt part of a new code appeared in 1775, and a ſecond part in 1780, and it has been received in many of the new governments into which the Ruſſian empire is divided. Many abuſes have been removed by theſe new inſtitutions; and many ſtill exiſting are to be aboliſhed.

Though an ample detail of theſe regulations falls not within the compaſs of the preſent work; it is to be hoped that the curioſity of the public will be in ſome meaſure gratified by enumerating the moſt ſtriking peculiarities in this extenſive plan, which has modified the whole ſyſtem of government.

* Reglements de Catharine II. &c. p. vii.

† "Inſtructions de Catharine II. pour la Commiſſion chargée de dreſſer le Projet d'un Nouveau Code de Loix." St. Pet. 1769. Theſe inſtructions have been tranſlated into moſt modern languages, and into Engliſh by Tatiſchef, a Ruſſian gentleman, to which is prefixed, a deſcription of the manner of opening the commiſſion, with the order and rules for electing the Commiſſioners appointed to frame a new code of laws. See The Grand Inſtructions, &c. printed by Jefferys.

The empire, divided by Peter the Great into nine extenſive governments, is now diſtributed into a larger number *, each upon an average containing only from three to four hundred thouſand males. One or more of theſe governments is ſuperintended by a *Nameſtnick*, or lord-lieutenant, and each has a vice-governor, a council, civil and criminal courts of judicature, ſome of whoſe members are appointed by the ſovereign, and the others choſen by the nobles. By this inſtitution Catharine has in ſome inſtances, circumſcribed her prerogative, by diminiſhing the power of thoſe tribunals which were only dependent upon the crown, or tranſferring it to the nobles, and inveſting them with many additional privileges with reſpect to the adminiſtration of juſtice. By introducing likewiſe into each government ſuperior tribunals, whoſe deciſion is final, ſhe has prevented frequent appeals to the imperial colleges at Peterſburgh and Moſcow, which were attended with conſiderable expence and delay. By eſtabliſhing or ſeparating the different boards of finance, police, &c. from the courts of law, which before impeded each other by meeting in the ſame place, ſhe has facilitated the diſpatch of buſineſs, and rendered the adminiſtration of juſtice more ſpeedy. She has increaſed the ſalaries of the judges, who, from the narrowneſs of their income, were expoſed to almoſt irreſiſtible temptations from bribery; or, to uſe her own expreſſions to the judges, in her celebrated edict, "Formerly your neceſſities might have induced you to be too attentive to your own intereſts: your country now pays your labours, and what before might admit of ſome excuſe, from this moment becomes a crime."

To theſe regulations muſt be added the abolition of torture; the eſtabliſhment of proper boundaries between the governments, which has prevented many diſſenſions and law-ſuits; the appointment of regular phyſicians and ſurgeons, in various diſtricts, at the expence of the crown; the foundation of ſchools, and the eſtabliſhment of new ſeminaries for thoſe intended for holy orders; the erection of new bodies corporate with additional immunities; the grant of freedom to numberleſs vaſſals of the crown; and the means taken to facilitate the emancipation of the peaſantry. But of all the plans, none is more uſeful and praiſe-worthy than the eſtabliſhment of ſchools in every government, formed on the moſt comprehenſive ſcale and liberal principles.

An academy is eſtabliſhed at St. Peterſburgh for the inſtruction of two hundred ſtudents, deſigned to be maſters of the provincial ſchools. It is provided with profeſſors of hiſtory, mathematics, rhetoric, and natural hiſtory; with a German maſter, and a drawing maſter. The ſtudents are ſelected from the different ſeminaries of the Ruſſian empire, and, as they have received their education as prieſts of the regular clergy, underſtand Latin. They are twenty years of age, and are to remain at Peterſburgh three years; during which period they are inſtructed in hiſtory, geography, the various branches of natural philoſophy, and natural hiſtory. They are all boarded, lodged, and inſtructed at the Empreſs's expence. At the concluſion of this term their places to be ſupplied by others, and they will be diſtributed in the different parts of Ruſſia. Two of theſe ſtudents will be eſtabliſhed in the principal town of each government; one as teacher of mathematics, the other of hiſtory, geography, and natural hiſtory. Each ſtudent, thus eſtabliſhed, is to inſtruct other ſtudents as preceptors of the ſmaller ſchools in the leſſer towns. The regulation of this uſeful eſtabliſhment is entruſted to a committee conſiſting of five members, who have the ſuperintendance of the whole.

*. The firſt provinces erected into governments, according to the new inſtitution, were Tver and Smolenſko, in January 1776. Thoſe which have been ſince eſtabliſhed, either before or during my reſidence in Ruſſia, were in the following order: Novogorod and Kaluga, in December 1776; Pleſcof, Yaroſlaf, and Tula, in December 1777; Polotſk and Mohilef, in May 1778; Reſan, Volodimir, Koſtroma, and Orel, in December 1778; See a liſt of the governments, Book vi. chap i. p. 359.

Thus, the great ſchools in the principal towns will depend on the academy of Peterſburgh, and each ſchool in the ſmaller towns on the principal ſchool in each government; a ſcheme, which if carried into execution, will effectually promote the interior civilization of this vaſt empire.

Such are the outlines of theſe excellent inſtitutions. How far, or in what degree, they may operate upon a people ſo widely diſperſed, and of ſuch different manners and cuſtoms, can only be proved by time and experience. But though they may fail in producing *all* thoſe advantages which the ſpeculative reaſoner might expect, yet they muſt be attended with moſt beneficial effects; as ſufficiently appears from the flouriſhing ſtate of thoſe provinces in which they have been already admitted. If it be allowed that many evils have been reformed, and many improvements introduced, it cannot at the ſame time be ſuppoſed that the national manners ſhould be ſuddenly changed, or that the moſt abſolute ſovereign can venture to ſhake thoſe fundamental cuſtoms which have been ſanctioned by ages. It is ſurely ſufficient if the abuſes are remedied, as much as can be expected in ſuch a country; where the vaſt diſproportion of rank and fortune, and the vaſſalage of the peaſants, render it extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to eſtabliſh at once an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.

Ruſſia, with reſpect to the vaſt maſs of people, is nearly in the ſame ſtate in which the greater part of Europe was plunged during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; when the feudal ſyſtem was gradually declining; when the unbounded authority of the land-holders over their ſlaves was beginning to be counter-balanced by the introduction of an intermediate order of merchants; when new towns were continually erecting, and endowed with increaſing immunities, and when the crown ventured to give freedom to its vaſſals.

CHAP. XVII.—*Inquiry into the preſent State of Civilization in the Ruſſian Empire.—Diviſion of the Inhabitants into Nobles, Clergy, Merchants, and Burghers.—Peaſants.—Privileges granted to the Merchants, Burghers, and Peaſants.—State of Vaſſalage.*

MUCH has been written concerning the great civilization which Peter the Great introduced into Ruſſia; that he obliged the people to ſhave their beards, and relinquiſh their national dreſs; that he naturalized the arts and ſciences, diſciplined his army, created a navy, and made a total change throughout his extenſive empire. We may readily admit the truth of this eulogium with reſpect to his improvements in the diſcipline of his army and the creation of a navy; for theſe were objects within the reach of his perſevering genius: but the pompous accounts of the total change which he is ſaid to have effected in the national manners, ſeem the mere echoes of foreigners, who never viſited the country, and who collected the hiſtory of Peter from partial information. For though a nation, compared with itſelf at a former period, may have made a rapid progreſs towards improvement; yet, as the exaggerated accounts which I had heard and read of the great civilization diffuſed throughout the whole empire led me to expect a more poliſhed ſtate of manners, I muſt own I was aſtoniſhed at the barbariſm in which the bulk of the people ſtill continue. I am ready to allow that the principal nobles are as civilized, and as refined in their entertainments, mode of living, and ſocial intercourſe, as thoſe of other European countries. But there is a wide difference between poliſhing a nation, and poliſhing a few individuals. The merchants and peaſants ſtill univerſally retain their national dreſs, their original manners, and, what is moſt remarkable, the greater part of the merchants and burghers of the large towns, even the citizens of Pe-

terſburgh and Moſcow, reſemble, in their external appearance and general mode of living, the inhabitants of the ſmalleſt village; and notwithſtanding the rigorous edicts iſſued by * Peter I. the far greater number ſtill wear their beards; being ſcarcely leſs attached to that patriarchal cuſtom than their anceſtors, when the fine for mutilating a finger was rated at 1s. 3d.; that for cutting off the beard, or whiſkers, at 4s. 10d. †.

In fact, the peaſants, who form the bulk of the nation, are ſtill almoſt as deficient in the arts as before the reign of Peter, although the ſciences have flouriſhed in the capital. But the civilization of a numerous and widely diſperſed people is not the work of a moment, and can only be effected by a gradual and almoſt inſenſible progreſs.

If from theſe general reflections we diſtinctly conſider the different claſſes of ſubjects in the Ruſſian Empire, we ſhall be enabled to form ſome probable judgment concerning the preſent ſtate of civilization.

The inhabitants may be divided into four orders: nobles and gentry, clergy, merchants, burghers, and other freemen, and peaſants.

The three firſt include almoſt all the free ſubjects of the empire, and the latter all the vaſſals or ſlaves.

I. The firſt order comprehends the nobles and gentry: the ſole ‡ perſons who, in the true ſpirit of feudal deſpotiſm, have a right to poſſeſs land; but inſtead of appearing themſelves, according to the tenure of that ſyſtem, at the head of their retainers, are now only expected to ſerve in the army, and obliged to furniſh recruits in proportion to the number of their vaſſals.

In Ruſſia, as in the Oriental governments, there is ſcarcely any diſtinction of ranks among the nobility, excepting what is derived from the ſervice of the ſovereign. Even the eldeſt ſons of thoſe perſons, who have been raiſed to the moſt conſiderable honours and higheſt employments, excepting the advantages which they undoubtedly retain of facilitating their promotion by a ready acceſs to court, do not derive any ſolid benefits from their birth, like thoſe which the peers of England, the grandees of Spain, or the dukes, who are peers of France, enjoy from their hereditary deſcent. The importance of a noble family of large property and official honours, is almoſt annihilated on the death of the chief; becauſe his property is equally divided among his ſons; and becauſe titles, though allowed to be hereditary, do not, independent of the ſovereign's favour, contribute much to aggrandize the poſſeſſors; that of a prince, a count, or a baron, conveying in themſelves little perſonal diſtinction, unleſs accompanied with a civil or military employment.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, the only title in Ruſſia, excepting that of boyar, which ſignified privy-councellor, and was not hereditary, and other appellations annexed to civil employments, was that of *knaes*, which was eſteemed ſynonimous to prince. Perſons who aſſumed this title were deſcended, or pretended to be ſo, either from the different collateral branches of the reigning family, or from ſome Lithuanian Princes who

* "Il ordonna aux Ruſſes de quitter l'habit long et la barbe. Une amende fut impoſée aux amateurs obſtinés de l'ancien uſage. Bien des Ruſſes, et ſurtout les Rozkolniks regardaient le changement d'habit comme un renoncement à la religion, et diſaient qu'il valaient mieux perdre la tête que la barbe: ils furent obligés de payer un droit pour n'être pas raſés, et ils recevaient un jetton qui leur ſervait de quittance. Souvent à la cour on énivrait les vieux boiars, et on leur taillait la barbe d'une maniere ſi ridicule, qu'ils etaient obligés de garder la chambre pendant pluſieurs mois, on de ſe faire raſer. On attachait aux portes des villes un modelle du nouvel habit, et on rognait la robe de ceux qui ne voulaient pas payer; on les raſait malgré eux dans les rues." L'Eveſque, iv. p. 157.

† Haygold, i. p. 337.

‡ Catharine, in confirming the immunities of the nobles, decreed, "Que le droit d'acheter ou de vendre des terres ſeroit propre ou particulier aux ſeuls nobles." Le Clerc, p. 472.

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed themſelves in Ruſſia in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries; or from the numerous Tartar nobles who became ſubjects to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. and his immediate ſucceſſors; or from ſeveral Poliſh and other foreign families, who ſettled in this empire. In proceſs of time the number of theſe Princes increaſed ſo conſiderably, that, according to Lord Whitworth, no leſs than three hundred were common ſoldiers in Prince Mentchikof's regiment of dragoons. Though Peter the Great, in imitation of other European courts, introduced the titles of count and baron, and his example has been followed by his ſucceſſors, yet neither theſe titles, or that of knaes, have been eſteemed a ſufficient aggrandizement, becauſe the greateſt favourites of the ſovereign have been occaſionally created, by the Emperor of Germany, princes of the Roman empire; as Prince Mentchikof at the requeſt of Peter, and Princes Orlof and Potemkin, during the preſent reign *.

According to the ſyſtem introduced by Peter I., but which has gradually been corrupted as it has receded from its ſource, every perſon takes precedence from his military rank; he muſt riſe in regular gradation, and before he can be an officer, muſt have ſerved as a corporal or ſerjeant. But this ordinance is eaſily eluded; frequently infants are made ſerjeants and corporals, and it is not neceſſary to have ſerved even one campaign in order to obtain precedence, as it may be conferred by civil offices. Although the law of Peter I. which compelled each nobleman or gentleman, under pain of degradation, to ſerve in the army, was aboliſhed by Peter III †; yet the effects ſtill ſubſiſt. No one under the rank of a major is permitted to drive more than two horſes; under that of brigadier, more than four: a nobleman of the higheſt fortune and diſtinction, who has never been in the army, is not allowed, excepting by the ſpecial permiſſion of the crown, to uſe in the capital a carriage drawn by more than one horſe, while a merchant may have two. There are various methods, however, of procuring military dignity, and the privileges annexed to it. Amongſt others, a chamberlain, for inſtance, to the ſovereign, *ranks* as major-general; the office of a ſecretary, in the different departments of government, confers the *rank* of an officer, and the contributor of a certain ſum to the foundling-hoſpital at Moſcow, obtains the *rank* of a lieutenant. Theſe regulations, and the eaſe with which military *rank* is acquired, has induced a German, ſettled in Ruſſia, to expreſs himſelf with ſome humour in the following manner: "A nobleman is here nothing; his ſituation in the army alone marks the value of his exiſtence. A phyſician has the *rank* of major, and dares, as a ſtaff-officer, put four horſes to his carriage, while others can only drive two; an apothecary in the imperial ſervice has the *rank* of a captain; his apprentices that of enſigns; and the two ſurgeons of the diſtrict bear the *rank* of lieutenant ‡." But however ridiculous thoſe promotions may appear, yet they are founded on principles of the ſoundeſt policy: for as, by a decree of Peter the Great, every officer is noble during his life, and the children of a ſtaff-officer are claſſed among the nobility, any inſtitution tending to increaſe the number of this order of men, who alone are entitled to poſſeſs land, cannot fail of being highly beneficial to ſociety. On their own eſtates the nobles and gentry are almoſt uncontrouled, having abſolute authority over their vaſſals.

* Alſo Prince Beſborodko and Prince Zubof.

† The Abbé de Chappe, in a remark upon the abolition of this law by Peter III. is guilty of a ridiculous miſtake, when he ſuppoſes, that before this decree the nobles were *ſlaves*. About a week after his acceſſion to the throne, Peter went to the ſenate, and declared, "that he had granted the privilege of *freedom* to the nobility." This miſtake aroſe from an omiſſion in his decree, in which the nobles were only *declared free*, without the addition of *to ſerve, or not to ſerve, as they thought proper*. See Antidote, p. 148 to 150.

‡ Schloetzer's Briefwechſel for 1781, p. 365.

II. The

II. The next order of ſubjects is the clergy.

I have already had occaſion to mention the origin and ſuppreſſion of the office of patriarch, who was formerly the head of the Ruſſian clergy. Peter finally aboliſhed that dignity in 1719; but inſtead of formally declaring himſelf the head of the church, he prudently conſigned the chief eccleſiaſtical authority to a tribunal which he called the Sacred Synod, which was in effect ſubſervient to him, as all its members took an oath, acknowledging him as their ſupreme judge. The ſynod is compoſed of the ſovereign, who is preſident; a vice-preſident, who is generally the metropolitan archbiſhop, and a number of counſellors and aſſeſſors.

The clergy are divided into, 1. Regular, or monks; and 2. Secular, or pariſh prieſts.

1. The principal wealth of the church is centered in the monaſteries, which formerly had eſtates to the amount of 400,000l. per annum; and, like the other land-holders, enjoyed uncontrouled authority over their peaſants, who are equally bondſmen as on the poſſeſſions of the laity. The Empreſs has annexed theſe church-lands to the crown, and in return grants annual penſions to the hierarchy, the dignified clergy, and the monks. The archbiſhops and biſhops receive each about 1,000l. or 1,200l. per annum, and the ſubordinate eccleſiaſtics in proportion. Soon after this regulation, many of the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed; and the members in thoſe which were ſpared, were conſiderably reduced as well by the prohibition to admit more than a certain number, as by limiting the age of noviciates. The abolition of monaſteries muſt be acknowledged a beneficial circumſtance in moſt countries; yet one evil is to be apprehended from it in Ruſſia: they were the only ſeminaries of education for thoſe perſons deſigned for the ſacred function; and the monks are, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, almoſt the ſole proprietors of the learning which ſubſiſts among the clergy. But, moſt probably, the ill effects which may be expected from the ſuppreſſion of ſome convents, will be compenſated by the improvement introduced into the adminiſtration of thoſe which are continued, and by the ſchools lately eſtabliſhed in various parts of the empire for the education of eccleſiaſtics.

All the dignitaries of the church are choſen from the order of monks; theſe are archbiſhops and biſhops, archimandrites or abbots, and igoomens or priors. "The epiſcopal order in Ruſſia is diſtinguiſhed by the different titles of metropolitan, archbiſhop, and biſhop. The titles of metropolitan and archbiſhop are not attached to the ſee; but are, at preſent, merely perſonal diſtinctions conferred by the ſovereign, which give the poſſeſſors no additional power, and ſcarcely any precedence *."

The monaſteries are governed by archimandrites and igoomens; and the nunneries, ſuperintended by abbeſſes.

2. The Ruſſian pariſh-prieſts are called papas, or popes; a word ſignifying father, and indiſcriminately applied in the early ages of Chriſtianity to all eccleſiaſtics, until it was confined to the Biſhop of Rome by an edict of Gregory VII. The members of the Greek communion, however, did not obey this order, and the prieſts of that perſuaſion are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of pope.

The parochial clergy, who may, and ought to be, the moſt uſeful members of ſociety, are in Ruſſia the refuſe of the people. It is literally true, that many of them cannot even read †, in their own language, the Goſpel which they are commiſſioned to preach; but deliver from memory the ſervice, a chapter of the New Teſtament, or part of a

* Dr. King on the Greek Church, p. 272.

† This ſhameful ignorance is certainly leſs common than formerly; as the biſhops are more cautious in ordaining ſuch improper perſons.

homily,

homily, which they repeat every Friday and Sunday. Nor is it in the leaſt ſurpriſing that ſome are ſo illiterate, when we conſider the ſcanty maintenance which they derive from their profeſſion. Beſide the ſurplice fees, which in the pooreſt benefices amount to 4l. per annum, and in the moſt profitable to but 20l.; they have only a wooden houſe, ſcarcely ſuperior to that of the meaneſt among their pariſhioners, and a ſmall portion of land which they uſually cultivate with their own hands; while the higheſt dignity to which they can ever attain, as long as they continue married, is that of a protopope of a cathedral, whoſe income ſcarcely exceeds 20l. a year. As the pariſh-prieſts are undoubtedly the principal ſources from which inſtruction muſt be generally diffuſed among the lower claſs of people, if they, who ought to enlighten others, are ſo ignorant, how groſs muſt be the ignorance of their pariſhioners! In no inſtance, perhaps, has the Empreſs contributed more towards civilizing her people, than by inſtituting ſeminaries for the children of prieſts, by endeavouring to promote among the clergy a zeal for liberal ſcience, and to rouze them from that profound ignorance in which they are plunged *.

The monks are not permitted to marry, while the pariſh-prieſts are compelled to take a wife as a preliminary to ordination; and if their wives happen to die, they may enter into a convent, and become dignitaries of the church. They cannot engage in a ſecond marriage unleſs they become laymen; neither can they continue pariſh-prieſts without the expreſs permiſſion of a biſhop. The children of the ſecular clergy are all free: their ſons are uſually brought up for orders, or employed in the ſervice of the church.

All the clergy wear long beards and long hair, which flows down their ſhoulders, without being tied or curled. Their dreſs is a ſquare bonnet, and a long robe of a black or dark colour, reaching to the ancles. The ſecular and regular prieſts uſe, in ſome inſtances, a different habit, and the dignitaries of the church are diſtinguiſhed by a more coſtly veſtment †.

I cannot forbear mentioning that, during the five months we paſſed at Peterſburgh, and in our daily intercourſe with the nobility and gentry, I never once ſaw in company a ſingle perſon of the ſacred profeſſion. It muſt be allowed, indeed, that the pariſh-prieſts are, for the moſt part, too low and ignorant to be qualified for admiſſion into genteel ſocieties; while the dignitaries, being a ſeparate order, and reſtrained by ſtrict regulations, reſide chiefly in their palaces within the monaſteries; and contract an averſion, perhaps an unfitneſs, for ſocial intercourſe. This general character of the Ruſſian hierarchy does by no means comprehend all the individuals; as ſome of them, with whom I occaſionally converſed, were men of liberal manners and enlightened underſtandings ‡.

The third diviſion of Ruſſian ſubjects comprehends that intermediate claſs of men between the nobles and peaſants, which is thus defined by the Empreſs, in the ſixteenth chapter of her inſtructions for a new code of laws.

* An inſtance of Her Majeſty's zeal in this particular fell under my obſervation. When I viſited the preſs of the Holy Synod at Moſcow, three volumes of ſermons were printing in the Ruſſian tongue; they were tranſlations, by the Empreſs's command, from the beſt Engliſh, French, and German authors, of thoſe principally which contained a clear diſcuſſion of the moral duties. They were to be diſtributed among the parochial clergy, who had orders to read them occaſionally in the time of divine Service.

† See prints of the ſeveral eccleſiaſtical dreſſes in King's State of the Greek Church in Ruſſia.

‡ The dignitaries occaſionally dine at the tables of the nobility upon days of great ceremony, as on that of St. Alexander Nevſki, when I met the Archbiſhop of Roſtof at Prince Volkonſki's. See vol. i. book iii. chap. ii.

"This

« This claſs of men, worthy to be mentioned by us, and from whom the country may promiſe itſelf great advantages, when it ſhall have received a ſtable form, and which has for its end the encouragement of good morals, and the love of induſtry, is the middle ſtate. This ſtate, compoſed of freemen, belongs neither to the claſs of nobles nor to that of peaſants. All thoſe who, being neither gentlemen nor peaſants, follow the arts and ſciences, navigation, commerce, or exerciſe trades, are to be ranked in this claſs. In this claſs ſhould be placed all thoſe who, born of plebeian parents, ſhall have been brought up in ſchools or places of education, regious or others, founded by us or by our predeceſſors. Alſo the children of officers, and of the ſecretaries to the chancery. But as this third eſtate is ſuſceptible of different degrees of privileges, which we do not mean to detail in this place, we ſhall only here open the way for a more ample examination."

Although, before the reign of Peter the Great, certain bodies of merchants enjoyed peculiar privileges, which raiſed them above the condition of peaſants, yet theſe were few, and their advantages, conſidering the immenſe monopolies in the hands of the crown, and the oppreſſion under which they laboured from the power of the great, extremely precarious. Peter, who during his travels perceived the utility of a third eſtate for the purpoſes of commerce, made many regulations with this view, which, though excellent in themſelves, yet being not adapted to the ſtate of property in Ruſſia, did not anſwer the end propoſed. Among theſe regulations, he endowed ſome free towns with certain privileges, which were afterwards augmented by Elizabeth. But theſe privileges were confined to Peterſburgh, Moſcow, Aſtracan, Tver, and a few other great provincial towns; and all the inhabitants, even merchants not excepted, were not diſtinguiſhed from the peaſants in two inſtances, which are conſidered in this country as indelible marks of ſervitude; they were ſubject to the poll-tax, and to be draughted for the army and navy. Catharine has exempted the body of merchants from theſe two inſtances of ſervitude, has encreaſed the number and immunities of the free towns, and permitted many of the crown peaſants, and all free men, to enrol themſelves, under ſtipulated conditions, in the claſs of merchants or burghers.

The merchants are diſtributed into three claſſes. The firſt comprehends thoſe who have a capital of 10,000 roubles; the ſecond thoſe who poſſeſs 5000; and the third thoſe who are worth 500. By the forty-ſeventh article of the celebrated manifeſto of Graces, which the Empreſs conferred upon her ſubjects at the concluſion of the Turkiſh war in 1775, all perſons who chooſe to enter themſelves in any of theſe claſſes are exempted from the poll-tax, on condition of paying annually one per cent. of their capital employed in trade to the crown. The extent of their capitals, however, is not rigorouſly examined, for the merchants may fix their capital at any amount; as a perſon poſſeſſing above 10,000 roubles may enrol himſelf in any of the inferior claſſes, or even in that of the burghers.

This alteration in the mode of aſſeſſing merchants is advantageous both to the crown and to the ſubjects; the former receives, and the latter cheerfully pay, one per cent. of their capital, becauſe they are exempted from the poll-tax, and are entitled to additional immunities. It is alſo a juſt impoſt, as each merchant pays according to his fortune: if his profits encreaſe, his aſſeſſment encreaſes; if they diminiſh, his contribution proportionably diminiſhes. With reſpect to the general intereſts of the nation, it is a maſter-piece of policy; it excites induſtry, by holding up to the people a principle of honour, as well as of intereſt, to be derived from the augmentation of their capital; and affords an additional ſecurity from arbitrary impoſitions, by pledging the good faith of government in the protection of their property. It is likewiſe productive of another

eſſential public benefit, by creating, as it were, a third eſtate, which, as it increaſes in wealth, credit, and importance, muſt by degrees acquire additional privileges, and gradually riſe into conſequence.

The burghers form the ſecond diviſion of this order: the term burgher is applied to all inhabitants of free towns, who declare that they poſſeſs a capital leſs than 1001.; or who, having that ſum, do not chuſe to aſſume the more honourable name of merchants. They poſſeſs many privileges ſuperior to the peaſants; but are diſtinguiſhed from the merchants by being ſtill ſubject to the poll-tax, and to enrolment in the army or navy.

Under this third order muſt be included all the other free ſubjects of the empire; namely, thoſe ſlaves who have received liberty from their maſters; thoſe who have obtained their diſmiſſion from the army and navy; the members of the Academy of Arts, and of other ſimilar inſtitutions; orphans from the Foundling Hoſpital, and, laſtly, the children of all theſe freemen. All theſe perſons have permiſſion to ſettle and trade in any part of the empire, and may enrol themſelves, according to their capital, among the burghers or merchants. By theſe wiſe regulations, the number of perſons above ſlaves will gradually increaſe, and muſt in time form a very conſiderable order of men, as ſoon as they ſhall acquire the right of poſſeſſing land.

It is a circumſtance not unworthy of remark, that the Ruſſian merchants and tradeſmen ſeldom keep books of accounts, (as few of them can either read or write,) and are unacquainted with the knowledge of figures. Their manner of reckoning is by a machine *, with ſeveral rows of wires, upon which beads are ſtrung. The beads on the firſt row ſtand for units, thoſe on the ſecond for tens, on the third for hundreds, on the fourth for thouſands, and in a ſimilar progreſſion. By means of this machine they ſubtract, multiply, and divide with great exactneſs. An exception, among a few others, to this general obſervation, ſhould be mentioned. The moſt honeſt and intelligent perſons of this order are the inhabitants of Archangel and its environs: they are moſtly able to read, write, and caſt accounts; many of them are much employed at Peterſburgh, by the members of the Britiſh factory, to ſuperintend their warehouſes, and they have the general character of faithful and induſtrious ſervants. It may, perhaps, be difficult to account for the peculiar circumſtances which have concurred to render the inhabitants of the town and environs of Archangel more intelligent than the ether Ruſſians, unleſs the following cauſe ſhould be thought ſufficient. Archangel, from the time of its firſt diſcovery by the Engliſh in 1554, was, during a conſiderable period, the great emporium of Ruſſia; many of the inhabitants, therefore, being connected with foreign merchants, who required great exactneſs in their dealings, were gradually trained to buſineſs. By a kind of local enthuſiaſm and traditional inſtruction, they have continued to diſtinguiſh themſelves among their countrymen, by acquiring the rudiments of arithmetic, and by a diligent diſcharge of their truſt.

IV. The fourth order of ſubjects comprehends the peaſants.

The peaſants of Ruſſia are generally ſerfs, or ſlaves †, and may be divided into, 1. Peaſants of the crown. 2. Peaſants belonging to individuals.

1. The

* Similar to the Chineſe. Profeſſor Saunderſon, who was blind, uſed an improved machine of this kind in his mathematical computations.

† In the former editions of this work, and according to the ſtate of the peaſants in 1779, I had the ſatisfaction of adding to this liſt of free peaſants, thoſe of the Ukraine and Ruſſian Finland, who preſerved a conſiderable degree of freedom until the late extenſion of the poll-tax has reduced them almoſt to a level with the reſt. For by ſubjecting them to that aſſeſſment, the Empreſs has unconſciouſly counteracted the

1. The crown peaſants inhabit the imperial demeſnes; and probably comprehend, including thoſe belonging to the church lands, which are now annexed to the crown, about the ſixth part of the Ruſſian peaſants. They are immediately under the juriſdiction of the imperial officers or bailiffs. Although liable to great exactions, by the tenure of their ſubjection, from theſe petty tyrants, yet they are much more ſecure of their property; and being under the protection of the ſovereign, any flagrant inſtances of oppreſſion are more eaſily made known and redreſſed. Many of theſe vaſſals, in particular diſtricts, have been enfranchiſed, and permitted to enrol themſelves among the merchants and burghers; and the whole body will gradually receive more privileges, as the ſpirit of humanity and policy penetrates further into theſe regions.

2. Peaſants belonging to individuals are the private property of the landholders, as much as implements of agriculture, or herds of cattle, and the value of an eſtate is eſtimated, as in Poland, by the number of boors, and not by the number of acres. No regulations have, perhaps, tended more to rivet the ſhackles of ſlavery, than the two laws of Peter the Great; one which renders the landholder accountable to the crown for the poll-tax of his vaſſals, and the other which obliges him to furniſh a certain number of recruits; for by theſe means he becomes intereſted to prevent the migration of his peaſants without permiſſion from the place of their nativity. With reſpect to his own demands on his peaſants, the lord is reſtrained by no law. He is abſolute maſter of their time and labour; ſome he employs in agriculture, a few he makes his menial ſervants, perhaps without wages; and from others he exacts an annual payment *. Each vaſſal, therefore, is rated according to the arbitrary will of his maſter. Some contribute four or five ſhillings a year; others, who are engaged in traffic or buſineſs, are aſſeſſed in proportion to their ſuppoſed profits. Any capital which they acquire by their induſtry, may be ſeized, and there can be no redreſs; as, according to the old feudal law, which ſtill exiſts, a ſlave cannot inſtitute a proceſs againſt his maſter.

The mode adopted by many landholders with their peaſants, reminds me of the practice among the Romans. Atticus, we are told, cauſed many of his ſlaves to be inſtructed in the art of copying manuſcripts, which he ſold at a very high price, and raiſed a conſiderable fortune. On ſimilar principles, ſome of the Ruſſian nobility ſend their vaſſals to Moſcow or Peterſburgh, for the purpoſe of learning various handicraft trades; they either employ them on their own eſtates, let them out for hire, ſell them at an advanced

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the general principle which had hitherto been the chief object of her reign, that of gradually extending the privileges and freedom of the lower claſs of people. By introducing among the peaſants of the Ukraine, or Ruſſian Finland, a tax, which is conſidered as a badge of ſlavery, ſhe has been reduced to the neceſſity of rendering them ſerfs, or *glebæ adſtricti*; who were before free peaſants, from the impolitic law, which is the unavoidable conſequence of the poll-tax, in a country wherein the nobles can alone poſſeſs landed property, that of making the landholder anſwerable for the aſſeſſment of his peaſants; as under that circumſtance he muſt have the power of preventing their migration.

* The Empreſs thus expreſſes herſelf on this head:

"Il n'y a guere de village, qui ne paye ſes redevances en argent. Les poſſeſſens, qui ne voyent jamais ou que très rarement leurs villages, impoſent chaque tête à un à deux et juſqu'à cinq roubles, ſans s'embaraſſer comment le payſan s'y prendra pour gagner cet argent.

"Il ſeroit trés neceſſaire de preſcrire aux poſſeſſeurs des Lois qui les obligent à agir avec plus de circonſpection dans la maniere dont ils ſe font payer leurs droits, et à exiger du payſan des redevances qui ſoient de nature à l'eloigner le moins qu'il ſera poſſible de ſa maiſon et de ſa famille. Par ce moyen l'on mettra l'agriculture en vigueur, et la population augmentera dans l'empire." Inſtruction, &c. p. 79.

This cuſtom of obliging the peaſants to pay an annual ſum in money, frequently drives the neceſſitous to the moſt deſperate modes of acquiring it.

price, or receive from them an annual compenſation for the permiſſion of exerciſing their trade for their own advantage.

In regard to the lord's authority over their perſons, according to the ancient laws, he might try them in his own courts of juſtice, or puniſh them without any proceſs; he could inflict every ſpecies of penalty excepting the knoot, order them to be whipped, or confined in dungeons; he might ſend them to houſes of correction, or baniſh them into Siberia; or, in ſhort, take cognizance of every miſdemeanour which was not a public offence. He had, indeed, no power over their lives; for, if a ſlave was beat by order of his maſter, and died within the ſpace of three days, the maſter was guilty of murder, unleſs other reaſons could be aſſigned for his demiſe. But was not this almoſt a mockery of juſtice? For ſurely a man might be terribly chaſtized without ſuffering death within *three days*; and if a vaſſal died within that ſpace, and his maſter was a man of conſequence, who could bring him to juſtice *? By the new regulations, this enormous power is reduced by reſtrictions more conſonant to the humane principles which diſtinguiſh all the regulations of the Empreſs; and the right of inflicting puniſhment is lodged, where it ever ought to be, in the hands of the public magiſtrate. Abuſes, however, ſtill ſubſiſt; but muſt, in time, yield to the influence of ſuch ſalutary inſtitutions.

I am far from aſſerting, that inhumanity is the general characteriſtic of the Ruſſian nobility; or that many perſons do not treat their vaſſals with the utmoſt benevolence. I am alſo well aware, that ſeveral peaſants are in ſuch a flouriſhing condition as to have accumulated very conſiderable capitals without dread of exaction; and that ſome even poſſeſs landed eſtates under their maſters' names. But if we conſider the unhappy pleaſure which too many feel in tyrannizing over their inferiors, we have every reaſon to conclude, that the generality of boors muſt ſtill be cruelly oppreſſed. How then can a country be ſaid to be civilized, in which domeſtic ſlavery ſtill exiſts?

The vaſſals who work for their maſters, generally receiving their maintenance, or being accommodated with a ſmall portion of land, always enjoy in ſufficient abundance the common neceſſaries of life; and uſually ſpend their earnings in clothes or ſpirituous liquors. Thoſe who, in contradiction to this general rule, ſave the profits of their labour, or trade, conceal as much as poſſible an acquiſition of fortune; they ſeldom change their mode of living, and frequently bury their money in the ground. This cuſtom is one reaſon, among ſeveral others, of the ſcarcity of ſilver currency; that being the ſpecie which is chiefly amaſſed. The practice of hiding money is common in all countries of the Eaſt, where property is not well ſecured; and where the people, through dread of exactions, cannot even venture to uſe the riches which they have acquired.

A peaſant may obtain his liberty, 1. By manumiſſion, which on the death of the maſter, is frequently granted to thoſe who have ſerved in the capacity of his immediate domeſtics; 2. By purchaſe; 3. By ſerving in the army or navy; for a peaſant is free

* How often muſt ſuch tyrannies eſcape the cognizance of the court, and remain unpuniſhed! Sometimes, indeed, a noble is brought to juſtice. One inſtance, though mentioned in a former publication, I beg leave to introduce in this place: "In the priſon of Moſcow there is a gentleman confined, and he alone is denied the privilege of ever coming from his cell; a puniſhment which is by no means adequate to his crime; namely, that of ordering ſeveral of his peaſants to be whipped in ſo cruel a manner, that they died. This circumſtance will ſhow the power which the lords have over their peaſants; and will at the ſame time prove, that ſuch crimes, when diſcovered, do not always remain unpuniſhed." Account of Priſons, &c. p. 12.

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from the moment of his enrolment. In all theſe caſes the Empreſs has facilitated the means of obtaining freedom, by waving ſeveral rights of the crown, which, in ſome meaſure, obſtructed this emancipation. Although the ſovereign cannot alter the fundamental ſtate of property, by conferring on the peaſants, as individuals, privileges which might infringe thoſe of the nobles; yet ſhe has alleviated their condition by iſſuing ſeveral laws in their favour. By allowing free peaſants to ſettle in any part of her dominions, and enrol themſelves among the burghers or merchants, according to their reſpective capital. She has given a ſtability to their freedom, and afforded the ſtrongeſt incitements for the exertions of induſtry. She has repealed thoſe oppreſſive laws, which forbad, in certain diſtricts, all peaſants to marry without the conſent of the governor of the province, or the vayvode of the town, who uſually exacted a preſent from the parties *.

From this general review of the various inhabitants in Ruſſia, it may be perceived, that, though proceeding towards civilization, they are ſtill far removed from that ſtate; that a general improvement cannot take place while the greater part continue in abſolute vaſſalage; nor can any effectual change be introduced in the national manners, until the people enjoy full ſecurity in their perſons and property.

CHAP. XVII.—*Academy of Sciences.—Origin and inſtitution.—Tranſactions.—Members.—Library.—Muſeum.—Foſſil bones of elephants and other animals found in Siberia.—Native copper and iron.—Golden ornaments from ſeveral ancient ſepulchres.—Ruſſian coins.—Waxen figure of Peter the Great.—Celeſtial Globe of Gottorp.—Academy of Arts.—Society for the promotion of Agriculture.—Corps de cadets.—Convent des demoiſelles nobles.*

THE Imperial Academy of Sciences owes its inſtitution to Peter the Great, who, during his travels, obſerved the advantage of public ſocieties for the promotion of literature. By the advice of Wolf and Leibnitz, the ſociety was regulated, and ſeveral learned foreigners were invited to become members. Peter himſelf drew the plan, and ſigned it on the 10th of February 1724; but was prevented by his ſudden death, from carrying it into execution. His deceaſe, however, did not prevent its completion; for, on the 21ſt of December 1725, it was eſtabliſhed by Catherine I. and on the 27th the firſt aſſembly took place. On the firſt of Auguſt 1726, Catherine honoured the meeting with her preſence, when profeſſor Bulfinger, an eminent German naturaliſt, pronounced an oration upon the advances made by means of the loadſtone and needle for the diſcovery of the longitude †.

The Empreſs ſettled an annual fund of 5,000l. ‡ for the ſupport of the academy; and fifteen members eminent for learning and talents, were admitted and penſioned, under the title of profeſſors in the various branches of literature and ſcience. The moſt diſtinguiſhed were Nicholas and Daniel Bernouilli, the two de Liſles, Bulfinger and Wolf.

* See 17th article of the Manifeſto, at the concluſion of the peace with the Grand Signor: "In certain diſtricts of our empire it has been hitherto neceſſary to obtain a permiſſion to marry from the governors of provinces, or the vayvodes of towns, and this permiſſion was uſually purchaſed by money or cattle. We aboliſh this cuſtom; and from this time every perſon ſhall be free to marry without obtaining ſimilar permiſſions.

† See Nachricht von der Kays: Acad. &c. in Schmidt Beytraeye, p. 35; alſo Jour. Pet. for June 1779, p. 883.

‡ "Summam a Petro Magno conſtitutam viginti-quatuor milliumnongentorum et duodecim rubellonum." Nov. Com. I. p. 5.

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During the ſhort reign of Peter the Second, the ſalaries of the members were diſcontinued, and the academy neglected by the court; but it was again patronized by the Empreſs Anne, who even added a ſeminary for the education of youth, under the ſuperintendance of the profeſſors. Both inſtitutions flouriſhed under the direction of baron Korf; but, on his death, an ignorant perſon being appointed preſident, many of the moſt able members quitted Ruſſia. At the acceſſion of Elizabeth new life and vigour were reſtored to the academy: the original plan was enlarged and improved; ſome of the moſt learned foreigners were again drawn to Peterſburgh, and, what was conſidered as a good omen for the literature of Ruſſia, two natives, Lomonoſof and Rumovſky, men of genius and abilities, who had proſecuted their ſtudies in foreign univerſities, were enrolled among the members. The annual income was increaſed to 10,659l., and ſoon afterwards the new inſtitution took place.

The Empreſs Catherine, with her uſual zeal for promoting the diffuſion of knowledge, took this uſeful Society under her more immediate protection; ſhe altered the court of directors greatly to the advantage of the whole body; corrected many abuſes and infuſed a new ſpirit into their reſearches. By her particular recommendation, the moſt ingenious profeſſors viſited the various provinces of her dominions; and as the fund of the Academy was not ſufficient to ſupply the whole expence, the Empreſs beſtowed a largeſs * of 2,000l., which has been occaſionally renewed.

The purport of theſe travels will appear from the inſtructions given by the academy. The perſons engaged in theſe expeditions were ordered to purſue their inquiries on the different ſorts of earths and waters; on the beſt methods of cultivating the barren and deſart ſpots; on the local diſorders incident to men and animals, and the moſt efficacious means of relieving them; on breeding cattle, and particularly ſheep; on the rearing of bees and ſilk-worms; on the different places and objects for fiſhing and hunting; on minerals; on the arts and trades: and on the indigenous plants to form a *Flora Ruſſica*. They were particularly inſtructed to rectify the longitude and latitude of the principal towns; to make aſtronomical, geographical, and meteorological obſervations; to trace the courſe of the rivers; to take the moſt exact charts; to deſcribe with accuracy the manners, cuſtoms, dreſſes, languages, antiquities, traditions, hiſtory, religion; in a word, to gain every information which might tend to illuſtrate the real ſtate of the Empire.

In conſequence of theſe expeditions, perhaps no country can boaſt, within the ſpace of a few years, ſuch a number of excellent publications on its internal ſtate, natural productions, topography, geography, and hiſtory; on the manners, cuſtoms and languages of the different people, as have iſſued from the preſs of the Academy.

The moſt remarkable of theſe diſtinguiſhed travellers are Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenſtaedt †, Georgi, and Lepekin.

The firſt tranſactions of this ſociety were publiſhed in 1728, and intitled, *Commentarii Academiæ Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanæ, ad An.* 1726, with a dedication to Peter II. The publication was continued under this form until the year 1747, when the tranſactions were called *Novi* ‡ *Commentarii Academiæ*, &c. In 1677 the Academy again changed the title into *Acta Academiæ Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanæ*, and altered the

* Bach. Ruſſ. Bibl. vol. i. p. 50.

† The reader will find an account of Pallas, Gmelin, and Guldenſtaedt in the next chapter.

‡ "Hunc autem et ſequentes tomos Novorum Commentariorum nomine ideo venire, quia Academia nunc novis legibus inſtructa eſt; et claſſes hic aliter, ac in præcedentibus tomis fieri ſolebat, diſpoſitæ inveniuntur." Nov. Com. Vol. i. p. 4.——In this ſame volume the ſtatutes for the Regulation of the Society, under its new inſtitutions, are inſerted, p. 9—33.

arrange-

arrangement of the work. The papers, which had been hitherto publiſhed in the Latin tongue, are now written either in that language or French; and a preface is added, ſtyled *Partie Hiſtorique*, which contains an account of the proceedings, meetings, admiſſion of new members, and other occurrences*. Of the Commentaries, fourteen volumes were publiſhed; the firſt of the New Commentaries made its appearance in 1750, and the twentieth in 1776. Under the title of *Acta Academiæ*, ſeveral volumes have been given to the public: and two are to be printed every year. Theſe tranſactions abound with ingenious and elaborate diſquiſitions on various parts of ſcience and natural hiſtory, which reflect great honour upon their authors; and it may not be an exaggeration to aſſert, that no ſociety in Europe has more diſtinguiſhed itſelf for the excellence of its publications, particularly in the abſtruſe parts of the pure and mixed mathematics.

The academy is ſtill compoſed, as at firſt, of fifteen profeſſors, the preſident and director. Each profeſſor has a houſe and an annual ſtipend from 200l. to 600l. Beſide the profeſſors, there are four adjuncts, who are alſo penſioned; they are at preſent at the ſittings of the ſociety, and ſucceed to the firſt vacancies.

This general account of the eſtabliſhment, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the Academy, will be naturally ſucceeded by a deſcription of the library, the cabinet of natural hiſtory, and the other curioſities, which I viſited ſeveral times during my ſtay at Peterſburgh.

The library owed its origin to 2,500 volumes which Peter the Great ſeized at Mittau, in his Swediſh campaign; it was afterwards increaſed by the bounty of that emperor, and of his ſucceſſors, and lately enriched by the curious collection of Prince Radzivil at Newitz, taken by the Ruſſians in 1772, during the troubles of Poland. M. Bachmeiſter informed me, that ſince this laſt acquiſition, the number of books amounted to thirty-ſix thouſand. The moſt ancient MSS. are the Lives of the Saints, written in 1298, and a Chronicle of Neſtor, the earlieſt hiſtorian of this empire. This chronicle, together with thoſe of Novogorod, Pleſcof, of the Ukraine, Caſan, and Aſtracan, the genealogical tables of the early greatdukes, from Vladimir the Great to the Tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch, compiled in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and following centuries, convinced me, that Ruſſia is extremely rich, as well in documents relating to its more remote annals, as to thoſe of later times †. They are all written in the Sclavonian tongue. Among the MSS. relating to the hiſtory of Ruſſia, muſt not be omitted ſixteen volumes in folio, containing an acount of the negotiations of Peter's miniſters, from 1711 to 1716; alſo thirty volumes of the official correſpondence of prince Mentchikof, from 1703 to 1717; theſe collections would ſerve as good materials towards compiling an authentic hiſtory of Peter the Great, a work much wanted.

One MS. although of very modern date, is yet highly valued, on account of the auguſt perſon by whom it was written, and is preſerved in an elegant box of bronze, gilt. It contains the inſtructions of the Empreſs to the committee delegated to form a new code of laws; inſtructions drawn up by herſelf, and written with her own hand. This MS. is always placed upon the table, whenever the members of the Academy hold a ſolemn meeting.

Among ſeveral books, the librarian ſhowed me a volume, containing the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtles, which is curious, as being the firſt book printed in Ruſſia ‡; it bears the date of 1564, and iſſued from the preſs eſtabliſhed at Moſcow.

* Acta Pet. for 1771. P. I. † See Chap. 8.

‡ Mr. Nichols informs us, that this book was ten years in the preſs, and that the names of the firſt printers were Ivan Hoderſon and Peter Timoſioffſon. See "The Origin of Printing, 1776," p. 28.

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The paper is certainly of our manufacture, as it bears the Engliſh ſtamp; and we find in Hackluyt, that paper was among the firſt imports which Ruſſia received from England.

This library contains, perhaps, more Chineſe books than any other collection in Europe. They are claſſed in port-folios, and conſiſt of two thouſand eight hundred ſeparate pieces. An exact catalogue has been lately made by Leontief, who paſſed ſeveral years at Pekin, where a Ruſſian church is eſtabliſhed, and ſtudents are permitted to reſide for the purpoſe of learning the language*. Hitherto we have been indebted almoſt to the French alone for accounts of the Chineſe empire †. The amicable intercourſe, however, which has for ſome time ſubſiſted between the courts of Peterſburgh and Pekin, has facilitated the acquiſition of Chineſe books; and the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary at Pekin has led the Ruſſians to obtain a more accurate knowledge of that country. Hence many intereſting publications have appeared at Peterſburgh, relative to the laws, hiſtory, and geography of China, extracted and traſlated from the originals publiſhed at Pekin.

The various branches of natural hiſtory are diſtributed in different apartments. This muſeum, which is extremely rich in native productions, has been conſiderably augmented by numerous ſpecimens, collected by Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenſtaedt, and other learned profeſſors, during their late expeditions through the Ruſſian empire.

The ſtuffed animals and birds occupy one apartment. Among the former I particularly obſerved the *Equus Hemionus*, a ſpecies of wild horſe, which bears the appearance of a mule: it reſembles an aſs in the mane, ears, feet, and tail, and principally in the black ſtreak down the back; in other parts it is like a horſe. It is the ſame which was called by Ariſtotle the *Hemionos*, found in his days in Syria, and which he celebrates for its amazing ſwiftneſs and fecundity; it is denominated by the Mongols *dſhiggetèi*, which ſignifies eared; is alſo known among naturaliſts by the name of *mulus Dauricus*, becauſe it is found in Dauria, about the rivers Amoor, Onon, and Orgoon. Theſe animals, however, are there obſerved only in ſmall numbers, detached from the numerous herds which inhabit the deſerts of Tartary, to the ſouth of the Ruſſian dominions. Their ſwiftneſs is proverbial, and is ſaid to exceed even that of the antelope: they are deſcribed by the Tartars as very fierce, and ſo untractable as not to be tamed. Pallas has favoured the world with an accurate deſcription and engraving of this ſingular animal, in the New Commentaries of the Academy, to which I refer the reader, as well as to Pennant's account, in his Hiſtory of Quadrupeds. The other animals peculiar to Ruſſia and the adjacent countries, which attracted my notice, are the wild ram, called *Argoli* by the Mongols, by Linnæus *Capra Ammon*, which inhabits the mountainous deſerts ſouth of the lake Baikal; the *Bos Grunniens* of Linnæus, or grunting ox of Pennant, which inhabits Tartary and Thibet, and is mentioned here for the uncommon beauty of the tail, full and flowing, of a gloſſy and ſilky texture. Theſe tails form a conſiderable article of exportation from Thibet. The Indians faſten ſmall bundles of the hair for fly-flaps; the Chineſe dye tufts with a beautiful ſcarlet, for the decoration of their caps, and the Turks employ it as ornaments ‡ to their ſtandards. I obſerved alſo the ibex, or bouquetin §, of Siberia, the white bear, the ermine, the muſk-rat, the flying ſquirrel; among the amphibious animals, the ſea-horſe, whoſe tuſk

* See Ruſſian Diſcoveries.

† The account of Lord Macartney's embaſſy, by the late Sir George Staunton, has added to our knowledge of that empire.

‡ The Europeans erroneouſly ſuppoſe theſe ornaments to be made from horſe-tails.

§ See account of the bouquetin, in Travels in Switzerland, Letter 41.

is uſed inſtead of ivory, and the ſea-otter, which is caught on the coaſt of Kamtchatka, and of the Aleütian and Fox Iſlands. This animal is greatly prized for its rich and valuable fur, and the ſkin is diſpoſed of to the Chineſe at a high price *.

The collection of birds, inſects, fiſh, ſhells, dried plants, all ranged in exact order, and after the ſyſtem of Linnæus, next attracts the obſervation of the naturaliſt.

In the cabinet of natural hiſtory, I was ſurpriſed at the number and variety of foſſil bones, teeth, and horns, of the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo, diſcovered in different parts of this empire, but more particularly in the ſouthern regions of Siberia, where theſe animals where never known to exiſt. According to the opinion of Peter, who, though a great monarch, was certainly no great naturaliſt, the teeth found near Voronetz were the remains of elephants belonging to the army of Alexander the Great, who, according to ſome hiſtorians, croſſed the Don, and advanced as far as Koſtinka. The celebrated Bayer conjectures †, that the bones and teeth found in Siberia belonged to the elephants common in that country, during the wars of the Mongol monarchs with the Perſians and Indians; and this plauſible ſuppoſition is in ſome meaſure corroborated by the diſcovery of the entire ſkeleton of an elephant in one of the Siberian tombs. But this opinion, as Pallas juſtly obſerves, is ſufficiently refuted by the conſideration, that the elephants employed in all the armies of India could never have afforded the vaſt quantities of teeth which have been already diſcovered ‡.

The ſame ingenious naturaliſt has given ample deſcription of theſe foſſil bones, and endeavoured to account for their origin §. On examining thoſe in the muſeum, he was led to conclude, that as theſe bones are equally diſperſed in all the northern regions of Europe, the climate probably was in the earlier ages ſufficiently warm to be the native countries of the elephant, rhinoceros, and other quadrupeds, now found only in the ſouth. But when he viſited, during his travels, the ſpots where the foſſil bodies were found, and could form a judgment from his own obſervations, and not from the accounts of others, he candidly renounced his former hypotheſis, and, in conformity with the opinions of many modern philoſophers, aſſerted that they muſt have been brought by the waters, and that nothing but a ſudden and general inundation, ſuch as the deluge, could have tranſported them from their native countries to the regions of the north. In proof of this aſſertion he adds, the bones are generally found ſeparate, as if ſcattered by the waves, covered with a ſtratum of mud, evidently formed by the waters, and commonly intermixed with the remains of marine plants ‖, inſtances of which he himſelf obſerved during his progreſs through Siberia, and which ſufficiently prove that theſe regions of Aſia were once overwhelmed with the ſea.

The moſt curious of theſe ſpecimens is the head and foot of a rhinoceros, which were dug up entire in a bank of the Vilui, a ſmall river falling into the Lena, in lati-

* See Ruſſian Diſcoveries. † Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. i. p. 63.

‡ Nov. Com. XIII. p. 440.

§ Nov. Com. de Oſſibus Sibiriæ foſſilibus. He ſays, that in no country more foſſil bones have been diſcovered than in Siberia; and that elephants' teeth have been dug up in ſuch plenty, as to make a conſiderable article of trade.

‖ Pallas, in a recent publication, has deſcribed ſeveral foſſil bones lately dug up in the government of Caſan, ſome whereof were ſent to Peterſburgh in 1779, and depoſited in the muſeum of the Academy. The moſt remarkable of theſe bones which he enumerates, are the following: An elephant's tooth, 10 ſpans $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in circumference; ditto, 5 feet 3 inches in length, and the ſame in circumference; ſeveral bones of elephants of conſiderable ſize; a damaged horn of a rhinoceros, 2 feet 4 inches long; a jaw of a rhinoceros, 3 ſpans and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, containing two black teeth, &c. Bericht von Gebeinen groſſer auſlaendiſcher Thiere. Pallas's Nordiſche Beytrage, vol. i. p. 133.

tude 64, below Yakutſk: the body was found in December 1771; and when Pallas viſited thoſe parts the following year, the head and two legs were ſent to him by the governor of the province, and by him tranſmitted to the muſeum. Even the ſkin and hair are very apparent.

The account of the diſcovery is related in his Travels *.

The ores collected from the numerous mines of the Ruſſian empire, highly deſerve the attention of the mineralogiſt. In ſpeaking of this collection, I ſhall confine myſelf to two ſpecimens intereſting to naturaliſts; native copper, and a large maſs of native iron. The former was brought from a ſmall iſland, within ſight of Kamtchatka, which takes the name of Mednoi Oſtrof, or Copper Iſland, from the pieces of native copper † not unfrequently found upon the beach.

The ſpecimen of native iron is part of a moſt remarkable maſs of that metal in its pure ſtate, blended with glaſs-like matter ‡: it is in every reſpect perfect, malleable, and capable of being forged into any form; ſuſceptible of ruſt; in a word, poſſeſſing all the qualities of iron. It was diſcovered in Siberia by Pallas, who favoured me with a deſcription, which will ſerve to elucidate his account ſent to the Royal Society. Let me only remark, that I repeatedly examined the ſpecimen, and found its real ſtate to be exactly deſcribed. I expreſsly mention theſe circumſtances, as ſome perſons have doubted the exiſtence of this block of native iron; and as I am always anxious, whenever I have it in my power, to aſcertain the truth of every relation which I give to the public.

* "This winter the hunters of Yakutſk having found, near the rivulet Vilui, the body of an unknown animal, the head and two hinder feet were ſent to Irkutſk by Ivan Argunof, vayvode of Vilitſk. In the account of this diſcovery, dated the 17th of January, it appears, that in December, about twenty-ſix miles above Vilitſk, the body of an animal was obſerved half buried in the ſand, about a fathom from the water, and four fathom from a ſteep cliff. Being meaſured, it was found to be ſeven feet ſeven inches in length, and in height about ſeven feet ſix inches. The hide was entire, the body appeared of its natural bulk; but in ſuch a ſtate, that only the head and feet could be carried away; one of the feet was ſent to Yakutſk, and the remainder to Irkutſk. On inſpection, they ſeemed to have belonged to a full-grown rhinoceros; and as the head was entirely covered with the ſkin, there could be no doubt of the fact. On one ſide the ſmall hairs were ſtill perfect. The exterior organization was well preſerved, and the eye-lids were not entirely corrupted. Here and there, under the ſkin, and the bones, and alſo in the hollow part of the ſkull, was found a ſlimy ſubſtance, the remains of the putrid fleſh; and upon the feet, beſide the ſlime, parts of the tendons and ſinews were obſerved. Both the horn and hoofs were wanting; but the hollow in which the horn had been ſet, and the edge of the ſkin which encircled its baſe, being apparent and the cloven ſeparation of the hoofs being viſible, afforded undoubted proof that the animal was a rhinoceros. I ſhall here mention a few circumſtances, which I obtained from Argunof, relative to the place where the remains of the rhinoceros were diſcovered, and add a few conjectures on the poſſibility of their preſervation during ſo long a period. The country about the Vilui is mountainous; and the mountains conſiſt of ſtrata, partly of ſand and limeſtone, partly of clay mixed with many pebbles. The body was found in a hill, compoſed of ſand and pebbles, about fifteen fathoms high: it was buried deep in a coarſe gravelly ſand; and was preſerved by the froſt, as the ground in that part is never thawed at any conſiderable depth. Without this circumſtance the ſkin and other parts of this quadruped would not have been ſo long preſerved. For we cannot aſſign the quick tranſportation of this animal, from its native country in the ſouth to theſe cold regions, to a later period, or to a leſs important cauſe, than to the deluge; as the moſt ancient hiſtories of mankind make no mention of any later revolution of this globe, which could, with equal probability, have buried theſe remains of the rhinoceros, as well as the bones of elephants ſcattered throughout Siberia." Pallas Reiſe, part iii. p. 97.

† See Ruſſian Diſcoveries.

‡ It appears, by Meyer's analyſis of this mineral, that the glaſs-like matter conſiſts of eight parts of ferrugineous earth, twenty-ſeven of ſilicious earth, and twenty-five of the earth of magneſia. See Meyer's "Verſuche mit der von dem Herrn Prof. Pallas in Siberien gefundenen Eiſenſtuffe;" in Beſchaeftigungem der Berlin. Geſellſchaft. Vol. iii. p. 407.

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"This maſs, which exhibits the firſt inſtance of native iron ever found in a perfect ſtate of malleability, was diſcovered on an eminence oppoſite to Mount Memis, near the eaſtern bank of the Yenisèi, between the rivulets Oberi and Siſim, which fall into that river above the town of Kraſnoyarſk. It was a ſeparate maſs, which ſeemed to have been detached, by a lapſe of time, from the hill on which it reſted; and what is very remarkable, the chain of mountains, among which it was found, do not afford the leaſt traces of any volcano, any remains of forges or ancient mines, or in any other part the ſmalleſt appearances of native iron. Within three hundred and ſeventy-four yards of the ſpot where it was obſerved, is a rich vein of blueiſh magnetic ore; which, being viſited by the Ruſſian miners, firſt led to the diſcovery of the inſulated maſs. In its original ſtate, it weighed, one thouſand four hundred and forty Engliſh pounds, and was incruſted in moſt parts with a thick coat of blackiſh iron ore. The inſide conſiſts of pure malleable iron, divided by irregular cavities, which are filled with a vitrified tranſparent ſubſtance, yellow for the moſt part, but black in a few places, eſpecially near the ſurface, and blended here and there with ochre. Thoſe who have never ſeen any part of this maſs may be diſpoſed to conclude that it muſt have been the effect of art; but they who examine it with attention muſt be of opinion, that it was entirely natural, although they cannot account for the mode of its production."

The anatomical cabinet is highly eſteemed; it was prepared by Ruyſch, a celebrated anatomiſt of the Hague, and ſold, in 1717, to Peter the Great, for 30,000 florins *. This collection is remarkable for the regular ſucceſſion of fœtuſes in ſpirits, from the earlieſt period of conception to the birth of the infant; and for the injections of the brain and eye. The membranes of the eye are ſo fine and tender, that it requires infinite care to inject them; and Ruyſch ſucceeded in this difficult operation. He ſuppoſed that he had diſcovered a new membrane in the choroides of the eye, which is from him called Ruyſchian; and although, in the opinion of the moſt able anatomiſts, he did not ſuccced in his attempts to prove the exiſtence of this new membrane †, yet his labours muſt be eſteemed of great uſe, and his injections of the finer veſſels of the eye are juſtly admired for their ſuperior delicacy.

I haſten to the chamber of rarities, in which, among the moſt conſpicuous curioſities, muſt be mentioned the arms and ornaments found in the tombs of Siberia, many of which are of great value ‡, being of maſſive gold, and of elegant workmanſhip. Theſe ornaments

* About 3,000l.

† He affirmed, that he divided the choroides into two membranes; but it is now the received opinion, that he only ſplit the ſame membrane into two parts.

‡ The quantity of gold found in thoſe tombs is ſcarcely credible. One which was opened in the neighbourhood of the Irtiſh, is thus deſcribed in the Archæologia:

"After removing a very deep covering of earth and ſtones, the workmen came to three vaults conſtructed of ſtones of rude workmanſhip.

"That wherein the Prince was depoſited, which was in the centre, and the largeſt of the three, was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the ſword, ſpear, bow, quiver, and arrow, which lay beſide him. In the vault beyond him, towards which his feet lay, were his horſe, bridle, ſaddle, and ſtirrups. The body of the Prince lay in a reclining poſture, upon a ſheet of pure gold, extending from head to foot, and another ſheet of gold of the like dimenſions was ſpread over him. He was wrapped in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and ſtudded with rubies and emeralds. His head, neck, breaſt, and arms naked, and without any ornament.

"In the leſſer vault lay the Princeſs, diſtinguiſhed by her female ornaments. She was placed reclining againſt the walls, with a gold chain of many links, ſet with rubies, round her neck, and gold bracelets round her arms. The head, breaſt, and arms were naked. The body was covered with a rich robe, but without any border of gold or jewels, and was laid on a ſheet of fine gold, and covered over with another. The four

ornaments conſiſt of bracelets, ſome of which weigh a pound; collars in the ſhape of ſerpents; vaſes, crowns, bucklers, rings, figures of animals richly carved in gold and ſilver; ſabres with golden hilts, ornamented with precious ſtones; Tartar idols, and other antiquities. Some of theſe antiquities were copper knives, ſpears, and ſwords, but the greater part of maſſive gold, and of elegant workmanſhip. But how are we to account for the exiſtence of a civilized nation, capable of theſe works of art, on the banks of the Irtiſh, the Tobol, and the Yeniſei? This queſtion is ſatisfactorily ſolved by Muller, who made reſearches, and publiſhed an excellent treatiſe on the ſubject *.

After deſcribing the different ſpecies of tombs in the ſouthern parts of Siberia, he adds: "That as in ſeveral the bones of men, women, and horſes, have been found, with javelins, bows, arrows, and other weapons, it is evident that the ſame ancient ſuperſtition, which ſtill reigns in India, was formerly prevalent in Siberia; namely, that departed ſouls follow the ſame occupations in a future ſtate, which they purſued in this world †. For this purpoſe, at the demiſe of a diſtinguiſhed perſon, his favourite wife, ſervants, and horſes, were ſacrificed at his tomb, and buried with him; and for the ſame reaſon his arms, dreſs, and accoutrements, were alſo interred: hence the Indian wives, to this day, throw themſelves on the funeral pile of their huſbands." Muller corroborates this opinion by obſerving, that according to the archives of Yakutſk, he found this cuſtom ſubſiſted among the inhabitants when the Ruſſians conquered Siberia. He next endeavours to aſcertain the people to whom theſe burial places belonged; and he is equally judicious in the ſolution of this difficult enquiry. The richeſt of theſe burial places, he ſays, were made in the time of Zinghis Khan and his immediate ſucceſſors. The moſt valuable tombs being found near the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, and the Irtiſh; the next in value in the deſerts of the Yeniſei; and the pooreſt in the countries bordering on the lake Baikal; he ſuppoſes them all to have been the work of the Mongol hords at different periods.

Zinghis, or Tchinghis Khan laid the foundation of this vaſt power in the beginning of the 13th century. The roving hordes of Mongols, who were firſt reduced under his dominion, inhabited the countries about the rivers Selenga, Tola, Orkon, and Anon, ſtretching from the Amoor to the Mongol Deſert, which leads to the wall of China. Theſe hordes were at that time a poor tribe; and hence the tombs which are found in thoſe parts are ſcantily provided with rich accoutrements, and ornaments of value.

Zinghis having ſubjected the Mongols, turned his arms to different quarters. With the aid of theſe warlike tribes, he and his ſucceſſors conquered great part of China, Independent Tartary, Perſia, and India, and held for ſome years almoſt all Ruſſia under their yoke. The plunder of ſuch extenſive countries centered for the moſt part in the capital of the chief Khan, acknowledged by all the feudal princes as the head of that vaſt empire, which, on the death of Zinghis, was divided into many independent prin-

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four ſheets of gold weighed forty pounds. The robes of both looked fair and complete, but upon touching, crumbled into duſt."

Demidof's Account of certain Tartarian Antiquities, in the Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 223, 224.

* See Mr. Muller's excellent Treatiſe Von den Altern Graebern in Siberia in Haygold, vol. ii. p. 155; alſo in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.

† Or as the poet has elegantly expreſſed it:

——— *Quæ gratia currûm*
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
Paſcere equos, eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtos. Æneid, lib. vi. 653.

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cipalities. This capital was, about the middle of the thirteenth century, ſituated between the Yaik and Irtiſh *; and accordingly the richeſt ſepulchres are diſcovered in the parts lying between thoſe two rivers.

Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, the power of the Mongols was annihilated in theſe parts, and there ſeems no other period, but the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which they could have collected ſuch an immenſe booty as the ornaments found in theſe tombs ſeem to indicate.

A long gallery contains the various dreſſes of the inhabitants in the Ruſſian empire, and of many eaſtern nations: among which the Chineſe are the moſt conſiderable. One apartment is filled with the dreſſes, arms, and implements brought from the new-diſcovered iſlands between Aſia and America, and from the parts of the continent viſited by the Ruſſian veſſels. Some of theſe ſpecimens are the ſame which are mentioned in the Journals of the Ruſſian Voyages, namely, caps beautifully adorned with long ſtreamers of hair like ancient helmets; clothes made with the ſkins of ſea-otters, of rein-deer, and of birds painted red, and ornamented with fringes of leather, hair, or ſinews; alſo wooden maſks, repreſenting the heads of large fiſh and ſea-animals, which the inhabitants occaſionally wear at feſtivals †.

In this gallery are various idols, which Pallas procured from the Calmuc or Mongol hordes roving in Siberia, many of whom are ſtill plunged in a ſtate of the groſſeſt idolatry, and follow the religion of the Dalai Lama. Some of theſe deities are delineated on canvas; others are of clay, painted or gilt; a few are of bronze, chiefly procured from Thibet. They are moſtly groteſque figures, with many hands and arms, ſitting croſs-legged, and ſimilar to thoſe worſhipped by many ſects in the Eaſt: they are hollow, and generally filled with relics and ſentences of prayers. Engravings of the moſt remarkable idols are given in Pallas's Travels ‡.

The collection of Ruſſian coins throws a conſiderable light on the early hiſtory of this country. The moſt ancient ſubſtitutes for money were ſmall pieces of leather, or of martens' ſkin; but in their dealings with foreigners, the Ruſſians, like the Chineſe, exchanged their merchandize for gold and ſilver in bullion. The firſt æra of coining in Ruſſia is unknown; but the art was probably derived from the Tartars. The coins § are ranged in nine claſſes.

1. The firſt contains thoſe without inſcriptions: theſe, which are undoubtedly the moſt ancient, exhibit in one or two inſtances a human figure on horſeback, wielding a ſword; but are for the moſt part ſtamped with the rude repreſentations of certain animals, which ‖ denote their Tartarian origin. The cycle or period of computation employed by the Tartars, was ſimilar to that ſtill uſed by the Chineſe and Mongols, and contained twelve years, each ſucceſſively marked by a different animal: 1. a mouſe;

* Rubruquis, in his journey to the Khan Magnu, ſucceſſor of Zinghis Khan, deſcribes the laſt river he croſſed to be the Yaik, and as he never mentions the Irtiſh, it is probable that the ſeat of the court was between theſe two rivers

Theſe ornaments are executed with ſuch taſte and elegance, as to render it probable that they were executed by Europeans, drawn by the liberality of Zinghis Khan and his ſucceſſors; and Rubruquis met, at the court of Magnu, William Boucher, a French goldſmith.

† See Ruſſian Diſcoveries, alſo Cook's and Vancouver's Voyages.

‡ See Lord Macartney's Embaſſy; Turner's Embaſſy.

§ Le Clerc has lately favoured the public with a curious account of the Numiſmatic Hiſtory of Ruſſia, which he has rendered extremely valuable by engravings of one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven of the moſt ancient coins. See Hiſt de la Ruſſ Ane. vol. ii. p. 527 to 549.

‖ Sherebatof in Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, part ii. p. 15.

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2. an ox; 3. a tiger; 4. a hare; 5. a crocodile or dragon; 6. a ſerpent; 7. a horſe; 8. a lamb; 9. an ape; 10. a hen; 11. a dog; 12. a hog. Of theſe all but the crocodile, the ape, and the hare, appear on the coins; and perhaps the Tartars who over-ran Ruſſia, uſed inſtead of them, the ſwan, harpy, and ſyren. The coins impreſſed with the figures above-mentioned, were probably ſtruck in the correſponding years of the cycle. The annual tribute paid by the Ruſſians to the Tartars was marked by the animals which denote the particular year of the cycle; and, as in ſome coins two of theſe animals are repreſented at the ſame time, probably the tribute of two years was delivered at once. 2. Coins with a Tartar inſcription exhibit images of men on foot, or on horſeback, holding in their hands a ſabre, a lance, and a falcon; alſo of griffins, goats, fowls, and ſwans. 3. Coins with Tartar and Ruſſian inſcriptions. 4. Coins with only Ruſſian characters without date. We may remark on the three laſt claſſes, that the characters inſcribed on the coins were ſometimes Tartar, ſometimes Ruſſian, and ſometimes both; as the ſovereigns were more or leſs ſubject to the Tartar yoke. 5. Coins of the Great Dukes, beginning from Vaſſili Demitrievitch, and ending with thoſe of of Vaſſili Ivanovitch. The year in which the Great Duke firſt ſtruck money at Moſcow is not aſcertained; but from the Ruſſian inſcription on the moſt ancient pieces of this claſs, *Vnaes Veliki Vaſſili*, the Great Duke Vaſſili, probably about the year 1424, when Vaſſili Demitrievitch obtained a complete victory over Kundal, Khan of the Tartars. The year before the death of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. a coin was ſtruck by Ariſtotle of Bologna, who, with other foreign artiſts, was drawn by that Prince to Moſcow. 6. Coins of the princes of the blood who held independent principalities, thoſe of Galitz, Svenigorod, Moſhaiſk, Bielofero, Suſdal, Reſan, Tver, &c. 7. Thoſe of the principal towns, which had the right of coining; Novogorod, Pleſcof, Moſcow, Tver, &c. The moſt ancient are thoſe of Novogorod, where the Tartar money had no currency; as the commercial intercourſe with foreign nations has introduced the Lithuanian and Swediſh ſpecie.

8. Coins from the Tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. to the majority of Peter the Great. The firſt gold piece was made in the reign of Ivan, when the impreſſion was greatly improved. On ſome of theſe pieces I obſerved on one ſide the ſpread-eagle and an unicorn, and on the reverſe, the ſpread-eagle, with a St. George and the dragon on its breaſt. The firſt introduction of the ſpread-eagle is ſuppoſed to be owing to the marriage of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. with the Greek Princeſs Sophia, in whoſe right he is ſaid to have founded pretenſions to the Greek empire, and to have borne that device upon his arms. But we have no proof of the fact, either from the coins of this monarch, or from the accounts of Herberſtein and Poſſevinus; and Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. was undoubtedly the firſt Prince under whom the device of the ſpread-eagle was ſtamped on the coin; but hiſtory is ſilent on what occaſion it was aſſumed. The firſt rouble, which before was only uſed like our pound ſterling in computing, was coined by Alexèy Michaelovitch. In this claſs are three coins remarkable in the hiſtory of the empire: the firſt is a Ruſſian ducat, having the heads of the two Tzars Ivan and Peter Alexievitch on one ſide, and on the other that of their ſiſter Sophia, with the crown, ſceptre, and royal robes. The others are two coins of Ivan and Peter, which baffle the conjectures of hiſtorians; they bear no date; and as theſe Princes were joint ſovereigns, no antiquary has accounted for their ſeparate repreſentation, when the money during their reign was, excepting in this inſtance, uniformly impreſſed with both their heads. 9. The laſt claſs compriſes all the money iſſued by Peter and his ſucceſſors; upon comparing them with the preceding coins, it is evident to the commoneſt obſerver, how much the

die was corrected by Peter the Great on his return from his travels; and that ſince his time it has gradually degenerated *.

The cabinet is rich in Eaſtern coins; containing, among others, thoſe of the Caliphs of Arabia and Samarcand; of the Khans of Bulgaria, Crim Tartary, and Aſof, and of the Mongol tribe called by the Ruſſians the Golden Horde. Among the Indian pieces are the twelve roupees, repreſenting the twelve ſigns of the Zodiac, of Queen Nourmahall, whoſe hiſtory, related in the travels of Tavernier †, has more the air of an Eaſtern tale than of a true narrative ‡.

In an adjoining apartment, I was ſtruck with a waxen figure of Peter the Great, as large as life, ſitting in an armed chair. The features bear an exact reſemblance to the original, being taken from a mould applied to his face when dead, and coloured in imitation of his complexion. The eye-brows and hair are black, the eyes dark, the complexion ſwarthy, the aſpect ferocious, and the head inclined to one ſide, according to his uſual habit. He was very tall; and on meaſuring the figure, as well as the poſture would permit, the height exceeded ſix feet. It is clothed in the only full dreſs which that Emperor ever wore, the ſame which he had on, when he placed the crown upon the head of his beloved Catherine. This dreſs is of blue ſilk richly embroidered with ſilver; the ſtockings of fleſh coloured ſilk, with ſilver clocks. But I ſhould have received more ſatisfaction in contemplating this great monarch's image, dreſſed in the plain green uniform, and braſs-hilted ſword and hat, which are preſerved in the ſame room, and were worn by him at the battle of Pultava; the hat is pierced near the crown by a muſket ball. This apartment contains alſo the trowſers, worſted ſtockings, ſhoes, and cap, which he wore at Sardam, when he worked as a ſhipwright in the character of Maſter Peter.

The Academy of Sciences have paid the greateſt reſpect to the memory of their illuſtrious founder, by preſerving in their muſeum the horſe which he rode at the battle of Pultava, two favourite dogs, his turning-lathe and tools, ſeveral ſpecimens of his workmanſhip; an iron bar, with the following inſcription: "1724, Thurſday, Feb. 21, His Majeſty Peter I. being at Olonetz, forged this bar with his own hand." I muſt not omit three goblets of ſilver, preſented to the ſame monarch on launching three ſhips of the line, conſtructed under his immediate direction. One of theſe goblets, containing ſixty-five medals of the French Kings, was the gift of the Empreſs Catherine, who equally availed herſelf of her huſband's virtues and foibles to win his affections. Another article which engaged my attention, was the model of a veſſel of one hundred and twenty guns, given by William III. to Peter during his reſidence in England. The Emperor, who had received many marks of the King's friendſhip, preſented him with a diamond of great value, wrapped in a piece of common brown paper; an emblem of himſelf and his nation, whoſe virtues and abilities were yet under a coarſe cover.

This account of the Academy of Sciences ſhould not be cloſed without mentioning the Celeſtial Sphere, or Globe of Gottorp, placed in a detached building, to preſerve it from fire. It is a large hollow ſphere, eleven feet in diameter, containing a table, and ſeats for twelve perſons. The inſide repreſents the viſible ſurface of the heavens: the ſtars are diſtinguiſhed, according to their reſpective magnitudes, by gilded nails. It is ſet to the meridian of Peterſburgh; and, being turned by a curious piece

* See Eſſai ſur la Bib. p. 245. Verſuch ueber die alten Ruſſichen Muentzen, Journ. St. Pet. 1781.

† Tavernier's Travels, Part II. p. 10. ‡ Bachmeiſter, Eſſai ſur la Bibl. p. [illegible]

of

of mechaniſm, exhibits the true poſition of the heavens. The outſide repreſents the terreſtrial globe. This machine is called the Globe of Gottorp, from the original of that name, which, at the expence of Frederic III. Duke of Holſtein, was erected at Gottorp by Andrew Buſh, under the direction of Adam Olearius *. It was planned after a deſign found among the papers of the celebrated Tycho Brahe, and preſented by Frederic IV. King of Denmark to Peter the Great, who ſaw it in 1713, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction at its curious ſtructure and mechaniſm. The carriage of ſo cumbrous a machine from Gottorp to Peterſburgh was attended with great expence and labour. It was conveyed over the ſnow upon rollers and ſledges to Riga, and from thence was ſent by ſea to the new metropolis †. This ſphere was afterwards erected in the building of the Academy of Sciences, and burnt in 1747. From the iron plates or ſkeleton, the preſent globe was conſtructed, with conſiderable additions, and placed, in 1751, in its preſent poſition. It is of the ſame ſize as the original; and is far preferable, becauſe all the modern diſcoveries in geography and aſtronomy have been added. The meridian and horizon were formed by Scott, an Engliſh mechanic ‡.

The Academy of Arts was eſtabliſhed by Elizabeth, at the ſuggeſtion of Count Schuvaloff, and annexed to the Academy of Sciences: the fund was 4,000l. per annum, and the foundation for forty ſcholars. Catherine formed it into a ſepartate inſtitution, enlarged the annual revenue to 12,000l., and augmented the number of ſcholars to 300: ſhe alſo conſtructed, for the uſe and accommodation of the members, a large circular building, which fronts the Neva. The ſcholars are admitted at the age of ſix, continue until they have attained that of eighteen; and are inſtructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, the French, and German languages, and drawing. At the age of fourteen they are at liberty to chuſe any of the following arts, divided into four claſſes. 1. Painting in all its branches of hiſtory, portraits, battles, and landſcapes; architecture; Moſaic; enamelling; &c. 2. Engraving on copper-plates, ſeal-cutting, &c. 3. Carving in wood, ivory, and amber. 4. Watch-making, turning, inſtrument-making, caſting

* Buſching Erdbeſchriebung, article Gottorp. Acta Pet. for 1777, Part II. p. 7.

† Motraye's Travels.

‡ Travellers are too apt, in deſcribing foreign countries, to overlook their own, and to repreſent many objects as extraordinary and peculiar, which may ſometimes be found in greater perfection at home. To avoid the imputation of this partial proceeding, I ſhall here add, that this aſtronomical machine is far inferior in ſize to one erected at Pembroke college, in the univerſity of Cambridge, by the late Dr. Long, maſter of that ſociety, which is thus deſcribed by the doctor himſelf:

"I have, in a room lately built in Pembroke-Hall, erected a ſphere of eighteen feet diameter, wherein above thirty perſons may ſit conveniently; the entrance into it is over the ſouth pole, by ſix ſteps; the frame of the ſphere conſiſts of a number of iron meridians, not complete ſemicirles, the northern ends of which are ſcrewed to a large round plate of braſs, with an hole in the centre of it; through this hole from a beam in the ceiling, comes the north pole, a round iron rod, about three inches long, and ſupports the upper parts of the ſphere to its proper elevation for the latitude of Cambridge; the lower part of the ſphere, ſo much of it as is inviſible in England, is cut off; and the lower or ſouthern ends of the meridians, or truncated ſemicircles, terminate on, and are ſcrewed down to, a ſtrong circle of oak, of about thirteen feet diameter, which, when the ſphere is put into motion, runs upon large rollers of lignum vitæ, in the manner that the tops of ſome wind-mills are made to turn round. Upon the iron meridians is fixed a zodiac of tin painted blue, whereon the ecliptic and heliocentric orbits of the planets are drawn, and the conſtellations and ſtars traced; the great and little Bear and Draco are already painted in their places round the north pole; the reſt of the conſtellations are propoſed to follow; the whole is turned round with a ſmall winch, with as little labour as it takes to wind up a jack, though the weight of the iron, tin, and wooden circle, is about a thouſand pounds. When it is made uſe of, a planetarium will be placed in the middle thereof. The whole, with the floor, is well ſupported by a frame of large timber"

Since the above was written, the ſphere has been completely finiſhed; and all the conſtellations and ſtars of the northern hemiſphere, viſible at Cambridge, are painted in their proper places upon plates of iron joined together, which form one concave ſurface.

ſtatues in bronze and other metals, imitating gems and medals in compoſitions, gilding, and varniſhing.

Prizes are annually diſtributed to thoſe who excel in any particular art; and from thoſe who have obtained four prizes, twelve are ſelected, who are ſent abroad at the charge of the empreſs. A certain ſum is ſent to defray their travelling expences; and when they are ſettled in any town, they receive an annual ſalary of 60l. which is continued during four years. There is a ſmall aſſortment of paintings for the uſe of the ſcholars; and thoſe who have made great progreſs are permitted to copy the pictures in the imperial collection. There are alſo models in plaiſter of the beſt antique ſtatues in Italy, all executed at Rome, of the ſame ſize with the originals, which the artiſts of the Academy were employed to caſt in bronze. We obſerved ſeveral finiſhed pieces of drawing, painting, and ſculpture, which had much merit, and ſeemed to predict the future improvement of the arts in Ruſſia.

Though this inſtitution is admirably calculated for promoting the liberal arts, and deſerves the higheſt encomiums, we muſt not be ſurpriſed on conſidering the ſmall effects which have hitherto flowed from this endowment. The ſcholars for the moſt part make a conſiderable progreſs during their continuance in the academy, and many improve themſelves abroad. It is remarkable, however, that the perſons of the greateſt merit often ſettle in other countries; or, if they return, ſoon ſink into an indolence, which appears almoſt national. The cauſe of this failure ſeems to proceed from the little encouragement which they receive from the nation in general. The ſovereign may rear artiſts, like foreign plants in a hot bed, at a prodigious expence, and by conſtant cultivation; but unleſs the ſame care is continued when they are brought to maturity, they will ſicken by neglect. And it is impoſſible even for a monarch, however inclined to protect merit, or for a few of the nobility who follow ſuch an illuſtrious example, to diffuſe love for the works of art among a people who muſt firſt imbibe a degree of taſte, which can only be acquired by experience: and if thoſe who excel are not diſtinguiſhed, they cannot feel that noble ſpirit of emulation which excites to excellence. As the nation, however, is gradually drawing towards a higher ſtate of civilization and refinement; theſe inſtitutions muſt be productive of more extenſive and permanent effects.

The free Œconomical Society, or the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, at Peterſburgh, owes its origin to the following occaſion: The Empreſs one day at table expreſſing herſelf with warmth on the advantages that would reſult from ſuch a ſociety, firſt ſuggeſted the idea to Prince Orlof who happened to be preſent. In conformity to the wiſhes of his imperial miſtreſs, he and fourteen other perſons, men of rank and learning, aſſembled in June 1765, drew up rules, formed themſelves into a regular ſociety, and laid the plan before the empreſs, who ſignified her approbation by an anſwer, written with her own hand.

"The deſign which you have juſt formed for the improvement of agriculture and huſbandry, is highly agreeable to us; and your labours will be regarded as effectual proofs of a true zeal and love for your country. We conſider the plan and the regulations, by which you have bound yourſelves, as deſerving our approbation, and we graciouſly allow you to be called The Free Œconomical Society. You may reſt aſſured, that we take your ſociety under our protection: we not only conſent that you uſe our ſeal and imperial coat of arms; but, as a particular mark of our good will towards you, we permit you to bear our device in the center of our imperial coat of arms; namely, a hive, to which bees are bringing honey, with the motto 'Profitably.'

"We gratify, moreover, your ſociety with 6000 roubles, towards the purchaſe of a convenient houſe, as well for your meeting, as for the purpoſe of holding a library on ſubjects of agriculture. Your labours will, under the protection of Divine Providence, be highly advantageous to you and your poſterity; and we will not fail, in proportion as your zeal diſplays itſelf, to increaſe our good-will.

"October 31, 1765. CATHARINE."

The ſociety conſiſts of a preſident, who is changed every four months, and of an indefinite number of members. The candidate for admiſſion muſt be propoſed by three members, and is rejected or admitted by the majority of the perſons preſent. The ſociety is chiefly ſupported by the voluntary contributions of its members, whoſe number in 1781 amounted to one hundred and ſeventy-nine. The aſſembly meets regularly once a week, when the papers on agriculture and ſimilar ſubjects are read. Thoſe which are thought worthy of publication are printed at the expence of the Empreſs, for the profit of the ſociety. The work is ſold at a low price; and twelve copies are forwarded *gratis* to the governors of each province, to be diſtributed in the ſeveral governments. The tranſactions are either written or tranſlated into the Ruſſian language, and printed in octavo.

The ſociety gives annual prizes, conſiſting of gold and ſilver medals, or money, ſometimes to the amount of 140l., for the beſt ſolutions of certain queſtions relative to agriculture, and for improvements in huſbandry. The Empreſs, in the true ſpirit of this inſtitution, ſends ſeveral young men into England, to ſtudy practical agriculture. They are chiefly recommended to Arthur Young Eſq. who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many excellent works on various branches of huſbandry; and who was elected in the moſt honourable manner a member of this ſociety.

In Peterſburgh are two ſeminaries for the education of the nobility; the *Corps de Cadets* for males, and the *Le Couvent des Demoiſelles Nobles* for females.

The houſe appropriated for the ſeminary of the cadets, was formerly a palace belonging to prince Mentchikof ſituated in the Vaſſili Oſtrof, and contains, including the cadets, at leaſt two thouſand perſons. This inſtitution owes its origin to the Empreſs Anne, by the advice of Marſhal Munic, but has been ſo much improved, and the fund ſo conſiderably enlarged, by Catherine II. that her majeſty may almoſt be called its foundreſs. The annual income is 30,000l. for the reception of ſix hundred boys.

In November 1778, there were four hundred and eighty nobles, and ſixty-four gymnaſiaſts, or children of inferior ranks, who are deſigned to be tutors to noblemen's children, and are inſtructed in claſſical literature. The nobles are chiefly intended for the army, and are dreſſed in uniforms; a few excepted, who follow a civil line. The children are admitted at the age of ſix, and remain fifteen years: they are divided into five claſſes, and learn French, German, arithmetic, fortification, tactics, hiſtory, and geography. They alſo receive leſſons in dancing, fencing, and riding, and ſome in drawing and muſic. The boys whoſe genius prompts them to ſuch ſtudies, are provided with maſters in the Latin, Engliſh, and Tartar tongues. The cadets are divided into companies; and regularly trained to military exerciſes. During ſix weeks in ſummer they form an encampment near the town, are reviewed, and perform all the manœuvres of war. Prizes of books, gold and ſilver medals, ribbands, and ſtars, are annually diſtributed among thoſe who excel, as well in their reſpective ſtudies and employments, as in their exerciſes. Of thoſe whoſe merit has entitled them to ſix prizes, three are annually ſelected to travel, with an allowance to each of 120l. per annum.

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The boys are brought up in the hardieſt manner; they are not, even in winter, clad in furs, nor always indulged in the uſe of ſtoves. They are habituated to all kinds of exerciſe, and particularly to running and leaping. I ſaw ſome of the largeſt cadets engaged in theſe manly diverſions. At the further end of a large hall ſtood a leathern horſe, the higheſt part of which was at leaſt ſix feet. They leaped over it in every direction, ſprung over the head, vaulted into the ſeat, turned themſelves round on it, poiſed themſelves on their hands with their head on the ſaddle and their feet in the air, and then threw themſelves from that poſture upon the floor on their legs: with other feats, which they performed with as much eaſe and agility as the moſt expert tumblers. Theſe exerciſes are of great uſe in ſtretching their limbs, opening their cheſts, and rendering them robuſt and active. In every department great attention is paid to cleanlineſs, and the boys are remarkably healthy. Once or twice in winter, the cadets are permitted to give a maſquerade and ball to the principal nobility, on which occaſion, ſome of the young ladies from the female ſeminary are generally invited as partners for the upper boys. One of theſe entertainments, at which we were preſent, was conducted with great elegance and propriety.

The ſeminary for the education of the female nobility, uſually called *Le Couvent des Demoiſelles Nobles*, is ſituated at the extremity of the ſuburbs of Alexander Nevſki. The edifice, which is a large quadrangular building, was erected by Elizabeth for a nunnery; but was converted by Catherine to its preſent uſe, and endowed with a ſalary of 16,000l. per annum. It was firſt opened in 1764, for the reception of children: the foundation is for two hundred nobles, and two hundred and forty *bourgeoiſes*, or children of lower rank. To theſe the Empreſs has added fifty ſupernumerary nobles, called *penſionaires*; and Mr. Betſkoi, the humane director of all theſe uſeful ſocieties for education, ſupports forty *bourgeoiſes* at his own expence. The girls are admitted between the age of five and ſix, and quit the ſeminary about eighteen. Formerly the young ladies and the *bourgeoiſes* were brought up in the ſame manner, without the leaſt attention to difference of rank and fortune; but this plan is wiſely amended, and they now receive an education more adapted to their reſpective ſituations in life.

They are both divided into four claſſes. The firſt claſs is habited in white, the ſecond in light brown, the third in green, and the loweſt in chocolate. The dreſs of the *bourgeoiſes* is coarſer than the young ladies: the firſt claſs of whom wear alſo black handkerchiefs and green aprons; while the *bourgeoiſes* are clothed entirely in white. They all learn reading, writing, accounts, and needle-work. The young ladies are ſeparately inſtructed in hiſtory and geography, and acquire, beſide a grammatical knowledge of their native tongue, the French, German, and Italian languages, and receive leſſons in dancing, muſic, and drawing, according to the bent of their genius. Inſtead of theſe accompliſhments, the *bourgeoiſes* are employed in the management of houſehold affairs; they prepare and waſh their own linen, are taught to make bread, and trained to the art of cookery. One of the apartments was hung with the deſigns, paintings, charts, genealogical tables, and other trophies which diſplayed the ingenuity of the young ladies. Thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves, receive annual preſents, conſiſting chiefly of ribbands, which are worn in bows at their ſides.

On the day in which we viſited this noble foundation, a hundred poor women dined in the hall, and were attended by the young ladies, who diſtributed to each perſon a ſmall ſilver coin, and a few yards of linen. This ceremony was inſtituted to inculcate in their tender minds an attention to the poor, and a readineſs to relieve diſtreſs.

The quadrangular building contains an elegant theatre, in which the young ladies occaſionally act plays. We were preſent at a repreſentation, and were greatly entertained

tained with the performance. The theatre is a circular room, neatly painted with trees in imitation of a landſcape, and ſeemed capable of containing four hundred ſpectators. The pieces were, *La Servant Maitreſſe*, and *L'Oracle*, both performed in the French tongue; the firſt by young ladies of ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, and the laſt by others of ten or twelve. Both parties acted with ſpirit, and diſplayed great propriety in geſture and elocution. I was greatly aſtoniſhed at the purity with which they pronounced the French tongue. The repreſentation was concluded by a ballet, and various dances, adapted to the ages and ſtrength of the ſeveral performers. The national dance was introduced; it is executed by two perſons, who continue nearly on the ſame ſpot, but uſe a variety of movements with the arms, body, and head, while their ſhoulders are elevated and depreſſed in exact meaſure. It is expreſſive of a courtſhip; firſt languiſhing looks, coyneſs, refuſal, and invitation; at length the two dancers, having once or twice changed places, make a couple of circles briſkly, and conclude with an embrace.

The play was followed by a ball and ſupper, to which were admitted ſeveral of the nobility and foreign gentlemen, and a few of the cadets. At twelve a collation was ſerved on ſeveral tables, at which parties promiſcuouſly ranged themſelves. As I was walking about the room, one of the young ladies obſerving a foreigner unprovided with a ſeat, quitted the table where ſhe was ſitting, and politely invited me to make one of her party, an invitation I immediately accepted. I withdrew, with the reſt of the company, at two o'clock in the morning, highly delighted with the eaſe and innocent vivacity of my fair entertainers, whoſe politeneſs and affability beſpoke the elegant ſpirit of the inſtitution.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Anecdotes of Profeſſor Pallas.—His Travels and Works.—Circumſtances of Dr. Samuel Gmelin's Death.—Memoirs of Guldenſtaedt.—His Travels into Georgia and Imeretia.—Reception at the Courts of the Princes Heraclius and Solomon.—Works of Guldenſtaedt.*

THE eminent naturaliſt and traveller, Peter Simon Pallas *, is ſon of Simon Pallas, a native of Johannisburgh in Pruſſia, who was profeſſor of ſurgery at Berlin, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the writers of phyſic, by a Treatiſe on the Operations of Surgery, publiſhed in 1763; and by a Supplement on the Diſeaſes of the Bowels, in 1770, in which year he died, at the age of ſeventy-ſix.

Peter Simon Pallas was born at Berlin, on the 22d of September 1741. He received the early part of his education from private tutors in his father's houſe, under whom he made an aſtoniſhing progreſs. Among the preceptors to whom the great naturaliſt expreſſes his particular obligations, muſt be diſtinguiſhed John Martin Sheyling, who behaved to him more like a friend than a maſter. Sheyling being not an inelegant writer, and particularly attached to poetry, the young ſcholar imbibed from his maſter's inſtructions and example a taſte for poetry, and compoſed ſeveral pieces in verſe, which have been given to the public. To the ſame perſon he was likewiſe indebted to a very early attachment to entomology. Being deſtined to ſtudy phyſic ſo early as the thirteenth year of his age, he attended a courſe of lectures on anatomy,

* I am indebted to Mr. Pallas himſelf, for many anecdotes of his early life, and for ſome part of the remaining account of the learned profeſſor, to my ingenious friend Dr. Pulteney, well known to the public by his "General View of the Writings of Linnæus."

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phyſiology, botany, medicine, and ſurgery, under profeſſors Meckel, Sproegel, Gleditch, Rolof, and his father, and applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to anatomical diſſections. He made ſuch rapid advances in theſe branches of ſcience, that, in the beginning of 1758, he was enabled to read a courſe of public lectures on anatomy, which every ſubject, who practiſes phyſic in the Pruſſian dominions, is obliged to give, as a proof of his proficiency. Yet, although thus occupied in his profeſſional labours, his indefatigable genius ſtill found leiſure to purſue the ſtudy of inſects, and other branches of zoology, for which he ſeems at an early period to have conceived a predilection, and in which he eminently excels.

In the autumn M. Pallas repaired to the univerſity of Halle, where he attended the lectures of the celebrated Segner on mathematics and phyſics, and improved his knowledge of mineralogy in the environs of that city.

In the ſpring of 1759, he removed to Gottingen; and, although a long and dangerous illneſs prevented him from proſecuting his ſtudies with his uſual ardour; yet he reaped great benefit from the inſtructions of the phyſicians Roederer and Vogel, and improved his general knowledge by his acceſs to the public library.

During his reſidence at Gottingen, he made numerous experiments on the effect of poiſons and other violent remedies, applied himſelf to the diſſection of animals, and formed repeated obſervations on the worms which breed in the inteſtines, on which ſubject he compoſed an ingenious treatiſe, under the title of *De infeſtis viventibus intra viventia*, deſcribing with ſingular accuracy thoſe worms which are found in the human body.

In July 1760, he was attracted to the univerſity of Leyden by the fame of the celebrated phyſicians and naturaliſts Albinus, Gaubius, and Muſchenbroek; and by them he was noticed as a young man of promiſing genius and indefatigable ardour. His talents particularly recommended him to the favour of Gaubius, the principal profeſſor. In December he took his doctor's degree, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an inaugural diſſertation, in which he defended, by new experiments, the diſſertation on worms compoſed at Gottingen.

During his reſidence at Leyden, natural hiſtory became his predominant purſuit; he employed all the time which he could ſteal from his profeſſional ſtudies in viſiting the public and private cabinets of natural hiſtory, with which Leyden abounded, and was particularly charmed with the collection of Gronovius.

Having viſited the principal cities of Holland, he directed his courſe to London, where he arrived in July 1761, with a view to improve his knowledge of medicine and ſurgery. But he was now ſo much abſorbed in his paſſion for natural hiſtory, that he neglected every other purſuit, and devoted himſelf to this favourite branch of ſcience. He ſeemed to have no other occupation by day than to examine the various collections and to peruſe the principal books which he could procure on the ſubject of natural hiſtory; nay, ſo eager was he in theſe purſuits, that he frequently employed the greater part of the night, and occaſionally even whole nights together, whenever he met with any new publication, which awakened his curioſity. With a view of extending his knowledge, he took ſeveral journies to the ſea coaſts, and particularly in Suſſex; and I have often heard him lament with regret, that the ſcantineſs of his income did not permit him to extend his reſearches to the principal parts of Great Britain.

Being at length ſummoned by his father to Berlin, he quitted London with regret in April 1762, and repaired to Harwich to embark immediately for Holland; but being fortunately detained for ſeveral days by contrary winds, he examined the ſea-

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coaſt, and collected various marine productions. On the 13th of May, he landed in Holland; and, paſſing through the Hague, Leyden, Amſterdam, and the circle of Weſtphalia, arrived at Berlin on the 12th of June.

To commence the practice of his profeſſion, his father ſent him to Hanover for the purpoſe of procuring the place of ſurgeon in the allied army; but on his arrival in July, the peace being nearly concluded, he returned to Berlin. He there paſſed a year, which he chiefly employed in preparing materials for a *Fauna Inſectorum Marchica*; or a Deſcription of the Inſects in the March of Brandenburgh; the manuſcript of which now remains unpubliſhed in the poſſeſſion of profeſſor Sandford, at Leyden, becauſe the author diffidently eſteemed it unworthy of publication.

Animated by his predilection for natural hiſtory, he extorted his father's conſent to ſettle in Holland, and arrived in September at the Hague, where he obtained a ſettlement through the recommendation of Gaubius.

His reputation as a man of ſcience being eſtabliſhed, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and member of the academy *Des Curieux de la Nature*; to both of which ſocieties he had previouſly ſent ſome intereſting papers.

His intimacy with the moſt celebrated naturaliſts in Holland, particularly with thoſe of the Hague, who had juſt eſtabliſhed a literary ſociety; the free acceſs which he had to the muſeum of the Prince of Orange, and other curious cabinets; the ſyſtematic catalogues of thoſe collections which he drew up, ſeveral of which he gave to the public, contributed to advance his knowledge of natural productions in the various parts of the globe; and to furniſh him ſuch materials as gave birth to thoſe accurate compoſitions which have deſervedly diſtinguiſhed him as the firſt zoologiſt of Europe. One of his firſt works in this branch of ſcience, which rendered him eminently conſpicuous, was *Elenchus Zoophytorum*.

The attention which Pallas beſtowed on the Zoophytes, or animal-plants, in the inveſtigation of the worms infeſting the human body, particularly the uncommon nature of the *tænia*, or tape-worm, as he acknowledges, ſeems to have led him into this line of natural ſcience. In this work, which is printed in octavo, after treating on the nature of theſe animals in a general way, and giving the various opinions of authors relating to the place they ought to hold in the Syſtem of Nature, he deſcribes, from his own inſpection, more than two hundred and ſeventy ſpecies of thoſe worms and animalcules, which are known under the generical names of polypes, corals, madrepores, corallines, ſea pens, *tænia* or tape-worm, ſponges, ſea-fans, &c.

The free acceſs which he had to the muſeum of the Prince of Orange, and other curious collections in Holland, enabled him to enrich his work with the deſcription of various productions, brought from both Indies. He has deſcribed each ſpecies at large, and given it a new name, characteriſtic of its real diſtinctions; and (what eſpecially increaſes the value of his work) he has extricated, as far as poſſible, the ſynonyms of former authors, both ancient and modern; thus rendering his book highly uſeful to thoſe who are curious in this branch of natural hiſtory.

In a dedication to his *Miſcellanea Zoologica*, publiſhed in the ſame year, the author lays before the Prince of Orange a plan for a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the other Dutch ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies; and which, impelled by an ardour of ſcientific knowledge, he offered to undertake and ſuperintend. This plan, calculated to improve our acquaintance with the natural hiſtory of thoſe regions, was ſtrongly recommended by Gaubius, and approved by the Prince; but was obſtructed by the author's father, who recalled him to Berlin.

Pallas,

Pallas, with great reluctance, quitted Holland in November 1766; and on his return to Berlin, he arranged his numerous materials for the public. But he had ſcarcely begun to publiſh his *Spicilegia Zoologica*, before he was invited by the Empreſs Catharine II. to accept the profeſſorſhip of natural hiſtory in the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Although in this inſtance his father and relations again withheld their conſent, yet the author's ardent zeal for his favourite ſcience, and an irreſiſtible deſire to viſit regions ſo little known, and abounding in the productions of nature, induced him to haſten his departure for a country, where his curioſity was likely to be amply gratified. He accordingly quitted Berlin in June 1767, and arrived at Peterſburgh on the 10th of Auguſt.

He made his appearance among the Ruſſians at a critical period. The Empreſs had already ordered the Academy of Sciences to ſend aſtronomers into various parts of the Ruſſian empire, to obſerve the tranſit of Venus over the ſun's diſk, in 1769. Being juſt returned from a voyage down the Volga, and from viſiting the interior provinces of European Ruſſia, the enlightened ſovereign had perceived the deficiency of the topographical accounts, and anticipated the advantage of deputing learned men to viſit the diſtant provinces of her extenſive dominions, with a view to enlarge the bounds of ſcience, and ſpread the knowledge of uſeful arts among the natives. For this purpoſe Catharine had directed the Academy to ſend, in company with the Aſtronomers, the moſt able naturaliſts and philoſophers. Pallas having offered to accompany this expedition, was charged with drawing up general inſtructions for the naturaliſts, and gratified with the choice of his aſſociates. To him was ſubmitted, at his own requeſt, the conduct of the expedition to the eaſt of the Volga, and towards the extreme parts of Siberia; and he was beſt calculated for that expedition, as the elder Gmelin, his precurſor in thoſe regions, had almoſt entirely neglected zoology. Pallas employed the winter in forming a ſyſtematic catalogue of the animals in the cabinet of the Academy; in putting into order the celebrated collection of profeſſor Breyn of Dantzic, lately purchaſed by Prince Orlof; in preparing for the preſs ſix numbers of his *Spicilegia Zoologica*, which were printed during his abſence under the direction of Dr. Martin, and in forming the neceſſary arrangements for his expedition.

At length, in June 1768, he quitted Peterſburgh, in company with Meſſrs. Falk, Lepekin, and Guldenſtaedt, as his aſſociates, paſſed through Moſcow, Vlodimir, Kaſimof, Murom, Arſamas, to Caſan; and having examined great part of that province, wintered at Simbirſk. From thence he departed in March, and penetrated through Samara, and Orenburgh, as far as Gurief, a ſmall Ruſſian fortreſs, ſituated at the mouth of the river Yaic, or Ural. There he examined the confines of Calmuc Tartary, and the neighbouring ſhores of the Caſpian; and returning through the province of Orenburgh, paſſed the ſecond winter at Ufa. After ſeveral expeditions in the adjacent regions, he left Ufa on the 16th of May 1770, proſecuted his route through the Uralian mountains to Catharinenburgh, viſited the mines, proceeded to Tcheliabinſk, a ſmall fortreſs in the government of Orenburgh, and in December made an excurſion as far as Tobolſk.

The next year he was employed in traverſing the Altai Mountains, and tracing the courſe of the Irtiſh to Omſk and Kolyvan; where having inſpected the celebrated ſilver mines, he proceeded to Tomſk, and finiſhed that year's expedition at Kraſnojarſk, a town upon the Yniſei. In that place, ſituated only in the fifty-ſixth degree of north latitude, the cold was ſo intenſe, that the learned profeſſor was witneſs to the natural congelation of quickſilver, which curious phænomenon he has minutely deſcribed *.

* See Pallas Reiſe, P. III. p. 417—419; and a tranſlation of this remarkable paſſage, in vol. i. p. 227 of Chemical Eſſays, by Dr. Watſon, Biſhop of Landaff.

From

From Kraſnojarſk Pallas departed on the 7th of March 1772, and proceeded by Irkutſk, and acroſs the Lake Baikal, to Udinſk, Selenginſk, and Kiatka, which is the principal mart of trade between Ruſſia and China. Having penetrated into that part of Dauria which is ſituated in the ſouth-eaſtern region of Siberia, he journeyed between the rivers Ingoda and Argoon, at no great diſtance from the Amoor; thence tracing the lines which ſeparate the Ruſſian empire from the Mongol hordes dependent on China, he returned to Selenginſk, and again wintered at Kraſnojarſk. In the ſummer of 1773, he viſited Tara, Yaiſk, and Aſtracan; and concluded that year's route at Tzaritzin, a town upon the Volga; from whence he continued his journey in the enſuing ſpring, and arrived at Peterſburgh on the 30th of July 1774, after an abſence of ſix years.

The account of this extenſive and intereſting tour was publiſhed in three parts *, containing two thouſand and four pages, in five volumes quarto, which has greatly contributed to extend his fame and eſtabliſh his character. Pallas, in this valuable work, has entered into a geographical and topographical deſcription of the provinces, towns, and villages which he viſited in his tour, accompanied with an accurate account of their antiquities, hiſtory, productions, and commerce. He has diſcriminated many of the tribes who wander over the various diſtricts, and near the confines of Siberia; detailed, with peculiar preciſion, their cuſtoms, manners, and languages; and rendered his travels invaluable to the naturaliſt, from many important diſcoveries in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. Theſe travels are written in the German language; but the author has added to each part an appendix in the Latin tongue, which contains near four hundred ſcientific deſcriptions of ſeveral quadrupeds, birds, fiſh, inſects, and plants. He has alſo greatly contributed to encreaſe the utility of his performance by charts, and engravings of various antiquities, of ſeveral tartar dreſſes and idols, and of many animals and plants.

Expeditions of this kind into inhoſpitable regions, among vagrant and almoſt barbarous nations, are full of danger; as was ſufficiently experienced by Muller, and Gmelin the elder, in the reign of the Empreſs Anne; and nothing but the moſt intenſe ardour for ſcience can ſtimulate men to ſuch hazardous undertakings. In that expedition De l'Iſle and Steller periſhed; and, as if theſe ſchemes were deſtined to ill fate, Dr. S. Gmelin, after having loſt many of his papers and collections, ſunk under grief and diſeaſe, and expired in a ſmall village of Mount Caucaſus, in 1774. Falk died in the courſe of the journey, and profeſſor Lowitz was wantonly maſſacred by the inhuman Pugatchef.

Pallas fortunately returned, but from the manner in which he finiſhes his travels, not without enduring many hardſhips, and narrowly eſcaping from the moſt imminent dangers. "On the 30th of July I reached Peterſburgh, with an enfeebled body and grey hairs, though only in the three and thirtieth year of my age; but yet much ſtronger than when I was in Siberia; and full of grateful acknowledgments to Providence for having preſerved and delivered me from numberleſs perils."

Pallas, known to the generality of the Engliſh readers only as a great naturaliſt, deſerves a conſiderable place among thoſe writers who have ſucceeded in developing the complicated hiſtory of the roving tribes ſcattered over thoſe extenſive regions which ſtretch from the heart of Siberia, to the northern limits of India. In a recent publication, intitled Collections upon the Political, Phyſical, and Civil Hiſtory of the Mongol Tribes †, he has thrown new light upon the annals of a people, whoſe anceſtors con-

* *Reiſe durch verſchiedenen Provinzen des Ruſſiſchen Reichs.* A French tranſlation of this intereſting work has alſo been publiſhed.

† *Samlungen Hiſt. Nachrichten ueber Mongoliſchen Volkerchaften.*

quered Ruſſia, China, Perſia, and Indoſtan; and, at more than one period, eſtabliſhed, perhaps as large an empire as ever was poſſeſſed by a ſingle nation. The materials for this publication he collected, partly during an intercourſe with the Mongols, Burats, and Calmucs, and partly from the communications of Muller and Gmelin.

Hitherto moſt authors who have written upon theſe Aſiatic hordes, have called them all indiſcriminately by the name of Tartars; but this erroneous appellation is rectified by Pallas, who proves unqueſtionably that the Mongol tribes are a diſtinct race from the Tartars; differing from them in features, language, and government, and reſembling them in nothing but in their inclination to a roving life. This primitive nation of Aſia, whoſe origin, hiſtory, and preſent ſtate form the ſubject of this intereſting work, dates its celebrity from their founder Zinghis Khan. When his vaſt dominions fell to pieces under his ſucceſſors in the ſixteenth century, the Mongol and Tartar hordes, who compoſed one empire, again ſeparated, and have ſince continued diſtinct and independent. The Mongol hordes Pallas divides into three principal branches, Mongols, Oerats or Calmucs, and Burats; which he deſcribes with that preciſion and accuracy which diſtinguiſh all his writings.

In the ſame year in which the profeſſor printed his *Elenchus Zoophytorum*, he alſo publiſhed a treatiſe under the title of *Miſcellanea Zoologica quibus novæ imprimis atque obſcuræ Animalium Species deſcribuntur, et Obſervationibus Iconibuſque illuſtrantur.* This work was incorporated into a ſubſequent publication the next year, on his return to Berlin, entitled, *Spicilegia Zoologica*; which has been continued in numbers, or *faſciculi*, at uncertain periods until 1780, when the fourteenth was delivered. It contains, beſides the letter-preſs, ſeventy-two plates, and reflects the higheſt credit on the author, as a moſt careful obſerver and critic in zoology. The works of Buffon amply teſtify the labours of Pallas in the ſupplementary volumes, and Pennant makes frequent acknowledgements of his obligations to the ſame ſource, particularly for his Hiſtory of Quadrupeds and Arctic Zoology.

In June 1777 the learned profeſſor read before the Academy of Peterſburgh, in a meeting at which the King of Sweden was preſent, a Diſſertation on the Formation of Mountains, and the Changes which this Globe has undergone, particularly in the Ruſſian Empire. This curious treatiſe, written in the French tongue, was printed at St. Peterſburgh; and a tranſlation of it is given by Mr. Tooke in his Ruſſia Illuſtrata.

In 1778 he publiſhed *Novæ Species Quadrupedum e Glirium Ordine.* This performance, printed at Erlang in quarto, contains twenty-ſeven plates, and deſcribes numbers of the rat genus, and their anatomy. In 1781 he brought out *Enumeratio Plantarum quæ in Horto Procopii à Demidof Moſcuâ vigent* (Pet. octavo); or, Catalogue of the Plants in Mr. Demidof's Gardens at Moſcow; and in the ſame year he gave to the public two volumes, in octavo, of an intereſting work in the German tongue, called, *Neue Nordiſche Beytrage*, &c. or New Northern Collections on various Subjects of Geography, Natural Hiſtory, and Agriculture, which have been followed by five additional volumes.

In 1782 he put forth two *faſciculi*, or numbers, of *Icones Inſectarum præſertim Ruſſiæ Siberiæque peculiarium*, &c. quarto, Erlang; or, Figures of Inſects, principally of thoſe which are peculiar to Ruſſia and Siberia, accompanied with deſcriptions and illuſtrations. Theſe two numbers treat of the *ſcarabæi, curculiones, tenebriones, bupeſtres, meloedes, cerambyces*, with ſix plates, containing coloured figures of one hundred and eighty inſects of thoſe genera.

In 1784 he publiſhed the firſt number of a *Flora Ruſſica* *; or, a Deſcription of the Plants of the whole Ruſſian Empire; a ſplendid work, which was executed at the Empreſs's expence, and owes its origin to the following circumſtance: Her Majeſty inquiring of Pallas the Ruſſian names of ſeveral plants, the author ſent ſome dried ſpecimens, which he accompanied with a ſhort deſcription of each plant, and a diſſertation on their uſes. Catharine, pleaſed with the method, ordered him to deſcribe in the ſame manner the botany of the whole empire, and to ſpare no expence in the execution of the work. The ſecond number came out in 1789.

The reviſal of a curious, though leſs intereſting publication, which ſhews the verſatility of the author's talents, unfortunately contributed to delay the completion of the Flora Ruſſica and his zoological reſearches; this work is an univerſal vocabulary, of which he ſuperintended the impreſſion, and which the Empreſs of Ruſſia collected from all quarters of the globe.

Excluſive of theſe ſeparate publications, he has printed in the Acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, various zoological and botanical diſſertations, which prove his accurate knowlege of natural hiſtory.

It cannot but be pleaſing to the lovers of ſcience to be informed, that Pallas has been diſtinguiſhed with a mark of imperial favour, being appointed member of the board of mines, with an additional ſalary of 200l. per annum, and honoured with the order of St. Volodimir. The Empreſs alſo purchaſed his ample collection of natural hiſtory, in a manner highly flattering to the author, and honourable to herſelf. Being informed that he was deſirous to diſpoſe of that collection, Her Majeſty ſent word, that her country ſhould not be deprived of ſo curious a cabinet; that ſhe would be the purchaſer, and ordered him to make out the catalogue, and fix the price. He accordingly named 15,000 roubles †. Having examined the catalogue, ſhe added with her own hand, "Mr. Pallas underſtands natural hiſtory much better than figures; he ought to have charged 20,000 inſtead of 15,000 roubles for ſo many valuable articles. The Empreſs, however, takes upon herſelf to correct the miſtake, and hereby orders her treaſurer to pay 20,000 roubles. At the ſame time Mr. Pallas ſhall not be deprived of his collection, which ſhall ſtill continue to be in his own poſſeſſion during his life, as he ſo well underſtands how to render it moſt uſeful to mankind."

As the care of putting into order and publiſhing the papers of Gmelin and Guldenſtaedt, is conſigned to Pallas, I ſhall cloſe this chapter with a ſhort account of thoſe learned profeſſors.

Dr. Samuel Gmelin, profeſſor at Tubingen, and afterwards member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Peterſburgh, commenced his travels in June 1768, and having traverſed the provinces of Moſcow, Voronetz, New Ruſſia, Azof, Caſan, and Aſtracan, viſited, in 1770 and 1771, the different harbours of the Caſpian, and examined thoſe parts of Perſia which border upon that ſea, of which he has given a circumſtantial account in the three volumes of his travels already publiſhed. Animated with a zeal for extending his obſervations, he attempted to paſs through the weſtern provinces of Perſia, which are in a perpetual ſtate of warfare, and infeſted by numerous banditti.

* The botanical reader is referred to the Gentleman's Magazine for Auguſt 1785, for a ſcientific account of the Flora Ruſſica; of which no other recommendation need be given, than that it was written by Dr. Pulteney.

† Pallas has ſettled in Crim Tartary, or Taurida, on an eſtate granted by the Empreſs; he has lately publiſhed the firſt volume of a deſcription of that country.

He quitted in April 1772, Einzelle, a ſmall trading place in Ghilan, on the ſouthern ſhore of the Caſpian, but, on account of many difficulties and dangers, did not, until the ſecond of December 1773, reach Sallian, a town ſituated at the mouth of the river Koor. From thence he proceeded to Baku and Kuba, in the province of Shirvan, where he met with a friendly reception from Ali Feth Khan, the ſovereign of that diſtrict. After he had been joined by twenty Uralian Coſſacs, and when he was only four days' journey from the Ruſſian fortreſs Kiſlar, he and his companions were, on the 5th of February 1774, arreſted by order of Uſmèi Khan, a petty Tartar Prince, through whoſe territories he was obliged to paſs. Uſmèi urged, as a pretence for this arreſt, that thirty years before ſeveral families had eſcaped from his dominions, and found an aſylum in the Ruſſian territories; adding, that Gmelin ſhould not be releaſed until theſe families were reſtored. The profeſſor was removed from priſon to priſon, till wearied out with continual perſecutions, he expired on the 27th of July at Achmet-Kent, a village of Mount Caucaſus. His death was occaſioned partly by vexation for the loſs of ſeveral papers and collections, and partly by diſorders contracted from the fatigues of his long journey. Some of his papers were ſent to Kiſlar during his impriſonment; and the others were reſcued from the hands of the barbarian who detained him in captivity *.

John Anthony Guldenſtaedt was born at Riga, on the 26th of April 1745, received the rudiments of his education in that town, and in 1763 was admitted into the medical college of Berlin. He completed his ſtudies at Franckfort upon the Oder, and in 1767 received the degree of doctor of phyſic in that univerſity. On account of his knowledge of foreign languages, and progreſs in natural hiſtory, he was conſidered as a fit perſon to engage in the expeditions planned by the Imperial Academy. Being invited to Peterſburgh, he arrived in that city in 1768, was created adjunct of the Academy, and in 1770, member of that ſociety, and profeſſor of natural hiſtory. In June 1768 he commenced his travels, and was abſent ſeven years. From Moſcow, where he continued till March 1769, he paſſed to Voronetz, Tzaritzin, Aſtracan, and Kiſlar, a fortreſs on the weſtern ſhore of the Caſpian, and cloſe to the confines of Perſia. In 1770 he examined the diſtricts watered by the rivers Terek, Sunſha, and Alkſai, in the eaſtern extremity of Caucaſus, and in the courſe of the enſuing year penetrated into Oſſetia, in the higheſt part of the ſame mountain, where he collected vocabularies of the language, made inquiries into the hiſtory of the people, and diſcovered ſome traces of chriſtianity among them. Having viſited Cabarda, and the northern chain of the Caucaſus, he proceeded to Georgia, and was admitted to an audience of Prince Heraclius †, who was encamped about ten miles from Teflis.

The

* See Bach. Ruſſ. Bibl. for 1775, p. 50.

† Prince Heraclius, or, as he was called, the Tzar Iracli, who made ſo bold a ſtand againſt the Turks in the laſt war between the Porte and Ruſſia, and poſſeſſed all Georgia, Kaketi, and the two ſmall diſtricts of Bortſhal and Koſak, which were ceded to him by Nadir Shah, was then above ſixty years old, of a middle ſize, with a long countenance, a dark complexion, large eyes, and a ſmall beard. He paſſed his youth at the court and in the army of the celebrated Nadir Shah, where he contracted a fondneſs for Perſian cuſtoms and manners, which he introduced into his kingdom. He had ſeven ſons and ſix daughters. He was much revered and dreaded by the Perſian Khans, his neighbours, and uſually choſen to mediate between them in their diſputes with each other. When they were at war, he ſupported one of the parties with a few troops, who diffuſed a ſpirit and courage among the reſt, becauſe the Georgian ſoldiers were eſteemed the braveſt of thoſe parts, and Prince Heraclius himſelf was renowned for his courage and military ſkill. When on horſeback, he always had a pair of loaded piſtols at his girdle, and, if the enemy was near, a muſket ſlung over his ſhoulder. In all engagements he was the foremoſt to give examples of perſonal bravery, and frequently charged the enemy at the head of his troops. He loved pomp and expence; he adopted

The profeſſor accompanied Prince Heraclius in a campaign along the banks of the river Koor, eighty miles into the interior part of Georgia; and returned with him to Tefflis. All the houſes of that capital are of ſtone, with flat roofs, which ſerve, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt, as walks for the women. The buildings are neat and clean, but the ſtreets are exceedingly dirty and narrow. The town contains one Roman Catholic, thirteen Greek, and ſeven Armenian churches. Having paſſed the winter at Tefflis, and in examining the adjacent country, he followed in ſpring the Prince to the province of Kaketia, and explored the ſouthern diſtricts inhabited by the Turcoman Tartars, and ſubject to Heraclius, in the company of a Georgian magnate, whom he had cured of a dangerous diſorder. In July he went to Imeretia, a country which lies between the Caſpian and Black Seas, and is bounded on the eaſt by Georgia, on the north by Oſſetia, on the weſt by Mingrelia, and on the ſouth by the Turkiſh dominions, which are under the dominion of the Prince or Tzar Solomon *.

In the almoſt unknown dominions of this Prince, who, from gratitude to Ruſſia, afforded Guldenſtaedt every aſſiſtance in his power, the profeſſor penetrated into the middle chain of Mount Caucaſus; viſited the confines of Mingrelia, Middle Georgia, and Eaſtern and Lower Imeretia, and, after eſcaping many imminent dangers from banditti, fortunately returned to Kiſlar on the 18th of November, where he paſſed the winter, collecting various information concerning the neighbouring Tartar tribes of the Caucaſus, and particularly the Leſgees. In the ſummer he journeyed to Cabarda Major, continued his courſe to Mount Beſhtan, the higheſt point of the firſt ridge of the Caucaſus, inſpected the mines of Madſhar, and went to Tcherkaſk upon the Don. From thence he made expeditions to Azof and Taganroc, and then along the new limits to the Dnieper: he finiſhed this year's route at Krementſhuk, in the government of New Ruſſia. In the enſuing ſpring he was proceeding to Crim Tartary; but receiving an order of recal, returned through the Ukraine to Moſcow and Peterſburgh, where he arrived in March 1775†.

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the dreſs of Perſia, and regulated his court after the manner of that country. From the example of the Ruſſian troops, who were quartered in Georgia during the laſt Turkiſh war, he learnt the uſe of plates, knives and forks, diſhes, houſehold furniture, &c. Although his revenues were ſmall, ſcarcely exceeding 50,000l. per annum, yet he contrived to maintain a ſtanding army of about ſix thouſand men. He was afterwards in cloſe alliance with Ruſſia, and in 1784 one of his ſons was colonel of a Coſſac regiment. In 1787 he was compelled to renounce his connection with Ruſſia, and to acknowledge himſelf tributary to the Porte, but died ſoon afterwards. Georgia has been recently annexed to the Ruſſian empire.

* Solomon, having upon his acceſſion forbidden the ſcandalous traffic practiſed by the nobles of ſelling their peaſants, greatly offended the Turks, who gained by that ſpecies of commerce. Being by their intrigues driven from his throne, and compelled to find an aſylum in the woods and mountains, he lived like a wild man, for ſixteen years, in caverns and holes, and frequently by his perſonal courage eſcaped aſſaſſination, until he was reinſtated in his dominions by the Ruſſians in the late war. This Prince wore uſually a coarſe dreſs of a brown colour, with a muſket on his ſhoulder; but on ſolemn occaſions put on a robe of rich gold brocade, and hung round his neck a ſilver chain. He was diſtinguiſhed from his ſubjects by riding upon an aſs, perhaps the only one in Imeretia, and by wearing boots. He had no regular troops, but collected a deſultory army of ſix thouſand men, without artillery. Theſe troops were drawn together by the ſound of the trumpet; in other reſpects the Prince's orders were iſſued at the markets, which are held every Friday. One of his ſervants aſcended a tree near the place of meeting, and proclaimed the edict with a loud voice. His ſubjects were of the Greek religion. Solomon died of the plague in 1784, and was ſucceeded by his nephew David, who threw himſelf under the protection of Ruſſia. During my continuance at Peterſburgh in the winter of 1784, his ambaſſadors were introduced to the Empreſs, and in the Eaſtern ſtyle of homage, threw themſelves on the ground at her feet.

† For an account of Guldenſtaedt, ſee Ruſſ. Bib. vol. i. p. 49. 102. 301. 548. vol. ii. p. 221. 456. vol. iii. p. 72. 421. Hiſt. des Decouvertes, &c. Introd. p 27, and Nacricht von den Lebens-Umſtanden des Herrn Prof. Guldenſtaedt, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1781.

On

On his return he was employed in arranging his papers; but before he could finish them for the press, was seized with a violent fever, which proved mortal, and carried him to the grave in the month of March 1781.

CHAP. VIII.—*Introduction of the Sclavonian Alphabet into Russia.—Rise and Progress of Russian Literature.—Historians.—Poets.—Digression concerning the Russian Stage.—Russian Translations.—Classical Learning.*

THE invention of the Sclavonian characters is generally attributed to Constantine, a Greek philosopher, afterwards more known by the name of Cyril, which he assumed when he turned monk. About the middle of the ninth century, Cyril and his brother Methodius were sent from Constantinople by Michael III. to plant the gospel among the Sclavonian nations inhabiting the countries bordering upon the Danube, now called Hungary and Bulgaria, and those which were settled in Bohemia and Moravia. As those barbarous nations knew not the use of letters, Cyril composed for them an alphabet, and translated several religious books into their tongue. The greater part of the characters were the capitals of the Greek alphabet, the same usually employed in writing; to which he added a few others, in order to express several sounds peculiar to the Sclavonian language. Most of those Sclavonian nations, who received christianity from the Greeks, and have retained the Greek religion, still make use of those characters; while the other people of that tribe, who were either first converted by the Germans or Italians, or who afterwards adopted the Roman Catholic tenets, employ either the German or Roman alphabet *.

That tribe of Sclavonians called Russians, when they issued from the banks of the Danube in the ninth century, and laid the foundation of this empire, either brought with them, if they knew the use of letters, the Cyrilian alphabet; or afterwards adopted it, on their conversion to christianity; when the Sclavonian Bible, translated by Cyril, was introduced among them. These characters are occasionally written, like the oldest Greek and Roman manuscripts, of equal size, at equal distances, without connection or stops, and without distinction of words.

The earliest Sclavonian book ever published, was a Russian translation of the Pentateuch, printed in the Cyrilian alphabet at Prague in 1719 †: the same letters were introduced into Russia on the establishment of the first press at Moscow, and continued in use, not only for ecclesiastical publications, but also for all others, until 1707, when some new Russian types, consisting of great and small letters, similar to those which are now employed, were cast at Amsterdam for the printing-house at Moscow ‡. The lan-

* Besides the Russians, the Sclavonians dwelling in Dalmatia, and in the islands under the dominion of Venice, who are of the Greek religion, still use the Cyrilian characters. The same were employed by all the nations of Hungary, Sclavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and others in the Austrian territories; but as the Roman Catholic persuasion has gained ground amongst them, they have lately begun to adopt the Roman letters; while the Sclavonian people subject to the Turks, namely, the inhabitants of Albania, Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, who are of the Greek religion, preserve the Cyrilian alphabet. The Bohemians, who soon after their first conversion quitted the Greek religion, and were afterwards turned by the Germans to the Roman Catholic sect, use the German or Gothic characters, which were also in use among the Poles, equally indebted to the Germans for the first introduction of christianity among them; but the Poles have lately, in most of their publications, adopted the Roman alphabet. See the preface to the Neue Slavonisch und Deutche Grammatik, printed at Vienna, 1774.

† Essai sur la Bibliothèque, p. 92.

‡ See a Specimen of the Russian characters in vol. ii. book III. chap. 5.

guage in which the church-ſervice is ſtill performed, is the ſame which was ſpoken in the ninth century by the Sclavonians ſettled on the banks of the Danube, in the countries now called Hungary and Bulgaria, from whom the Ruſſians are undoubtedly deſcended. The tranſlation of the Bible made in that century being ſtill in general uſe, has aſcertained its original, and preſerved it in its priſtine ſtate; and it is remarkable that the ſeveral dialects of Sclavonian, ſuch as Poliſh, Ruſſian, and Bohemian, have a greater reſemblance to this mother-tongue than to each other *.

The Cyrilian alphabet employed by the Ruſſian church is compoſed of thirty-nine characters, ſome of which contained, according to our mode of ſpelling, three or even four conſonants; but, as new modified in 1707, for common uſe, is reduced † to thirty letters.

The Sclavonian, in its different dialects, is known through a larger extent of country, and ſpoken by a greater number of people, than perhaps any other language in the world. It is the native tongue in Bohemia, Moravia, Croatia, Carinthia, Carniola, Sclavonia, Boſnia, Servia, Albania, Dalmatia, different parts of Hungary and Bulgaria, Poland, and Ruſſia, in a word, a traveller acquainted with that language would be underſtood from the confines of Germany to the Sea of Kamtchatka.

The Ruſſian dialect of the Sclavonian, which is ſaid to be extremely rich and harmonious, has not, till lately, undergone any cultivation; having been chiefly confined to affairs of government, eccleſiaſtical writings, and to unconnected chronicles and journals.

Some authors, in conſidering the ſmall advances made by the Ruſſians in the arts and ſciences, when compared with the progreſs of the more enlightened nations in Europe, have erroneouſly attributed this deficiency to the effects of climate, or to an innate want of genius. The latter aſſertion ſcarcely deſerves a ſerious refutation; for all intellectual improvement muſt ariſe from culture, and the greater or leſs degree of knowledge muſt ultimately depend upon the greater or leſs degree of inſtruction. Beſides, this illiberal reflection is ſufficiently refuted by the bare mention of ſeveral illuſtrious Ruſſians, who, amongſt many others, might be ſelected on this occaſion: Philaretes and Nicon; Sophia Alexiefna; Prince Vaſſili Galitzin, and Peter the *Great*; the learned Theophanes; the poets Lomonozof and Sumorokof, and *Khereſkof*; and the preſent hiſtorian, Prince Sherebatof.

With reſpect to the objection, that the genius of this nation has been fettered by the intenſe cold of the climate, it may be remarked: if climate has an invincible effect upon mankind, where ſhall we draw the line of the greateſt intellectual ability? Shall we ſuppoſe a point, in which the human mind is at its greateſt perfection, from which, in proportion as it recedes, it gradually degenerates? Is the influence of climate uniform or caſual? If uniform, why is modern Greece no longer the ſeat of arts and learning? Why was Iceland once the chief repoſitory of northern literature? Why are the Swedes more enlightened than the Ruſſians? And why are not the Ruſſians of Aſtracan more civilized than thoſe of Peterſburgh and Archangel? If the effects of climate are caſual, they are then counterbalanced by other circumſtances; and it ceaſes to be a poſitive criterion of diſtinction.

Many impediments ariſe from the government, religion, and particularly from the vaſſalage of the peaſants, which tend to check the diffuſion of the arts and ſciences, without the neceſſity of having recourſe to a ſuppoſed want of genius, or to the effect

* Schloetzer Prob. Ruſ. An. p. 189.

† Ruſſian Dictionary, 1778. In Charpentiere's Grammar there are thirty-two characters.

of

of climate. But inſtead of combating theoretical reaſonings, which have no foundation in fact or experience, I ſhall haſten to trace the riſe and progreſs of Ruſſian literature, and take a curſory view of its preſent ſtate.

While ſome authors deny the ſmalleſt portion of literature to the Ruſſians, and even hold them incapable of any conſiderable progreſs in ſcience; others, on the contrary, aſſert, that they began to be enlightened even at ſo early a period as during the reigns of Oleg and Igor *. The arguments in favour of this hypotheſis prove little more than that the Ruſſians in thoſe times were not unacquainted with the art of writing; and that they had compoſed, or could repeat, a few ancient ſongs, which celebrated the military exploits of their Princes and leaders. But undoubtedly the whole nation was plunged in the groſſeſt ignorance, and in a ſituation not ſuperior to that of the wandering hordes who now inhabit Independent Tartary. It is ſaid of Svatoſlaf, the ſon of Igor †; "On his march he carried with him no baggage-waggon, no kitchen furniture; his food was the fleſh of horſes and other animals, juſt warmed over the fire; he had no tent; his houſings ſerved for a bed, and his ſaddle for a pillow; the whole army followed his example." A deſcription which characterizes the chief of an unlettered Scythian tribe, and not the ſovereign of a people in whom the ſmalleſt traces of the arts were found. And although perhaps the knowledge of the Sclavonian alphabet might have been brought into Ruſſia by a few chriſtians, who were drawn to the court by Olga, the wife of Igor; yet the firſt introduction of literature muſt be aſcribed to Vladimir the Great, on his converſion to chriſtianity in 988; who inſtituted ſchools, and paſſed a decree ‡ to regulate the mode of inſtructing youth. Under the auſpices of his ſon Yaroſlaf, who aſcended the throne in 1018, many learned prieſts were invited from Conſtantinople, various Greek books tranſlated into the Ruſſian tongue, and hymns and other poetical verſions of the Pſalms ſung in the churches. He alſo eſtabliſhed a ſeminary at Novogorod for three hundred ſtudents, and gave to that republic the firſt code of written laws. This dawn of letters was obſcured by ſubſequent calamities, and ſucceeded by a long darkneſs of three centuries, during which the nation was ſubject to the Tartar yoke. The Chriſtian religion, however, tended in this, as well as in moſt other countries of Europe, to preſerve ſome ſmall remains of literature in the ſchools of the monaſteries. Each convent fortunately became an aſylum for the preſervation, though not for the diffuſion of knowledge; and in this period of barbariſm and ignorance, many monks were diſtinguiſhed for their erudition.

* Ruric, entered Ruſſia about 862; died 879.

2. Oleg, probably the nephew of Ruric, Great-Duke or regent during the minority of Igor.

3. Igor, died 945; married Olga.

4. Svatoslaf, died 974.

5. Yaropolk, died 980. 6. Vladimir the Great, reigned 980; died 1014.

7. Yaroslaf, 1053.

† Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, part I. p. 151.

‡ This curious decree ſtill exiſts in the Ruſſian tongue, and is tranſlated into French by Bachmeiſter, in his Eſſai ſur la Bib. &c. p. 9.

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On the final expulsion of the Tartars by Ivan Vassilievitch I. in the middle of the 15th century, Russia gradually emerged from this state of darkness, and continued improving in civilization and culture, under the patronage of the succeeding sovereigns, particularly Ivan II. Boris Godunof, the two first tzars of the line of Romanof, and the princess Sophia. But it was not till the æra of Peter the Great that letters, which had been chiefly confined to the regular clergy, began to be cultivated by the laity; a sure sign that the nation was advancing to a more general state of improvement.

A review of the lives and works of the most eminent writers, who have contributed to refine the language, and diffuse a taste for science, will assist in tracing the progress of literature, and ascertaining its present state.

In this inquiry I shall confine myself principally to History and Poetry.

Russia can boast the earliest historian of the North; for, at a period when Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, were unlettered; when even the annalists of Iceland were mute; a monk of the convent of Petcherski at Kiof was compiling the history of Russia.

This annalist, whose secular name is not known, was born in 1046, at Bielozero, and in the nineteenth year of his age assumed the monastic habit, and took the name of Nestor*. At Kiof he made a considerable proficiency in the Greek language, but seems to have formed his style and manner rather from the Byzantine historians, Cerdenus, Zonaras, and Syncellus, than from the ancient classics. The time of Nestor's death is not ascertained; but he is supposed to have attained an advanced age, and to have died about the year 1115.

His great work is his Chronicle with an introduction, which contains a short sketch of the early state of the world, taken from the Byzantine writers, a geographical description of Russia, and an account of the Sclavonian nations. He then enters upon a chronological series of the Russian annals, from the year 858 to about 1113. His style is simple and unadorned, such as suits a mere recorder of facts; but his chronological exactness, though it render his narrative dry and tedious, contributes to ascertain the æra and authenticity of the events which he relates†.

* For the account of Nestor, see principally Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 63 and Schloetzer's Probe Russische Annalen; which accurate and interesting work I have chiefly followed, as the great source of information relative to the early annalists of Russia.

† A competent judge thus expresses himself with regard to this performance:

"Nestor's chronicle is *unique* in its kind. For all the other Sclavonian people, such as the Poles, Bohemians, Illyrians, &c. cannot produce any writer who can in the smallest degree contend with the Russian annalist in antiquity, minuteness, accuracy, and truth. He was so highly esteemed in Russia, and the subsequent writers were so convinced of his fidelity, that in speaking of the same times, they adopt his very words, or make only the smallest alterations.

"I will not prejudice the readers in their judgment concerning the authenticity of this annalist; and I am convinced, that whoever peruses his work, will at once do him the justice which he deserves. I allude to those readers only who do not acknowledge any other histories than those which are derived from the most esteemed sources; and who know how to distinguish with critical exactness the purity of those sources. But I do not address myself to those who have not hitherto been acquainted with any other writers on the early times of the Russian history than Herberstein and Petreius; place the introduction of the art of writing into Russia so late as the 13th century; who hold the succession of the Russian sovereigns to be unknown, at least uncertain, until the time of Ivan Vassilievitch; who consider this long period as totally obscure, in which no chronicle affords a clue to the discerning historian; who draw their whole knowledge of Russian history from Strahlenberg, Voltaire, La Combe, and from the still more wretched compilers of the article Russia in the Universal History. These readers will not indeed be easily induced to esteem, as authentic, the relations of a monk, whose writings show the inaccuracy of the above-mentioned authors, and confute at once their whole account of Russia during the middle ages." Schloetzer, Russ. Ann. p. 32.

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It is remarkable, that an author of such importance, whose name frequently occurs in the early Russian books, should have remained in obscurity above six hundred years, and been scarcely known to his modern countrymen. A copy of his chronicle was given, in 1668, by Prince Radzivil to the library of Konigsburgh, where it lay unnoticed until Peter the Great, in his passage through that town, ordered a transcript to be sent to Petersburgh. But the author was still unknown, for when Muller in 1732, published the first part of a German translation *, he mentioned it as the work of the abbot Theodosius of Kiof. The ingenious editor, not being at that time sufficiently acquainted with the Sclavonian tongue, employed an interpreter, who, by mistaking a letter in the title, supposed it written by a person whose name was Theodosius. This ridiculous blunder was soon circulated, and copied by many foreign writers; even long after it was candidly acknowledged and corrected by Muller.

Nestor was successively followed by three annalists; the first was Sylvester, abbot of the convent of St. Michael at Kief, and bishop of Perislaf, who died in 1123: he commences his chronicle from 1115, only two years posterior to that of Nestor, and continues it to 1123; from which period a monk, whose name has not been delivered down to posterity, carries the history to 1157; and another, equally unknown, to 1203. With respect to these performances, Muller informs us, "the labours of Nestor and his three continuators have produced a connected series of Russian history so complete, that no nation can boast a similar treasure for so long and unbroken a period †." We may add likewise from the same authority, that these annals record much fewer prodigies and monkish legends, than others which have issued from the cloister in times so unenlightened.

From this period, which terminates in 1203, there is no regular continuation of the Russian history, but many separate and detached annalists; for as the empire was broken into independent principalities, each writer has detailed the events of the particular district in which he flourished. The next general annalist who presents himself to our notice is Cyprian, metropolitan of Russia in the reign of Demetrius Donski, who began in the 14th century the *Book of Degrees*; so called because it arranges the history of the Empire, according to the order of *descent:* each degree contains the reign of those sovereigns who followed each other in an uninterrupted line; and a new one commences when the throne passed to a collateral branch. This work was continued by the metropolitan Makari, who flourished under Ivan Vassilievitch II. and afterwards by unknown compilers, to the times somewhat posterior to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch. These writings, unlike those of Nestor and his continuators, contain many idle traditions and absurd legends; but the events which they record, render them the object of the historian's notice; and Muller has thought them of sufficient consequence to become their editor.

The chronicle of the patriarch Nicon, in which he collected a complete series of Russian annalists, from Nestor to the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, and the extraordinary exertions which he made to diffuse knowledge among his countrymen, have been already related.

The reign of Alexèy was extremely fertile in what were called historical productions; but which in reality are rather dry materials than deserving such an honourable appella-

* S. R. G. I. p. 1, &c. The real title to this manuscript was, by the "Monk of the Theodosian Convent of Petcherski;" which the interpreter, by mistaking one letter, explained, The Monk Theodosius, of the Convent, &c. See Schloetzer, p. 16.

† S. R. G. V. p. 6.

tion. It would be tedious to enumerate the various chronicles, journals of the court, books of genealogy, public records, ſtate-papers, and other ſimilar ſources of information, both of his and ſucceeding times; which the libraries contain in ſuch abundance as to aſtoniſh a ſtranger, who by falſe repreſentations may have been miſled to conceive that the Ruſſians are deficient in original documents.

Among the perſons who, poſterior to Nicon, have moſtly contributed to promote ſcience by their example and protection, and who may be claſſed among the hiſtorians, muſt not be omitted Theophanes Prokopovitch, metropolitan archbiſhop of Novogorod. This learned prelate was the ſon of a burgher of Kiof; he was born on the 9th of June 1681, and baptized by the name of Eliſha. He commenced his ſtudies under his uncle Theophanes, rector of the ſeminary in the Bratſkoi Convent at Kiof, and was well grounded in the rudiments of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues. Though his uncle died in 1692, he completed his education in that ſeminary, and in the eighteenth year of his age, travelled into Italy. He reſided three years at Rome; where, beſides a competent knowledge of the Italian, he acquired a taſte for the fine arts, and improved himſelf in philoſophy and divinity.

On his return to Kiof, he read lectures on the Latin and Sclavonian poetry in the ſeminary, and, having aſſumed the monaſtic habit, changed his name to Theophanes. Before he attained the 25th year of his age, he was admitted præfect, the ſecond office in the ſeminary, and profeſſor of philoſophy. In 1706, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a Latin oration before Peter the Great, and ſtill more by a ſermon, which, in 1709, he preached before the ſame monarch after the battle of Pultava. Having once attracted the notice, he ſoon acquired the protection of Peter, who, captivated with his great talents, ſuperior learning, and polite addreſs, ſelected him for a companion in the enſuing campaign againſt the Turks; a ſure prelude to his future advancement. In 1711, Theophanes was nominated abbot of the monaſtry of Bratſkoi, rector of the ſeminary, and profeſſor of divinity. His cenſures againſt the ignorance and indolence of the Ruſſian clergy, and his endeavours to promote a taſte for polite literature among his brethren, rendered him a fit inſtrument in the hands of Peter for the reformation of the church, and the abolition of the patriarchal dignity. He was placed at the head of the ſynod, of which eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment he himſelf drew the plan, was created in 1718 biſhop of Pleſcof, and in 1720 archbiſhop of the ſame dioceſe; ſoon after the acceſſion of Catherine he was conſecrated archbiſhop of Novogorod, and Metropolitan of all Ruſſia, and died in 1736.

Beſides various ſermons and theological diſquiſitions, he wrote a treatiſe on rhetoric, and on the rules of Latin and Sclavonian poetry; he compoſed verſes in the Latin language, and was author of a work, for which he is chiefly mentioned in this place, the Life of Peter the Great, which terminates with the battle of Pultava. In this performance the prelate has, notwithſtanding his natural partiality to his benefactor, avoided that ſcurrilous abuſe of the contrary party which frequently diſgraces the beſt hiſtories, and has been particularly candid in his account of Sophia. Peter employed him in compoſing the decrees which concerned theological queſtions, and even many which related to civil affairs.

Theophanes not only cultivated the ſciences, and promoted them during his life, but likewiſe left a legacy to his countrymen, for their further progreſs after his deceaſe, by maintaining and ſuperintending the education of ſixty boys, in his epiſcopal palace. Under his auſpices, they were inſtructed in foreign languages, and in various branches of polite knowledge, which had been hitherto cenſured by many as profane acquiſitions;

ſitions; thus tranſmitting the rays of learning to illuminate future ages and a diſtant poſterity*.

Though Ruſſia hitherto abounded in chronicles and annals relative to detached periods; yet, excepting a dry detail of facts compiled for the uſe of Alexèy Michaelovitch, it poſſeſſed no regular and connected hiſtory. The firſt attempt towards ſuch a work was undertaken by Prince Khilkof. This nobleman †, deſcended from an ancient family, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as embaſſador to ſeveral foreign courts, before he was deputed, in 1700, to Stockholm. He accompanied Charles XII. in his deſcent upon the Iſle of Zealand; and on the enſuing truce of Travendhal, between Sweden and Denmark, returned to Stockholm, on the 17th of September, at the eve of the rupture which broke out between the Swediſh and Ruſſian monarchs. His character of embaſſador, deemed ſacred by the law of nations, could not protect him from the reſentment of Charles XII.; and, on the 20th of the ſame month, he was arreſted and impriſoned.

As an amuſement during his captivity, which was long and rigorous, and at the requeſt of his fellow-priſoner prince Trubetſkoi, he began an abridgment of the Ruſſian hiſtory, from the earlieſt period to his own time; and after a confinement of eighteen years, expired in his priſon of Weſteros, when he was on the point of being releaſed.

His work called the "Kernel of the Ruſſian Hiſtory," is a mere abridgment, and was publiſhed in 1770 by Mr. Muller. It forms only one volume in octavo, and contains ſeven books: the firſt commences with the creation of the world, and ends with the foundation of the Ruſſian empire under Ruric; the remaining ſix carry down the hiſtory to the year 1713. During ſome part of his confinement he was permitted to receive from Moſcow, books, extracts from chronicles, and a few ſtate-papers; but as he could not obtain the neceſſary documents ſo well as on the ſpot, his performance unavoidably contains occaſional errors, many of which he judicious editor has corrected.

In 1720, Vaſſili Tatiſchef, who had more opportunities of obtaining information, began to collect materials for a complete hiſtory of Ruſſia, and continued his reſearches without intermiſſion for thirty years. The indefatigable compiler finiſhed his account to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch, and was bringing it down to this century, when death put a period to his labours. Part of this great work was conſumed by fire, and the remainder was publiſhed after the author's death by Muller. It conſiſts of three volumes in quarto. The firſt contains ſeveral curious diſſertations relative to the antiquity of the Sclavonian nation; the ſecond and third compriſe the hiſtory of the Ruſſian empire, from its earlieſt origin to 1237. It can hardly be called a regular hiſtory, but is rather a connected ſeries of chronicles, whoſe antiquated Sclavonian dialects are merely changed into the Ruſſian idiom; and the author is juſtly cenſured for not regularly citing the various annaliſts as he abridges or new models them, and for not aſſigning the reaſons which induced him to prefer the writers whoſe relations he has adopted, to thoſe which he has rejected ‡.

Since Tatiſchef, ſeveral writers § have publiſhed collections of ſtate-papers and other documents; but the honour of compoſing a complete hiſtory of this country is probably

* For the hiſtory of Theophanes I have followed implicitly Muller, whoſe fidelity and accuracy always appear to me unqueſtionable. See S. R. G. V. p. 564.

† See Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. for 1777, p. 78—87.

‡ Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. for 1774, p. 43; alſo for 1775, p. 216. L'Eveſque, vol. i. p. xxxi.

§ Particularly Novikof, in his ancient Ruſſian Library, in ten volumes, a work thus characteriſed by L'Eveſque; "Recueil de pièces originales et authentiques, tirées des cabinets et des archives; on y trouve

bly reſerved for prince Sherebatof; who, if we except Muller, has contributed more than any other perſon towards illuſtrating the Ruſſian annals.

This learned nobleman is editor of ſeveral works: a journal of Peter the Great, in 2 vols. quarto, which he found in the archives, and publiſhed by order of the Empreſs. It conſiſts of eight books, five of which were corrected by Peter himſelf. The firſt volume begins with the inſurrection of the Strelitzes in 1698, and finiſhes with 1714; the ſecond concludes with the peace of Nyſtadt in 1721. The learned editor has added ſeveral remarks, and ſome important pieces from the Ruſſian archives. The Ruſſian Hiſtory, by an Ancient Annaliſt, from the beginning of the reign of Vlodimir Monomaca, in 1114 to 1472, in which the author dwells on the civil feuds of Novogorod, and its ſubjection to Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. The Life of Peter the Great, in the Ruſſian language, firſt publiſhed at Venice, which the Prince reprinted in 1774, and enriched with hiſtorical obſervations. His own works are, an Account of the Ruſſian Impoſtors: amongſt theſe is the life of Demetrius, chiefly drawn from the ſources conſulted by Muller in his relation of the ſame period. But this noble author's great work is the Hiſtory of Ruſſia, from the earlieſt times. He has already publiſhed three volumes in quarto, which finiſhed with the reign of Demetrius Donſki, who died in 1389. I have read with great pleaſure the German tranſlation of this performance, which is a moſt valuable addition to the hiſtory of the North. The author had acceſs to the imperial archives; he draws his information from the moſt ancient and unqueſtionable ſources, is exact in quoting his authorities, and ranges the events in chronological order with great perſpicuity. A writer, who conſulted many chronicles cited by this hiſtorian, and who has given to the public the moſt complete hiſtory of Ruſſia yet extant, thus ſpeaks of this work: "The author always cites his authorities. I have verified a great number of his references, and have always diſcovered his accuracy. If the firſt character of an hiſtorian is the love of truth, the prince deſerves the greateſt praiſe *."

Although this diſquiſition is confined to the native writers; yet I cannot avoid mentioning Voltaire's Life of Peter the Great, as it is the work from which moſt foreign nations have formed their ideas of Ruſſia; which many French and Engliſh authors have ſervilely copied, until it is conſidered as a ſtandard book, and particularly as the author informs us in the Preface: "*La cour de Peterſbourg, &c. a fait parvenir à l'hiſtorien chargé de cet ouvrage tous les documens authentiques. Il n'a écrit que ſur des preuves inconteſtables.*"

But the well-informed Ruſſians, although this work idolizes their hero Peter the Great, confeſs that it is an inaccurate performance; a panegyric rather than a hiſtory, in which many facts are diſguiſed or omitted; where every defect in the principal character is ſoftened, and every virtue exaggerated. In truth, the elegant author wrote this Life at the deſire of the Empreſs Elizabeth, by whoſe order he received great part of the materials. Hence it may eaſily be conjectured, that nothing would be communicated which could reflect the ſmalleſt diſcredit on Peter or Catharine; and that the author was unwilling to inſert any circumſtance which might be diſpleaſing to Elizabeth. His genius was fettered by theſe reſtraints; the picture accordingly, which he has drawn

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des morceaux très importantes." Vol. i. p. xxiv. The Academy of Sciences has alſo publiſhed an hiſtorical Journal every month, from 1754 to 1765. It conſiſts of twenty volumes, octavo, and contains "un grande nombre de morceaux hiſtoriques très-intéreſſans, dont la plûpart ont été compoſés par le ſavant Muller." Ib.

* L'Eveſque.

of

of Peter, is almoſt as devoid of animation as of reſemblance, and this ſketch is the leaſt entertaining, as well as the moſt inaccurate of his hiſtorical pieces.

But frequently alſo in regard to thoſe events which did not interfere with Elizabeth's prejudices, he either did not examine, or did not follow, ſome of the beſt and moſt authentic materials communicated from Peterſburgh *. From theſe circumſtances we may aſſent to the truth of the cenſure paſſed by the lively writer upon his own performance, when he ſaid, "*Je ferai graver ſur ma tombe, cy gît qui a voulu écrire l'hiſtoire de Pierre le Grand* †."

Of the Ruſſian poetry previous to this century, the only ſpecimens were a few ancient ſongs, ſome occaſional copies of verſes, and a pſalter, compoſed by the monk Simeon Polotſki, printed at Moſcow in 1680. To uſe the expreſſions of the epic writer Kheraſkof, "the Muſes waited till the reign of Peter the Great, to make their appearance in Ruſſia: before his time were indeed a few poets, but their compoſitions were more rhymes than verſes, and even during his reign the art was ſtill in its infancy. At length came Lomonozof ‡," &c. Theophanes had indeed read lectures on the rules of Sclavonian or Ruſſian verſe; Prince Kantemir, Ilinſki, Trediatofski, and a few others, had compoſed; but there were no poets of eminence before Lomonozof and Sumorokof. A ſketch therefore of the lives and writings of theſe two authors, a ſhort account of the Ruſſian ſtage, and a few remarks on the compoſitions of Kheraſkof, will convey to the reader ſome idea of the riſe, progreſs, and ſtate of poetry in this empire.

Lomonozof §, the great refiner of his native tongue, was the ſon of a fiſhmonger at Kolmogori: he was born in 1711, and fortunately taught to read; a rare inſtance for a perſon of ſo low a ſtation in Ruſſia. His natural genius for poetry was firſt kindled by the peruſal of the Song of Solomon, done into verſe by Polotſki, whoſe rude compoſitions, perhaps ſcarcely ſuperior to our verſion of the Pſalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, inſpired him with an irreſiſtible paſſion for the muſes. He fled from his father, who would have compelled him to marry, and took refuge in a monaſtery at Moſcow; where he had an opportunity of indulging his taſte for letters, and ſtudying the Greek and Latin languages. In this ſeminary he made ſuch conſiderable progreſs in polite literature, as to be patroniſed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. In 1736, he was ſent, at the expence of that ſociety, to the univerſity of Marburgh in Heſſe-Caſſel, where he ſtudied under the celebrated Chriſtian Wolf, univerſal grammar, rhetoric, and philoſophy. He continued at Marburgh four years, and applied himſelf with indefatigable diligence to chymiſtry, which he afterwards purſued with ſtill greater ſucceſs, under the famous Henckel, at Freyburgh in Saxony. In 1741, he returned into Ruſſia, was choſen in 1742 adjunct to the Imperial Academy, and in the enſuing year member of that ſociety, and profeſſor of chymiſtry. In 1760, he was appointed inſpector of the ſeminary, then annexed to the Academy; in 1764, he was gratified by the Empreſs with the title of counſellor of ſtate, and died on the 4th of April that year, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

* Buſching has publiſhed, in the third volume of his Hiſtorical Magazine, "Mémoire abrégé ſur la Vie du Tſarevitch Alexèi Petrovitch." This memoir, ſays the editor, was ſent to Voltaire before he began to write his Hiſtory of Ruſſia: it will ſerve as a proof how little that writer employed the authentic papers tranſmitted to him. Vol. iii. p. 194. Muller alſo charges Voltaire with not paying ſufficient attention to the papers which he communicated from the moſt undoubted authorities. Buſ. xvi. p. 352.

† Cited by L'Eveſque, vol. i. p. 30.

‡ Preface to Kheraſkof's poem on the Battle of Tcheſme, quoted in Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. for 1774 p. 201.

§ Le Clerc, Hiſt. Mod. p. 70.

Lomonozof

Lomonozof excelled in various kinds of compoſition; but his chief merit is derived from his odes. The firſt was written in 1739, while he ſtudied in Germany, on the capture of Kotſchin, a fortreſs of Crim Tartary, by Marſhal Munic. The odes of Lomonozof are greatly admired for originality of invention, ſublimity of ſentiment, and energy of language, and compenſate for their turgid ſtyle, by that ſpirit and fire, which are the principal characteriſtics in this ſpecies of compoſition. Pindar was his great model; and if we may give credit to a perſon * well verſed in the Ruſſian tongue, he has ſucceeded in this daring attempt to imitate the Theban bard, without incurring the cenſure of Horace †. In this, as well as ſeveral other ſpecies of compoſition, he enriched his native language with various kinds of metre, and merited the appellation beſtowed on him, "The Father of Ruſſian Poetry."

A brief recapitulation of the principal works of Lomonozof, printed in three volumes octavo, will ſhew the verſatility of his genius, and his extenſive knowledge in various branches of literature:

The firſt volume, beſide a preface on the advantages derived to the Ruſſian tongue from the eccleſiaſtical writings, contains ten ſacred and nineteen panegyric odes, and ſeveral occaſional pieces of poetry.

The ſecond compriſes an Eſſay, in proſe, on the rules of Ruſſian Poetry; tranſlation of a German ode; Idylls; Tamira and Selim, a tragedy; Demophoon, a tragedy; Poetical Epiſtle on the Utility of Glaſs; two cantos of an epic poem, intitled Peter the Great; a congratulatory copy of verſes; an Ode; tranſlation of Baptiſte Rouſſeau's ode, *Sur le Bonheur;* Heads of a courſe of lectures on Natural Philoſophy; certain paſſages, tranſlated in verſe and proſe, according to the originals, from Cicero, Eraſmus, Lucian, Ælian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Quintus Curtius, Homer, Virgil, Martial, Ovid, Horace, and Seneca, which Ruſſian tranſlations were brought as examples in his Lectures upon Rhetoric; laſtly, deſcription of the Comet which appeared in 1744.

The third volume conſiſts chiefly of ſpeeches and treatiſes read before the academy; panegyric on the Empreſs Elizabeth; on Peter the Great; treatiſe on the advantages of chymiſtry; on the phænomena of the air, occaſioned by the electrical fire, with a Latin tranſlation of the ſame; on the origin of light, as a new theory of colours; methods to determine with preciſion the courſe of a veſſel; on the origin of metals by the means of earthquakes; Latin diſſertation on ſolidity and fluidity; on the Tranſit of Venus in 1761, with a German tranſlation ‡.

Beſides theſe various ſubjects, Lomonozof made no inconſiderable figure in hiſtory, having publiſhed two ſmall works relative to that of his own country. The firſt, ſtyled Annals of the Ruſſian Sovereigns, is a ſhort chronology of the Ruſſian monarchs; the ſecond is the Ancient Hiſtory of Ruſſia, from the origin of that nation to the death of the Great Duke Yaroſlaf I. in 1054; a performance of great merit, as it illuſtrates the moſt difficult and obſcure period in the annals of this country.

Lomonozof was alſo an admirer of the arts; made ſome proficiency in painting, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by copying in moſaic. The portraits of the regent Anne and Peter the Third, done by Lomonozof in moſaic, are ſtill preſerved in the gallery at Oranienbaum.

* L'Eveſque, who ſays of him, "Il eſt peut-être le ſeul émule de Pindare."

† "Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet æmulari," &c. L'Ode de Lomonoſof fit connoître aux Ruſſes les véritables règles de la harmonie. Le Clerc.

‡ Mr. Damaſkin, who publiſhed this complete edition of Lomonozof's works, received from the Empreſs a preſent of 100l. See Ruſſ. Bib. for 1780, p. 338.

Alexander

Alexander Sumorokof, juſtly denominated the founder of the Ruſſian theatre, next to Lomonozof, principally contributed to refine the poetry of his country. But before I give a detail of his life and writings, I ſhall introduce a ſhort account of the Ruſſian ſtage, becauſe a view of the ſtate in which he found the national theatre * will diſplay his powers in dramatic compoſition.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, almoſt the only † dramatic repreſentations in Ruſſia were exhibited in the monaſteries of Kiof and Moſcow; where the ſtudents performed occaſionally an *Actus Oratorius*, or ſcriptural hiſtory. The learned Demetrius Tooptalo ‡, metropolitan archbiſhop of Roſtof, was highly diſtinguiſhed for compoſing, in the taſte of the times, ſcriptural hiſtories in verſe: The Sinner an allegory; Eſther and Ahaſuerus; The Birth, and the Reſurrection of Chriſt. At the commencement of this century, theſe pieces were the faſhionable repreſentations, not only in convents, but at court, even ſo late as the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

The ſtudents of ſurgery in the hoſpital at Moſcow gave the firſt public performance exhibited by the laity, in the great hall, where they raiſed a ſtage, and uſed ſcreens for the ſcenery. Staehlin §, who was preſent at one of theſe exhibitions, the ſubject of which was Tamerlane, informs us, that nothing could be more groteſque and ridiculous; and relates an inſtance of profane ribaldry introduced into one of the ſcriptural pieces, too groſs to be mentioned. The ſame author remembers to have ſeen at Peterſburgh the Empreſs's grooms act in a ſtill more wretched manner, either in the hay-loft of the imperial ſtables, or in an unfurniſhed houſe. Actors of this ſort uſed alſo to perform every year for the amuſement of the common people: they had no regular theatre, but were accuſtomed to play in different parts of the city. At duſk, a paper lantern was hung from the window, and two huntſmen's horns were blown, to announce a comedy for the evening; the entrance money was from ½d. to 2d.; and the ſpectators uſually remained two hours to hear every ſpecies of nonſenſe and ribaldry. Such was the ſtate of the Ruſſian ſtage when Sumorokof brought out his firſt tragedy of Koref.

About the ſame time the firſt regular Ruſſian theatre was opened at Yaroſlaf, under the direction of the celebrated actor Feodor Volkof, the Garrick of Ruſſia, whoſe talents for the ſtage were equal to thoſe of Sumorokof for dramatic compoſition. Volkof was ſon of a tradesman at Yaroſlaf, and born in 1729: having diſcovered early proofs of great abilities, he was ſent to Moſcow, where he learnt the German tongue, muſic, and drawing. His father dying, and his mother marrying a ſecond huſband, who had eſtabliſhed a manufactory of ſalt-petre and ſulphur, he applied himſelf to that trade; and going upon the buſineſs of his father-in-law to Peterſburgh about the year 1748, his natural inclination for the ſtage led him to frequent the German plays, and form an intimate acquaintance with ſome of the actors.

On his return to Yaroſlaf, he conſtructed a ſtage in a large apartment at his father-in-law's houſe, painted the ſcenes, and with the aſſiſtance of his four brothers, acted

* It does not enter into my plan to trace the introduction and progreſs of the German, Italian, and French players in Ruſſia. I ſhall only obſerve, that in the reign of Peter the Great, the firſt ſet of German actors played at Peterſburgh; ſome Italian performers firſt made their appearance in 1730, and the French comedians in 1742. For further information on this ſubject, the reader is referred to Staehlin's Geſchichte des Theatres in Ruſsland, in Haygold, or Schloetzer's Beylage, vol. i. p. 400.

† We may except the repreſentations at court during the minority of Peter the Great, when ſome of Moliere's plays, tranſlated into the Ruſſian tongue, were acted in the Ikonoſpatſko convent; among other perſons of diſtinction, the Princeſs Sophia performed a part.

‡ He died in 1709.

§ See Geſchichte des Theatres in Ruſsland, from which ingenious treatiſe I have principally taken this account of the Ruſſian ſtage.

before

before a large aſſembly. Their firſt performances were the ſcriptural hiſtories written by the Archbiſhop of Roſtof; theſe were ſucceeded by the tragedies of Lomonozof and Sumorokof, and ſometimes ſatirical farces of their own compoſition againſt the inhabitants of Yaroſlaf. The ſpectators being admitted *gratis*, his father-in-law objected to the expence; and Volkof conſtructed, in 1750, a large theatre, partly by ſubſcription, and partly at his own riſk. Having ſupplied it with ſcenes, which he painted himſelf, and dreſſes, which he aſſiſted in making; and procured additional actors, whom he inſtructed, he and his troop performed with great applauſe before crowded audiences, who cheerfully paid for their admiſſion.

In 1752, the Empreſs Elizabeth, informed of their ſucceſs, ſummoned them to Peterſburgh; where they repreſented, in the theatre of the court, the tragedies of Sumorokof. To improve this new troop, the four principal actors were placed in the ſeminary of the cadets, where they remained four years. At the concluſion of that period, a Ruſſian theatre was eſtabliſhed at the court; three actreſſes were admitted; Sumorokof was appointed director, and 5,000 roubles were allowed for the actors. Beſides this ſalary, they were permitted to perform once a week to the public; and the admiſſion-money was diſtributed among them without deduction; as the lights, muſic, and dreſſes were provided at the expence of the Empreſs.

The chief performances were the tragedies and comedies of Sumorokof, and tranſlations from Moliere and other French writers. The company continued to flouriſh under the patronage of Catharine, and the ſalaries of the actors were gradually increaſed to 11,000 roubles per annum. Volkof and his brother were ennobled, and received from their imperial miſtreſs eſtates in land: he performed, for the laſt time, at Moſcow, in the tragedy of Zemira, a ſhort time before his death, which happened in 1763, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He equally excelled in tragedy and comedy; but his principal merit conſiſted in repreſenting madneſs. He was tolerably verſed in muſic, and no indifferent poet.

His friend Sumorokof paid an affecting tribute to the memory of Volkof, who had done ample juſtice to his dramatic compoſitions: "Melpomene, unite thy tears with mine; lament and tear thy locks. My friend is dead. Adieu, my friend; ſorrow penetrates and diſſolves my ſoul. The ſource of Hippocrene is frozen. O Ruſſia! you poſſeſſed a ſecond Racine! but the new theatre is already tottering from its foundations; and all the labours of a century are deſtroyed! Volkof is ſeparated from the Muſes for ever.—Tragedy has loſt her buſkin and her poignard. Melpomene, bedew his tomb with thy tears *."

The prophecy, however, of Sumorokof, which his enthuſiaſm for the theatrical abilities of this great actor, or his affection for the memory of his friend, led him to utter, is far from being fulfilled. The ſtage, though it ſuffered a conſiderable loſs by the death of Volkof, ſtill ſubſiſts and proſpers under the protection of Catharine; and from the ſpecimens which I ſaw among the foundlings at Moſcow, and in other ſeminaries, there is no reaſon to apprehend the want of able actors.

To return from this digreſſion: Alexander Sumorokof, the ſon of Peter Sumorokof, a Ruſſian nobleman, was born at Moſcow, on the 14th of November, 1727 †. He received the firſt rudiments of learning in his father's houſe, where, beſide a grammatical knowledge of his native tongue, he was well grounded in the Latin language. Being

* Le Clerk, p. 81.

† This account of Sumorokof is chiefly taken from "Kurze Nachricht von den Leben und der Schriften des, Alexander Petrowitch Sumorokof," in Journ. St. Pet. for 1778.

removed to the ſeminary of the Cadets at St. Peterſburgh, he proſecuted his ſtudies with unwearied application, and gave early proofs of his genius for poetry. Even on holidays, he would retire from his companions, who were engaged in play, and devote his whole time to the peruſal of the Latin and French writers.

The firſt efforts of his genius were love-ſongs, whoſe tenderneſs and beauty of expreſſion, till then unknown in the Ruſſian tongue, were conſidered as prognoſtics of his future fame. On quitting the ſeminary, he was appointed adjutant, firſt to Count Golovkin, and afterwards to Count Razomofski; and being patronized by Count Ivan Shuvalof, was introduced by that Mæcenas to Elizabeth, who took him under her protection. About the twenty-ninth year of his age, an enthuſiaſtic fondneſs for the works of Racine, turned his genius to the drama, and he wrote the tragedy of Koref, which laid the foundation of the Ruſſian theatre. This piece was firſt acted by ſome of his former ſchool-mates, the cadets, who had previouſly exerciſed their talents in declamation, and in acting a French play. Elizabeth informed of this new phænomenon in the theatrical world, ordered the tragedy to be exhibited in her preſence upon a ſmall theatre of the court, where German, Italian, and French plays had been performed. The applauſe and diſtinction which the author received on this occaſion, encouraged him to follow the bent of his genius; and he produced ſucceſſively Hamlet, Ariſtona, Sinaf and Truvor, Zemira, Dimiſa, Vitſhelaf, the Falſe Demetrius, and Miciſlaf. Nor was his muſe leſs fertile in comedies, which are, Triſſotinus, the Judge, the Diſpute between the Huſband and Wife, the Guardian, the Portion acquired by Fraud, the Envious Man, Tartuffe, the Imaginary Cuckold, the Mother who rivals her Daughter, the Goſſip, and the Three Rival Brothers. He wrote alſo the operas of Alceſtes, and Cephalus and Procris *.

With reſpect to his tragedies, Racine was his model; and his Ruſſian biographer, who ſeems a competent judge of his merit, allows, that "though in ſome inſtances he attained all the excellence of the French poet, yet he failed in many others; but it would be uncandid to inſiſt on ſuch defects in a writer who firſt introduced the drama among his countrymen. The French overlook in their Corneille ſtill greater faults." "His comedies, continues the ſame author, contain much humour; but I do not imagine that our dramatic writers will adopt him for their model; for he frequently excites the laughter of the ſpectator at the expence of his cooler judgment †. Nevertheleſs, they preſent ſufficient paſſages to prove, that he would have attained a greater degree of excellence in this line, had he paid more attention to paint our manners, and follow the taſte of the beſt foreign writers."

Beſides dramatic writings, Sumorokof attempted every ſpecies of poetry, excepting the epic. He wrote love-ſongs, idyls, fables, ſatires, anacreontics, elegies, verſions of

* His tragedies are written in rhyme, in the Alexandrine verſe, the ſame as the French heroic. His comedies are in proſe.

† "Weil es auch ein Lachen giebt, nach welchem der Zuſchauer nicht wohl mit ſich ſelbſt Zufrieden iſt daſs er gelacht hat." Literally, "Since he occaſions a laughter, at which the ſpectator is not well ſatisfied that he has laughed." Does the biographer mean by this paſſage, that the wit of Sumorokof was often too farcical, and degenerated into a low ſpecies of humour? If ſo, let the author anſwer for himſelf. In a letter to Voltaire, he complains that his countrymen had begun to adopt that wretched ſpecies of compoſition, the ſentimental comedy, inſtead of the wit and humour of Moliere; and Voltaire agreed with him, in the following words: "Je ſouſcris entiérement à tout ce que vous dites de Moliére et de la comédie Larmoyante, qui à la honte de la nation a ſuccedé au ſeul vrai genre comique porté à perfection par l'inimitable Moliere. Bach. Ruſſ. Bib. for 1778, p. 153.

the Pſalms, and Pindaric odes. Superior to Lomonozof * in the compoſitions of the drama, he was inferior to him in Pindaric writings. "Though his odes," adds his biographer, "are diſtinguiſhed by eaſy flow of verſification, harmony, ſoftneſs, and grace; yet they are far from reaching that elevation and fire which characterize thoſe of Lomonozof. Theſe two great poets had each their peculiar talents; the one diſplayed all the majeſty, ſtrength, and ſublimity of the Ruſſian tongue; the other all its harmony, ſoftneſs, and elegance. The elegies of Sumorokof are full of tenderneſs; his idyls give a true picture of the paſtoral life, in all the pleaſing ſimplicity of untutored nature, without deſcending to vulgarity, and may ſerve as models in this ſpecies of compoſition, in all things excepting in ſtrict morality. His ſatires are the beſt in the Ruſſian language, but are extremely unequal, and deſerve to have been wrought with more plan and regularity. In writing his fables, his pen ſeems to have been guided by the Muſes and Graces †; and I do not heſitate, if not to prefer them, at leaſt to compare them with thoſe of Fontaine."

Sumorokof was alſo author of a few ſhort and detached hiſtorical pieces. A Chronicle of Moſcow, in which he relates the origin of that city, and abridges the reigns of its monarchs from Ivan Daniſovitch to Feodor Alexievitch; hiſtory of the firſt inſurrection of the Strelitz in 1682, by which Ivan was appointed joint ſovereign with Peter the Great, and the Princeſs Sophia regent; an account of Stenko Razin's rebellion. His ſtyle in theſe pieces is ſaid to be clear and perſpicuous, but too flowery and poetical.

Sumorokof obtained by his merit the favour and protection of his ſovereign. Elizabeth gave him the rank of brigadier, appointed him director of the Ruſſian theatre, and ſettled on him an annual penſion of 400l. Catharine created him counſellor of ſtate, conferred on him the order of St. Anne, and honoured him with many inſtances of munificence and diſtinction until his death, which happened at Moſcow, on the 1ſt of October 1777, in the 51ſt year of his age.

"With reſpect to his diſpoſition," ſays his biographer, "this celebrated poet ſeems to have poſſeſſed a good and amiable heart; but his extreme ſenſibility, an excellent quality in a poet when tempered with philoſophy, occaſioned that ſingularity and vehemence of character, which gave ſo much trouble and uneaſineſs to all his acquaintance, but particularly to himſelf. He was polite and condeſcending towards thoſe who treated him with reſpect; but haughty to thoſe who behaved to him with pride. He knew no deceit; he was a true friend and an open enemy, and could neither forget an obligation nor an injury. Paſſionate, and frequently inconſiderate in his purſuits, he could not brook the leaſt oppoſition, and regarded the moſt trifling circumſtance as the greateſt evil. His extraordinary fame, the many favours conferred on him by the Empreſs, the indulgence and veneration of his friends, might have made him extremely fortunate, if he had underſtood the art of being ſo. He had conceived a great, perhaps too great, an idea of the character and true merits of a true poet; and could not

* There was an unfortunate rivalry between theſe two poets: each wiſhed to excel in the other's line, and each failed in the attempt. The account of this rivalry between Lomonozof and Sumorokof might add another article for the author of *Les Querelles Literaires*.

† This opinion ſeems to be general: "Mais tous les applaudiſſements ſe ſont réunis en faveur de ces fables. On ne peut leur refuſer la premiere place après celles de La Fontaine. L'Eveſque. vol. v. p. 342.

"Ses fables peuvent être comparées à ce qu'on a fait de mieux dans ce genre, depuis l'inimitable La Fontaine." Le Clerc, p. 77.

endure

endure to ſee with patience this noble and much-eſteemed art, which had been conſecrated by Homer, Virgil, and other great men, profaned by perſons without judgment or abilities. Theſe pretenders, he would ſay, ſhock the public with their nonſenſe in rhyme, and clothe their monſtrous conceptions in the dreſs of the Muſes. The public recoil from them with diſguſt and averſion; and, deceived by their appearance, treat with irreverence thoſe children of heaven, the true Muſes."

The examples of Lomonozof and Sumorokof have tended to diffuſe a ſpirit of poetry, and a taſte for polite learning, among the Ruſſians, and they are ſucceeded by a numerous band of poets *. Of theſe I ſhall only mention one writer, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by compoſing the firſt epic poem in the Ruſſian tongue.

Michael Kheraſkof, a perſon of a noble family, has excelled in ſeveral ſpecies of compoſition. His works are, a poem on the Utility of Science, ſeveral tragedies and comedies, Pindaric odes, anacreontics, fables, idyls, and ſatires, a romance called Ariadne in Thebes, Numa Pompilius, a poem, in four cantos, in honour of the naval victory over the Turks at the battle of Tcheſme. But the piece by which he has acquired the greateſt fame, is an epic poem in twelve cantos, called the ROSSIADA, written in Iambic meaſure of ſix feet in rhyme. The ſubject is the conqueſt of Caſan by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. or, as the author has expreſſed himſelf, "I ſing Ruſſia delivered from the yoke of barbarians; the might of the Tartars laid low, and their pride humbled: I ſing the ſtrifes and bloody conflicts of ancient armies; Ruſſia's triumph, and Caſan's ſubjection." This work is greatly admired by the natives, and may juſtly be conſidered as forming an epoch in the hiſtory of their poetry. The general plan ſeems well diſpoſed; the events follow each other in a rapid but orderly ſucceſſion; and the imagination of the reader is kept alive by frequent ſcenes of terror, in which the author ſeems to excel. The ſubject is extremely intereſting to the Ruſſians; and the poet has artfully availed himſelf of the popular belief, by the introduction of ſaints and martyrs for the machinery of his poem. Le Clerc informs us, that this poem, while it contains ſeveral ſtriking paſſages of great beauty, is in many parts deficient in harmony; a defect, he adds, which the author by retouching and correcting, is capable of removing.

Kheraſkof has not failed of acquiring the rewards due to his extraordinary talents; having been ſucceſſively appointed vice-preſident of the college of mines, counſellor of ſtate, and curator of the univerſity of Moſcow.

Lomonozof is a rare, and perhaps a ſingle inſtance of any Ruſſian of low degree, not an eccleſiaſtic, who attained to great eminence in literature. But probably ſuch examples will ſoon ceaſe to be uncommon; ſince the ſchools, inſtituted by Catharine in every province of her wide-extended empire, will facilitate the acquiſition of learning among the lower claſs of people; ſince the zeal for inquiry is ſpread among the natives, and honour and promotion are known by experience to be certain attendants on literary acquiſitions. Indeed, ſuch is the ſpirit with which the Empreſs protects and encourages learning, that ſcarcely any work of merit makes its appearance, for which the author does not inſtantly receive ſome mark of diſtinction or liberality.

To ſpread a taſte of literature among her ſubjects, Catharine appointed, in 1768, a committee to order and ſuperintend tranſlations of the claſſics, and the beſt modern authors, into the Ruſſian tongue; and allowed 10001. per annum towards defraying the expence of ſuch undertakings †.

With

* Many of theſe are enumerated by Mr. Le Clerc, Hiſt. Mod. p. 78—98.

† The following is a liſt of the tranſlations which had made their appearance before the 8th July 1774. See Ruſſ. Bib. for 1775, p. 74.

With reſpect to claſſical literature; the Greek language is yet taught in few ſchools, is ſcarcely known to the laity, and is a rare qualification even among the regular clergy. Latin is more common, being underſtood by many of the clergy, and not unfrequently cultivated by perſons of improved education. Many of the claſſics have been tranſlated by natives into the Ruſſian tongue; ſeveral editions of the moſt approved Greek and Roman authors have been publiſhed at Moſcow and Peterſburgh; but the editors have been chiefly foreigners, encouraged to this attempt by the patronage of the Ruſſian nobles, who are not deficient in antient literature, and excited by the open genius of the nation. Among the natives, who have rendered themſelves illuſtrious in this branch of knowledge, I muſt not omit Plato, Archbiſhop of Moſcow, who is highly eminent for claſſical learning; and, among the naturalized foreigners, Eugenius, Archbiſhop of Slavenſk and Kherſon, who, in the true ſpirit of the original, has tranſlated into Greek hexameters the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil; a work printed in folio, at the expence of Prince Potemkin, and exhibiting a magnificent ſpecimen of typography.

Homer's Batraychomyomachia; Characters of Theophraſtus; Ælian; Herodian; Diodorus Siculus; Terence; Cicero *De Finibus*; Cæſar's Commentaries: Three Epiſtles of Ovid; his Metamorphoſes in proſe; *Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum*; Paterculus; Valerius Maximus; Stritter's *Memoriæ populorum olim ad Danubium incolentium e Script. Byzan. Hiſt. erutæ*; Muller's Account of the Antient inhabitants of Ruſſia; Gmelin's Travels through Ruſſia; Pallas's Travels through Ruſſia; His Pruſſian Majeſty's Treatiſe on the Reaſon for making and repealing Laws; Monteſquieu's *Conſiderations ſur la grandeur et la decadence des Romains*; his *Lyſimaque, Dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate, Eſſai ſur le Gout*, and *Temple de Guide*; Dimſdale's Treatiſe on Inoculation; Chalotais *ſur l'Education*; Hiſtory and Treatiſes of the Amſterdam Society for Recovery of drowned Perſons; The Ottoman Empire; Republic of Raguſa, Great Britain, Portugal, Kingdom of Pruſſia, from Buſching's Geography; Voltaire's Candide; a Dialogue of St. Evremond between three perſons of different ſentiments; various articles from the Encyclopediæ; Juſti's Foundation of the Power and Happineſs of States; *Calliere de la maniere de negocier avec les ſouverains*; Rouſſeau's Abridgement of *St. Pierre's Projet d'une paix perpetuelle*; St. Real's *Conſpiration des Eſpagnols contre la Republique de Veniſe*; Vertot's *Revolutions Romaines*; Mably's *Hiſtoire Grecque*; Chineſe Reflections from the Manſhur tongue; The Viſible World; Lambert's *Traité de l'Amitié*; Taſſo's *Jeruſalemme Liberata*; Gulliver's Travels; Joſeph Andrews; Jonathan Wild the Great; Amelia; of the Ventriloquiſts; Gellert's Betſchweſter; the Art of being polite; Letters upon ſeveral Phyſical and Philoſophical Subjects; Macquer's Chymiſtry; the Duty of an Officer; Dictionary of the French Academy; on the Advantage of inſtructing Youth in Claſſical Literature; Rollin's Belle's Lettres; Bell's Journey through Ruſſia.

This liſt mentions eighty-three books, the tranſlations whereof were in the preſs; ſeventy-eight of which tranſlations were making; and ſixty-three, which the committee propoſed to be tranſlated.

I have received an account of the following tranſlations, which have been ſince made:

Henriade; Diable Boiteux; Gellert's Works; Aderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce; Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V. from the French tranſlation; Pallas *Samlungen Mongoliſchen Volkerſchaften*; Engliſh Grammar; Homer's Iliad: Virgil's Æneid; Lucian's Dialogues; Milton's Paradiſe Loſt; Coyer's *Hiſtoire de J. Sobieſki*; Monteſquieu's *Eſprit des Loix*; Mallet's *Hiſt. de Dannemarc; Hiſt. Generale de Voyages*; Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics; *Cicero de Natura Deorum*; Plato's Works; Heſiod; Coxe's Ruſſian Diſcoveries; *Les Incas de Marmontel*; Bielfield's Political Inſtitutions; *Hiſt. de la Maiſon de Brandenburgh; Memoires de Sully*; Blackſtone's Commentaries; Hiſt. Aug. Script. Sex; Pope's Eſſay on Man; Locke on Education; Livy; ſeveral Epiſtles and Odes of Horace; Young's Six Weeks Tour, tranſlated by particular order of the Empreſs, for the purpoſe of diffuſing the knowledge of practical agriculture, &c. &c.

CHAP. XX.—*Population and Revenues of the Ruſſian Empire.—Paper Currency.*

THE population of the Ruſſian dominions may be eſtimated from the table of the poll-tax aſſeſſed in 1782.

Government of	Moſcow	440,359
	St. Peterſburgh	283,295
	Wibuurgh	88,128
	Tver	446,321
	Novogorod	269,320
	Pſkof	288,125
	Smolenſko	415,257
	Mohilef	331,033
	Polotzk	311,462
	Orel	462,520
	Kurſk	458,830
	Karkof	392,944
	Voronetz	394,934
	Tambof	438,025
	Reſan	434,679
	Toola	418,927
	Kaloogha	384,423
	Yaroſlaf	370,961
	Vologda	349,386
	Volodimir	433,820
	Koſtroma	396,269
	Niſhnie-Novogorod	398,317
	Viatka	407,950
	Perm	373,252
	Tobolſk	166,225
	Kolyvan	39,297
	Irkutſk	123,232
	Ufa	177,798
	Simbirſk	361,159
	Kafan	373,354
	Penſa	318,076
	Saratof	282,817
	Aſtrachan	23,776
	Aſof	177,849
	New Ruſſia	210,539
	Kiof	387,792
	Tchernighof	368,099
	Novogorod Sieverſki	365,541
	Riga	263,525
	Revel	99,564
Sum total of peaſants paying the poll-tax,		12,757,180

By

By doubling this number for the females, we have for the peaſants, male and female, in the whole Ruſſian empire,	25,514,360
To this we muſt add nobles,	200,000
Clergy and their families,	120,000
Merchants and families,	250,000
Natives of Crim Tartary and the Kuban,	80,000
Wandering hordes of Siberia,	600,000
And the total population of the Ruſſian empire will, according to this calculation, be	26,764,360

A number, however large, greatly diſproportioned to the extent of the empire *.

The revenues of Ruſſia, beſides the impoſts paid by the Ukraine, and by the provinces conquered from Sweden, chiefly ariſe from the poll-tax; the duties of import and export; the exciſe upon ſalt; the crown and church lands; the profits of the mint; and the ſale of ſpirituous liquors, and a few other articles.

The poll-tax was introduced in 1721 by Peter I.; and, at the acceſſion of Catharine II. was exacted from all perſons, excepting the nobles and gentry, clergy, navy, army, the Coſſacs, the inhabitants of the Ukraine and Conquered Provinces. All who

* This eſtimation of population in Ruſſia was, in 1785, ſufficiently exact, and conſidered ſo by the laſt ſtatiſtical writer in Ruſſia, who adopted the general ſtatement from my account; ſince that period a great acceſſion of ſubjects has been gained by the territorial acquiſitions, and ſome increaſe of the population from natural cauſes.

Population in the new Acquiſitions:

Diſtrict of Otchakof, 1791	40,000
By ſecond partition of Poland, 1793	3,745,000
By the conqueſt of Poland, 1795	1,407,000
Courland	387,000
	5,579,000
Probable addition by the exceſs of the births over the deaths, in the whole empire, for 15 years	1,500,000
	7,079,000
Population in 1784	26,784,360
Population in 1800	33,863,360

Storch, in his Hiſtorical Account of the Ruſſian empire, eſtimates the population at 36,152,000, in 1797. But he ſeems to have exaggerated the number, by allowing an increaſe of 250,000 a year, and putting, therefore, the increaſe during ten years at 3,000,000.

Mr. Tooke, in the ſecond edition of his view of the Ruſſian empire, greatly exaggerates the population, by fixing it at 40,000,000. He grounds his calculation on the tables of births and deaths given in the Hamburgh Politiſches Journal, and proceeds on the principle, that only one perſon in fifty-eight dies annually. This calculation is erroneous, on two accounts: firſt, the liſt of births and deaths is not accurate; it being a well known fact, that the number of deaths was diminiſhed, and of the births augmented, to gratify the ſovereign with an idea, that the population was rapidly increaſing. A ſtriking example occurred during my firſt journey to Peterſburgh: only a few of the numbers who periſhed in conſequence of the cold or intoxication at the fête mentioned in p. 227, were included in the bills of mortality. Secondly, when the prevalence of thoſe diſeaſes which Mr. Tooke himſelf enumerates, and the number of caſualties in Ruſſia, are conſidered, it will appear to any perſon in the leaſt accuſtomed to ſuch kinds of calculation, that the annual mortality muſt be more than one in fifty-eight.

were liable to this tax were rated in different proportions, as they were merchants, burghers, or peaſants. By the manifeſto of 1775, promulgated after the concluſion of the Turkiſh war, the merchants were exempted from this tax; and it now includes only the burghers and peaſants.

Every fifteen or twenty years, the number of inhabitants throughout the empire is uſually taken; and, in each diſtrict ſubject to the poll-tax, all males, infants as well as adults, under the deſcription of a burgher or peaſant, are aſſeſſed *; from that period the ſame aſſeſſment is regularly paid till the next reviſion, whether the population of that diſtrict increaſes or diminiſhes; in the latter caſe, the inhabitants or landholders are bound to ſupply the deficiency; in the former, the tax is not augmented, and of courſe falls much eaſier upon a large number of perſons. The landholders are anſwerable for the poll-tax of their peaſants.

By a late imperial edict, the poll-tax was extended over the Ukraine and Conquered Provinces; and the other taxes paid by the peaſants were aboliſhed. This alteration has greatly increaſed the public revenue, and the poll-tax is conſiderably more productive. Computing the average tax paid by each peaſant at a rouble and a quarter, the poll-tax amounts to 15,435,000 roubles, or nearly double its former produce.

The cuſtoms, or average duties on exports and imports, amount to 5,000,000 roubles.

The exciſe upon ſalt, which is appropriated to the Empreſs's privy purſe, produces, on an average, 2,000,000. Her Majeſty has twice diminiſhed the price of ſalt nearly 30 per cent.

The mines (See chap. vi. of this book) and coinage, and duties upon iron at the forge, yield 3,395,910, excluſive of the profits from the coinage of gold and ſilver imported into Ruſſia.

The church-lands, which are now annexed to the crown, produce about 2,000,000: part of this money is allotted for the ſalaries of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and regular clergy, for the maintenance of the ſeveral monaſteries, and for the penſions of officers and ſoldiers diſmiſſed from the ſervice. The remainder, which belongs to the privy purſe, amounts to about 300,000 roubles.

The ſale of ſpirituous liquors forms at preſent nearly one-third of the Ruſſian revenue. In every part of the empire, excepting the Ukraine and the Conquered Provinces, the crown alone has the privilege of ſelling ſpirituous liquors. This branch of finance yields 10,000,000.

* It is no eaſy matter to convey a clear notion of this tax, as well from the complicated method of impoſing it, as from the different changes which are occaſionally made in the mode of aſſeſſment.—A burgher pays uſually 4s. 9d. per annum; a peaſant of the crown, in ſome inſtances, 8s; in others, 4s. 4½d.; a peaſant of an individual, 2s 9d.—Every perſon exerciſing the trade of a taylor, ſmith, ſhoemaker, maſon, or any ſimilar handicraft trade, and who enrols himſelf in the company of any town, pays annually, beſide the poll tax, 2s. Every peaſant who quits his village, to trade at Peterſburgh, Moſcow, or elſewhere, pays 5d. to the crown for his paſſport. Theſe, and many other ſimilar taxes, are all ranged under the poll-tax. The diſſenters, or old believers in the Ruſſian church, pay double poll-tax. Some burghers and peaſants, ſuch as the yamſhics, who find poſt horſes, and others, are exempted from the poll tax; others pay it in labour; ſome in furs, &c. I found it impoſſible to give equal attention to every object; and I frankly own, that amid the variety of intelligence which I procured in Ruſſia, I do not perfectly comprehend each mode of aſſeſſment in the poll tax.

Recapitulation

Recapitulation.

	Roubles.
Poll-tax	15,435,000
Cuſtoms	5,000,000
Salt	2,000,000
Gold and ſilver from the mines, profits of the coinage, and duty on iron at the forge	3,395,910
Farm of ſpirituous liquors	10,000,000
Church lands	2,000,000
Duties on ſales of lands and houſes, ſtamped paper, on mills, horſes, baths, ſhops, poſt-office, and other duties omitted	4,000,000
Roubles	41,830,910
Or, eſtimating the rouble at 3s. 4d.	6,971,818l.*

The gradual increaſe of civilization in the Ruſſian empire has been followed by a proportional increaſe of the revenue. At the acceſſion of Peter the Great, it amounted to 1,000,000l.; at his death to 1,600,000l.; Elizabeth raiſed it to 3,600,000l.; when Catharine aſcended the throne, it produced 4,400,000l.; now yields near 7,000,000l.; and is ſtill in an increaſing ſtate. This ſum is ſufficient for the peace-eſtabliſhment. Of this revenue, the expences of the army and navy amount to about 3,176,000l.; thoſe of the civil eſtabliſhment to 2,972,485l.; and the remainder, or 800,000l., is appropriated to the privy purſe of the Empreſs. But it is difficult to conceive how ſhe is able to maintain the magnificence of her court; the number of public inſtitutions; the numerous buildings † continually erecting at her expence; the liberality with which ſhe encourages the arts and ſciences; the purchaſes which ſhe is continually making in every country in Europe, and the immenſe donations which ſhe confers upon the moſt favoured of her ſubjects.

The revenues of Ruſſia may be conſiderably augmented in caſe of emergency, by the increaſe of the poll-tax, and the addition of new impoſts. It ſhould alſo be obſerved, that in 1775 the Empreſs remitted fifty-ſeven taxes, and ten in the following year.

The great ſupport of the laſt war was a new bank, called the Bank of Aſſignation, which was eſtabliſhed during hoſtilities againſt the Turks. When copper-money could not be coined with ſufficient expedition to anſwer the neceſſities of the ſtate, bank notes to the value of 50, 75 ‡, and 100 roubles, in copper, were iſſued. Theſe notes are changed at the bank in Peterſburgh and Moſcow. The former, which I viſited, is a brick building, containing ſeveral vaulted rooms, each capable of holding 400,000l. of copper coin in bags, piled one above another; in ſome the money was already placed, and the others were preparing for the reception of the remainder. Since 1784 the old bank notes were called in, and a new iſſue made to the acknowledged amount of

* Such was the general ſtate of the revenue in 1784. Since this period it has been augmented by an increaſe of territory, as well as by the improvement of commerce, and other national benefits. According to Mr. Tooke, the lateſt author who has written on the ſubject, the revenue exceeds 41,000,000 roubles. See his ſtatement, which ſeems to be accurate. View of the Ruſſian empire, vol. ii. p. 326. book vii. ſect. 1.

† In time of peace, Her Majeſty allots at leaſt 200,000l. per ann. for the purpoſe of building.

‡ Soon after the inſtitution of this bank, ſome notes of 75 roubles being forged, thoſe bearing that value were called in and deſtroyed.

100,000,000 roubles, in notes of five, ten, fifteen, twenty-five, and one hundred roubles. On the firſt appearance of this paper, it was received, particularly in the remote parts of the empire, not without difficulty, and the diſcount againſt it was commonly about 3½, and in ſome places even 6 per cent. The obvious advantages, however, over copper-money, ſoon recommended it to general uſe; and it was found ſo beneficial to commerce, that in 1779 the diſcount in favour of ſilver ſpecie was only one per cent., and it bore a premium of one and a half per cent. over copper money. But ſo large a quantity was circulated, and the loans to government ſo lowered the credit of the ſtate, that in 1790 the diſcount againſt the paper currency was near 20 per cent.

CHAP. XXI.—*Admiralty.—Expedition to Cronſtadt.—The harbours and docks.—Ruſſian navy.—On Ruſſia.—General obſervations on the Ruſſian army.*

THE admiralty *, which ſtands on the ſouth bank of the Neva, oppoſite the fortreſs of Peterſburgh, was built by Peter the Great, and is a large brick building, ſurrounded with a rampart and ditch: it is the great receptacle for ſhips' ſtores, and contains magazines of cordage, ſails maſts, anchors, which are ſent to Cronſtadt for the equipment of the fleet. A large area between the front of the building and the Neva, is appropriated for the conſtruction of veſſels: when I was at Peterſburgh, five men of war and two frigates were upon the ſtocks †.

Cronſtadt, the principal ſtation of the Ruſſian navy, is ſituated on the Retuſari, in the Gulf of Finland, and was founded by Peter the Great, as being provided with the ſafeſt habour in theſe parts, and forming a ſtrong bulwark for the defence of the new metropolis. The only paſſage by which ſhips of burden can approach Peterſburgh, lies on the ſouth ſide of Retuſari, through a narrow channel; commanded on one ſide by Cronſtadt, and on the other by Cronſlot and the citadel.

Cronſlot, which ſtands on a ſmall ſandy iſland, is a circular wooden building, ſurrounded with fortifications of wood, and is garriſoned with an hundred men. The citadel is another ſmall wooden fortreſs, raiſed alſo upon an adjacent ſand-bank, and capable of holding about thirty ſoldiers: all large veſſels muſt paſs between Cronſtadt and theſe two fortreſſes, expoſed to the fire of the oppoſite batteries; for the other parts of the gulf are only from one to eleven feet in depth. Theſe fortifications were, at the time of their conſtruction, eſteemed places of conſiderable ſtrength; but now derive their conſequence more from paſt importance, than from any reſiſtance they could make againſt the attack of a powerful fleet.

The iſland Retuſari is a long ſlip of land, or rather ſand; through the midſt of which runs a ridge of granite. It is 20 miles from Peterſburgh by water, four from the ſhore of Ingria, nine from the coaſt of Carelia, and ten miles in circumference. It was overſpread with firs and pines when Peter conquered it from the Swedes, but now contains thirty thouſand inhabitants, including twelve thouſand ſailors and a garriſon of one thouſand five hundred men. The iſland affords a ſmall quantity of paſture, pro-

* I am informed that the Admiralty is intended to be removed to Cronſtadt.

† The men of war which are framed in this dock are, in their paſſage to Cronſtadt, liſted over the bar by means of camels: theſe machines were originally invented by the celebrated De Witt, for the purpoſe of conveying large veſſels from Amſterdam over the Pampus; and were introduced into Ruſſia by Peter the Great, who obtained a model of them in Holland.

duces vegetables, and a few fruits, ſuch as apples, currants, gooſeberries, and ſtrawberries, which thrive in this northern climate.

Cronſtadt is built upon the ſouth-eaſtern extremity of the iſland, and defended towards the ſea by wooden piers * projecting into the water, and towards the land by ramparts and baſtions. It is a ſtraggling place and occupies, like all the Ruſſian towns, a larger ſpace of ground than the number of habitations ſeems to require: the houſes are moſtly of wood, excepting a few fronting the harbour, which are of brick ſtuccoed white; among theſe are the imperial hoſpital for ſailors, the barracks, and the marine academy which contained, in 1778, three hundred and ſeventy cadets, who are maintained and taught at the expence of the crown: they are admitted at the age of five, and remain until ſeventeen. They learn accounts, mathematics, drawing, fortification, and navigation, and have maſters in the French, German, Engliſh, and Swediſh languages. They are trained to naval tactics, and make an annual cruize as far as Revel.

Cronſtadt has a haven appropriated to ſhips of war, and another to merchant veſſels. The men of war's haven contained twenty ſhips of the line, and nine frigates, which were diſmaſted, with their guns and tackle on ſhore. The Ezekiel of eighty guns, eſteemed the fineſt ſhip in the navy, was built under the inſpection of Admiral Knowles, and carries eight hundred men.

Cloſe to the haven for merchant ſhips is a canal and ſeveral dry docks, begun in 1719, for the purpoſe of refitting the men of war; this uſeful work was neglected under the ſucceſſors of Peter, and not completed until the reign of Elizabeth: it has been ſtill further improved by Catherine, and is now applied for building as well as for careening ſhips of the line. At the extremity of theſe docks is a great reſervoir, five hundred and ſixty-eight feet in length, containing water ſufficient to ſupply all the docks, which is pumped out by means of a fire engine, the diameter of whoſe cylinder is ſix feet. The length of this work, from the beginning of the canal, to the end of the laſt dock, is four thouſand two hundred and twenty-one feet. The ſides of the docks are faced with ſtone, and the bottom paved with granite; they are forty feet deep, one hundred and five broad, and capable of containing nine men of war on the ſtocks.

Nothing can convey a higher idea of the vaſt and perſevering genius of Peter the Great, than the ſituation in which he found the Ruſſian navy, and the ſtate in which he left it. Though in the beginning of his reign he did not poſſeſs a man of war, yet in the courſe of a few years he equipped a fleet of fifty ſail of the line, which rode miſtreſs of the Baltic. Under his ſucceſſors the Ruſſian navy was greatly neglected, and was in ſo bad a condition at the acceſſion of Catherine, that ſhe almoſt equalled her predeceſſor in the creation of a new fleet: ſhe invited Engliſh captains and ſhipbuilders into Ruſſia, particularly Admiral Knowles, who was remarkable for his ſkill in naval architecture. Under her auſpices Europe lately beheld with aſtoniſhment the Ruſſian flag diſplayed in the Archipelago, and the Turkiſh fleet annihilated at Tcheſme by a ſquadron from the North †.

Ruſſia produces every article neceſſary for the conſtruction and equipment of ſhips, which are built chiefly at Cronſtadt, Peterſburgh, and Archangel: thoſe conſtructed at Cronſtadt and at Peterſburgh are made with oak; thoſe from Archangel with larch-wood. For the ſupply of the dock-yards at Peterſburgh and Cronſtadt, the oak is ſent from the province of Caſan; the Ukraine and the government of Moſcow ſupply the

* In 1784 Cronſtadt was fortifying with ſtone piers. The eſtimate was 7,000,000 roubles.

† Since the acquiſition of Crim Tartary, and the other conqueſts from Turkey, ſhips are now built at Kerſon and in the harbours of Taurida.

hemp;

hemp; the maſts are procured from the vaſt tracts of foreſt between Novogorod and the Gulf of Finland, or furniſhed by the provinces diſmembered from Poland. Pitch and tar are obtained from Wiburgh. Manufactories of cordage and ſail-cloths are eſtabliſhed in different parts of the empire; and the magazines of Peterſburgh and Archangel are always plentifully ſtored with large quantities of both thoſe articles.

The navy of Ruſſia in the ports * of the Baltic and Archangel, conſiſted, in 1778, of thirty-eight ſhips of the line, fifteen frigates, four prames, and one hundred and nine gallies †.

Of this number about twenty-eight ſhips of the line and ten frigates, including thoſe built with larch-wood, were fit for immediate ſervice. In caſe however of neceſſity or danger, Ruſſia producing all the neceſſary materials, her navy might ſoon be conſiderably increaſed, of which I have given a remarkable inſtance on a former occaſion ‡. But though Ruſſia, ſince the beginning of this century, has made ſurpriſing exertions in the marine, and rapidly become more powerful at ſea than the neighbouring kingdoms in the North; yet, in naval affairs, ſhe muſt be conſidered ſtill in her infancy, being principally indebted to the Engliſh, as well for the conſtruction of her ſhips, as for manœuvring and diſciplining her fleet. Many circumſtances indeed concur in retarding the progreſs of her maritime ſtrength: 1. The want of ports in the Ocean; 2. The ſmall extent of her ſea-coaſt, and that obſtructed by ice; 3. A deficiency of experienced ſeamen.

1. It is obvious that Ruſſia does not poſſeſs a ſingle port on the Ocean, excepting that of Archangel, which is of no uſe but in a commercial light; as well on account of its great diſtance from the other European ſeas, as becauſe the navigation round the North Cape of Lapland, ſituated in the 72d degree of latitude, is only open in the midſt of ſummer.

2. It has been juſtly remarked, that few nations have attained a great height of naval power, which did not poſſeſs a conſiderable tract of ſea-coaſt; and Ruſſia, excepting the late acquiſitions on the Black Sea, the deſolate ſhores round Archangel and of the Frozen Ocean, and the inhoſpitable regions of Kamtchatka, can boaſt no greater portion of maritime country than what lies between Wiburgh and Riga §; a mere point for ſo large an empire, and rendered leſs valuable by bordering on the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic; inland ſeas without tides, when compared with the Ocean, ſcarcely ſuperior to the lakes, and inacceſſible ‖ for at leaſt five months in the year.

* As I could not obtain an exact account of the Ruſſian ſhips in the Black Sea, I have choſen to be ſilent on that head; I ſhall only obſerve, that ſeveral men of war and frigates were building at St. Demetri, Taurof, and Kherſon. According to Mr. Tooke, in 1796 the Ruſſian fleet at Sebaſtapol, the principal harbour of Taurida, or Crim Tartary, conſiſted of eleven ſhips of the line, and eight frigates. View of the Ruſſian Empire, Book 6. ſect. 2. The reader will find in the Voyages de deux François, &c. Vol. iv. ch. 11. liſts of the Ruſſian fleet in 1779, 1786, and 1791. The number of the firſt differs little from that which I have given, and which is inſerted in the Appendix. In 1786 the ſhips of the line amounted to forty-one, and twenty-ſix frigates. In 1791 the whole navy, including ſhips on the ſtocks, amounted to eight of one hundred and ten guns, twenty-two of ſeventy-four, and twenty of ſixty-ſix; twenty-ſeven frigates, four bomb veſſels, two prames, ſeventeen cutters, and four fireſhips, beſides gallies, and numerous veſſels of war, principally intended for making deſcents. Of theſe, however, not more than thirty ſhips of the line could be conſidered as fit for immediate ſervice.

† See a liſt of the Ruſſian navy in the Appendix.

‡ See vol. ii. book 4. chap. 5.

§ The acquiſition of Courland has ſince added a ſmall tract of maritime coaſt.

‖ The ports in the Baltic being frozen during that period, no veſſels can take their departure before April or May, and muſt return at lateſt in October.

3. The third cauſe is a deficiency of experienced ſeamen *. Government, indeed, retains in its pay about eighteen thouſand ſailors, moſt of whom have never ſerved: a few in time of peace make annual cruizes into the Baltic, or perhaps as far as the Engliſh Channel; others are employed in the ſummer ſeaſon in navigating the veſſels laden with merchandiſe from Cronſtadt to Peterſburgh. But ſuch nurſeries as theſe are by no means ſufficient; nor can the deficiency be ſupplied, in caſe of an immediate war, from private veſſels; for Ruſſia has ſcarcely any merchant-ſhips, which is chiefly owing to the ſtate of vaſſalage, and the ſtrict laws that prevent the natives from quitting their country without a licence. A merchant who fits out a trading veſſel, muſt firſt apply to the admiralty, for permiſſion to take on board a certain number of natives; leave being obtained, the paſſes for each ſailor are brought and lodged in the admiralty; and ſecurity, at the rate of 30l. per man, is given for their return. Thus, without altering the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and innovating on the long-eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of vaſſalage, an adequate number of experienced ſailors cannot be raiſed to man a large fleet on ſudden emergencies. In a word, no kingdom, without diſtant colonies, conſiderable fiſheries, and an extenſive ſea-coaſt, to familiarize the inhabitants to the dangers of the ocean, is likely to acquire ſuch a marine as to become formidable to the great naval powers of Europe.

The navy of Ruſſia, however, with all theſe diſadvantages, is ſufficient to protect her coaſts, to convoy her merchantmen, to make her reſpectable in the Baltic, or in caſe of a Turkiſh war, to ſend a fleet into the Archipelago. It is her advantage to maintain a good correſpondence with the great maritime powers, whom ſhe ſupplies with naval ſtores; and who are, on that account, equally intereſted to reſpect and cultivate her friendſhip. The frontiers of her immenſe dominions border on Sweden, Poland, Turkey, Perſia, and China †; and the ſecurity of her empire depends more on her army than her navy.

The Ruſſian army is divided into regular and irregular troops.

The regulars conſiſting chiefly of infantry, include all thoſe who wear uniforms, and are trained to European diſcipline. The Ruſſians are excellent ſoldiers; brave, ſteady, obedient, patient of fatigue and hardſhip, and ſcarcely ever guilty of deſertion.

With reſpect to the irregular troops, ſome of whom are ſtill armed with bows and arrows, and conſiſt entirely of horſe, their number is very conſiderable, and can ſcarcely be aſcertained. Of this body the corps of Coſſacs, who are eſteemed the moſt excellent, and who bear the greateſt reſemblance to regular troops, are thus deſcribed in the journal of Colonel Floyd.

"The Coſſacs are in general perſons of low ſtature; they wear ſmall whiſkers, and ſhave their heads, excepting the crown, upon which they leave a ſmall circle of hair. Their dreſs is a fur cap, a looſe long Aſiatic robe, and large pantaloons, boots or half-boots, without ſpurs, and a whip hanging from the right wriſt. Their arms are a lance about twelve feet in length, a brace of piſtols, ſlung on the left ſide, a cartridge-box on the right, and a ſmall ſcymitar without any guard, or even croſs-bar. Their horſes are ponies, ſtrong and active, but not fleet. The accoutrements are a kind of huſſar ſaddle, a ſmall ſnaffle with large eyes and no horns, to the near eye of which is faſtened a thong, that is alſo tied to the ſaddle, and which occaſionally ſerves for a halter.

* In the naval expedition againſt the Turks, it was a remark made by ſeveral of our officers, that the diſtance from St. Peterſburgh to the Archipelago was a fortunate circumſtance, as the Ruſſians acquired experience during the voyage.

† Since the final diſmemberment of Poland, on the Auſtrian and Pruſſian dominions.

They

They ride ſhort and full-footed, raiſe themſelves on their ſtirrups, bend their bodies with great activity, and throw themſelves into different attitudes. They never puſh their horſes on full ſpeed in a ſtraight line; but in galloping turn them in various directions, deſcribing in their progreſs a ſerpentine line, and wheeling continually to the right and left. When not in action, they carry their lance ſlung on the foot; when engaged, they preſent it againſt the enemy by holding it almoſt in the middle, and counterpoiſing it under the arm; and, from conſtant practice, direct it againſt an object with great dexterity. In retreating, they reſt the lance upon their ſhoulder as a defence againſt blows, and occaſionally oppoſe the point to a purſuing enemy.

"Theſe Coſſacs, on account of their averſion to regular diſcipline, are not trained to attack in ſquadron: but act only as ſkirmiſhers, and are ſaid to be extremely adroit in their deſultory evolutions: they are uſually let looſe upon a flying enemy, when they do great execution. They excel as patrols, and are remarkable for their vigilance on out-poſts, and their knowledge of the country. The ſagacity which they derive from habit and practice is in ſome particulars aſtoniſhing; by examining a tract lately traverſed by the enemy in the moſt tumultuary manner, they can diſcover with tolerable exactneſs, the number of horſes that have paſſed over it, and how many of them were led. Some of them can deſcry, if any movement is taking place among a corps of troops, far beyond the reach of uſual obſervation; others, by applying their ears to the ground, can diſtinguiſh the buz of men, or the clattering of horſes feet, at a conſiderable diſtance. They can take the field every day without intermiſſion, and are indefatigable in haraſſing the enemy; they are contented with a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, and do not require any forage to be carried for their horſes.

"There are eight regiments of theſe Coſſacs: each regiment conſiſts of five ſquadrons, and each ſquadron of a hundred men, beſide officers. There are alſo ſix other regiments of horſe, called regular pikemen, ſimilar in their arms and accoutrements to the Coſſacs, and diſtinguiſhed from them only by a trifling difference of dreſs."

Computed Force of the Ruſſian Army in 1785.

Guard, horſe and foot - - -	10,000
Regular cavalry - - - -	69,465
Regular field infantry and artillery - -	255,134
Garriſon battalions - - - -	49,000
Artillery ditto - - - -	5,500
Total -	389,099

Irregulars not included.

Such was the ſtate of the Ruſſian army upon paper; but the real number always falls ſhort of this liſt. For it is probable that the effective troops on the peace eſtabliſhment ſcarcely exceed two hundred thouſand; and the Ruſſians have ſeldom brought into the field more than one hundred thouſand effective men *.

* In conſequence of the territorial acquiſitions, the army has been ſince increaſed; according to Mr. Tooke's account, its nominal force amounts to ſix hundred thouſand men, including irregulars, of whom he conſiders five hundred thouſand effective. View of the Ruſſian empire, vol. ii. p 251, 2d edition.

CHAP. XXII.—*Riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh trade with Ruſſia.—Commerce of the Britiſh factory of St. Peterſburgh.—Exports and imports.*

The commercial intercourſe between Ruſſia and the northern parts of Germany was begun and carried on by the Hanſeatic towns, which in 1726 eſtabliſhed factories at Novogorod and Pleſcof *, and for a conſiderable period entirely engroſſed the trade of this empire.

The accidental diſcovery of Archangel, in 1553, transferred a great part of this lucrative commerce to the Engliſh. On the 11th of May, three ſhips ſailed from Deptford, to explore the North Seas, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. Two of theſe veſſels penetrated as high as the 72d degree of latitude, to the coaſt of Spitzbergen; and being afterwards forced by ſtreſs of weather into the bay of the river Arzina in Ruſſian Lapland, both crews were frozen to death.

Richard Chancellor, who commanded the other ſhip, called the Bonaventure, diſcovering the country bordering on the White Sea, landed near the mouth of Dvina, in a bay which he denominated the Bay of St. Nicholas, from a convent, near the preſent port of Archangel. Information of his arrival being diſpatched to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. the Tzar ſummoned him to Moſcow, diſtinguiſhed him with many marks of kindneſs and attention, received in the moſt favourable manner a letter from Edward VI. †, and permitted the Engliſh to open a commerce with Ruſſia. On Chancellor's return, a Ruſſian company was eſtabliſhed by Queen Mary, and in 1555 he again repaired to Moſcow, accompanied by ſeveral merchants of the incorporated ſociety, to whom the Tzar granted "a free liberty ‡ of trading to any part of his dominions, without paying duties either of export or import, of exerciſing all kinds of merchandizes in his empires and dominions, freely and quietly, without any reſtraint, impeachment, price, exaction, cuſtome, toll, impoſition, or ſubſidie."

The correſpondence between Elizabeth and Ivan has already been mentioned §; and it is no wonder that the monarch who obtained the promiſe of an aſylum in England, if depoſed by his ſubjects, ſhould confer additional immunities on the new company. Theſe privileges, renewed on different occaſions, amounted to monopoly; "Ivan forbidding all other perſons but the members of the ſaid company, and all other nations but the Engliſh, to carry on any traffic to any of the northern coaſts of Ruſſia ‖."

During the reign of Ivan, the Engliſh company ſettled colonies in different parts of the empire; one at Kolmogori, where they even obtained grants of land, erected warehouſes, and formed a rope-walk; others at Novogorod and Vologda. Their chief eſtabliſhment was at Moſcow, where the Tzar built for their reſidence a large brick edifice, called the ambaſſador's houſe. The principal merchandize which the firſt Engliſh ſhips exported from Ruſſia, were furs and ſkins, maſts, flax, hemp, cordage, tallow, train-oil, tar, pitch, and leather ¶. Their imports were chiefly cloths of all ſorts, cottons, and tin.

* The merchants of Hamburgh and Lubec, and of the other Hanſeatic towns, in carrying on this traffic, uſually ſailed to Revel or Narva, and from thence paſſed through Dorpt to Pleſcof and Novogorod. S. R. G. V. p. 418; and Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. X. 291. † Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 253.

‡ Ib. p. 265, 266, dated Moſcow, 7060, the ſecond month of February.

§ See vol. ii. book 3. chap. 5. ‖ Hackluyt, p. 462. ¶ Hackluyt, vol i. p. 298—306.

Another unexpected advantage was derived from this connection with Ruſſia. Ivan Vaſſilievitch, having conquered the Tartars of Caſan and Aſtracan, extended his dominions as far as the Caſpian Sea, and eſtabliſhed a communication with the Perſians and Bucharians *. Animated with the hopes of gain, the Engliſh factory obtained a patent for an excluſive trade with Perſia and Bucharia; and ſeveral merchants paſſed through Moſcow to the countries beyond the Caſpian.

At the death of Ivan, the Engliſh loſt their great ſupport; and, on the acceſſion of Feodor, the confirmation of their immunities was for ſome time refuſed: this refuſal was owing to the impatience of Sir Jerome Bowes, the Engliſh ambaſſador, who, by his ſupercilious deportment, offended the Ruſſian nobility, and occaſioned a revocation of the patent. In 1586, Jerome Horſey, the Engliſh agent at Moſcow, obtained the re-eſtabliſhment of ſeveral immunities; and, in 1588, Giles Fletcher † concluded, through the intereſt of Boris Godunof, a treaty of league and amity between Elizabeth and Feodor, the ſecond article of which contained, "A confirmation and re-eſtabliſhment of the former privileges of the companie of our Engliſh merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers neceſſary additions to the ſame, for the better ordering of their trade in thoſe countrys hereafter ‡."

At length the grant of excluſive trade ſeems to have been finally revoked by Boris Godunof, who extended to the Dutch ſeveral immunities which had been hitherto peculiar to the Engliſh, and reinſtated the Hanſeatic towns in their ancient traffic to Novogorod and Pleſcof §. Still, however, the privileges which remained to the factory were conſiderable, conſiſting in a commerce free of duty to any part of the Ruſſian dominions.

At the revolution which placed Demetrius upon the throne, the Engliſh factory conceived a ſtrong hope of recovering its patent of excluſive trade.

But his untimely fate prevented the good effects of his favourable intentions, and the civil calamities which, ſubſequent to his aſſaſſination, deſolated Ruſſia, almoſt annihilated the Engliſh commerce. But theſe troubles being terminated by the election of Michael, Sir James Merricke, ambaſſador from James I. to the court of Moſcow, obtained from the new Tzar a freſh patent in favour of the company; which allowed them, as before, a free trade, without paying duties or cuſtoms, to Archangel, and from thence to Kolmogori, Novogorod, Moſcow, and other parts of his dominions ‖.

This beneficial commerce was, in 1648, ſuddenly annihilated by Alexèy Michaelovitch, who baniſhed the Engliſh merchants from his dominions. The cauſe of this expulſion is generally imputed to the reſentment conceived by the Tzar againſt the Engliſh, for the execution of Charles I. ¶, with whom he was cloſely connected by leagues

* Ruſſian Diſcoveries, part iii. chap. i.

† Fletcher, who went this embaſſy, and has publiſhed a curious account of Ruſſia, was fellow of King's College, Cambridge. ‡ Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 473. § S. R. G. V. p. 159.

‖ As long as there was no town at the mouth of the Dvina, the merchandize was ſent to Kolmogori and from thence into the interior parts of Ruſſia. Some time in the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch, the firſt foundations of the caſtle of Archangel were laid: it took its name from a monaſtery built in honour of the *Archangel* Michael. This ſpot ſoon increaſed to a town, and became the great ſtaple of the Engliſh trade. See S. R. G. vii. p. 470.

¶ In the midſt of the Khitaigorod at Moſcow, there is an ancient gateway, which forms the entrance into the printing-office of the Holy Synod: it is of curious workmanſhip, ornamented with figures of the lion and unicorn groteſquely carved in wood. Theſe being the ſupporters of the Royal arms of England, authors have conjectured that this gateway was the entrance to the hotel, conſtructed by order of Ivan Vaſſilievitch, for the reſidence of the Engliſh ambaſſador, and that the Tzar Alexèy was ſo offended at the execution of Charles, that he converted it into a printing office. It is probable, indeed, from the figures

leagues of amity and alliance; but in effect he abolished the company's privileges the year before that event. His indignation against the English was only a political pretext; the real motive being derived from the offers of the Dutch to pay duties of export and import, to the amount of 15 per cent. if they were indulged with the liberty of carrying on as free a trade as the English. For not long afterwards, the Tzar suffered William Prideaux, Cromwell's agent, to reside at Archangel, and permitted the English to renew their commerce in that port on the same footing with other foreigners *. It appears also, from Milton's and Thurloe's State Papers, that the Tzar not only received several letters from Cromwell, and returned answers; but, at the protector's request, even agreed to admit his ambassador at Moscow. In consequence of this permission, Richard Bradshaw, Cromwell's resident at Hamburgh, proceeded in his way to Moscow, as far as Mittau, where he was honourably entertained by the Duke of Courland; from which town several dispatches passed between Bradshaw and the Russian chancellor, with respect to the superscription of the Protector's letter to the Tzar, which did not confer on that monarch all the titles he required. This seems to have been merely a pretext, as Bradshaw asserts, to prolong the time; and in effect he soon afterwards returned to Hamburgh without having accomplished his intended embassy †. Cromwell, however, gained a great point in opening the commerce of Archangel to the English; and although Alexèy could not be induced to grant a free trade into the interior parts of his dominions; yet this exclusion was not peculiar to the English; for he equally prohibited all foreign traffic, except at Archangel ‡.

Soon after the Restoration, Charles II. desirous of obtaining a renewal of the company's privileges, dispatched the Earl of Carlisle to Moscow, who was ordered to represent, that "these very privileges were the basis and foundation on which the amity of the two crowns of England and Muscovy were superstructed." The embassy failed of success: the failure was imputed to the haughty deportment of the ambassador, who expressed disgust at the bad accommodations in Russia, did not pay sufficient court to the ministers and favourites of the Tzar, tendered repeated remonstrances in a manner totally repugnant to the Russian custom, and, under a false notion of maintaining the dignity of his sovereign, objected to the Russian ceremonial. It is much to be questioned, however, if the Earl of Carlisle had acted a less impolitic part, whether the Russian court would have renewed the charter of the company in its full extent, particularly the exemption from duties of export and import; since the Dutch readily paid the customs. The Earl of Carlisle could only obtain a permission that the English should trade freely into the Russian dominions, but remain subject to the duties of export and import. From that period the British commerce has suffered no interruption §.

Archangel continued the sole port for the exports and imports of Russia, until the building of St. Petersburgh, when Peter the Great removed the commerce of the

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figures of the lion and unicorn, that this gateway had some reference to the English, although it was not the ambassador's hotel, that being situated near the church of St. Maximus, in another part of the Khitaigorod; but it evidently appears, from an inscription over the gateway, that this building was not converted into a printing-office on account of the execution of Charles. The inscription denotes, that Michael Feodorovitch, and his son Alexèy, caused these apartments and this gate to be constructed in the printing-house, June 19th 7152, or, according to our æra, 1645: a plain proof that the establishment of the printing-house was prior, by at least three years, to the execution of Charles, and could have no reference to that event.

* Thurloe, vol. ii. 558—562.

† See Milton's Works, p. 1657. Thurloe, vol. iii. p 258, and vi. 40°, 432, 439.

‡ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 598.

§ Except the short interval under Paul.

White

White Sea to the havens of the Baltic *. The Britiſh merchants, who were highly favoured by that monarch, ſettled in the new metropolis, which ſuddenly became the principal mart for the Ruſſian trade. The privileges of the Britiſh factory eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia are confirmed by a ſolemn treaty of commerce and navigation, concluded in 1734 between George II. and the Empreſs Anne; and ſince renewed, between His preſent Majeſty and Catherine II. †

The whole trade of St. Peterſburgh in exports and imports for 1777, with the Engliſh and other nations, was,

In exports - -	2,400,000l.	4,000,000l. 0
Imports - -	1,600,000	
Balance in favour of Ruſſia	800,000	

The Britiſh ſhare in this trade is,

In the exports about ‡ -	1,508,782l. 6	1,932,724l. 18
Imports - -	423,942 12	
Gain - -	1,084,839 14	

Conſequently, the trade with all other nations (the Ruſſian ſubjects included) is,

In the exports -	891,217l. 14	2,067,275l. 2
Imports - -	1,176,057 8	
Loſs - - -	284,839 14	

From hence it is evident Ruſſia gains annually by her trade with the Britiſh ſubjects about	1,084,839l. 14
And that ſhe loſes by her trade with all other nations - - -	284,839 14
Remains annually a clear gain of about	800,000 0

But ſhould the contraband traffic (in which the value of the imports far exceeds that of the exports, and in which the Britiſh have little or no concern) be included, it will conſiderably diminiſh the balance of theſe commercial profits as juſt ſtated.

* In 1752, Elizabeth again reſtored the ancient immunities of Archangel; and its preſent trade is not inconſiderable. The port ſupplies the government of Archangel, and part of thoſe of Niſhnei-Novogorod and Caſan, with European commodities, and draws in exchange from theſe parts corn, flax, hemp, coarſe linen, cordage, ſails, maſts, tallow, which are moſtly conveyed by the Dvina: it forms alſo a principal communication with the northern and weſtern parts of Siberia, from whence furs, ſkins, and iron are procured.

† The reader will find the firſt treaty of 1734 in Rouſſet's Supplement to Dumont's Corps Diplomatique, vol. iii. p. 495; and the laſt, of 1766, in a Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, vol. ii. p. 309—327.

‡ See Britiſh exports and imports, Appendix, No. 2.

According to this ſtatement, half the trade of St. Peterſburgh is in the hands of the Engliſh; but as their exports and imports in 1777 exceeded thoſe of the preceding or ſubſequent years, this eſtimate may be conſidered as too highly rated; we may fairly, however, allow, upon the moſt moderate computation, that a third of this commerce is carried on by our factory.

The average number of merchant ſhips, which annually arrive from England at the port of Cronſtadt, with goods laden for St. Peterſburgh, may be collected from the following table:

Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.	Years.	Ships.
1753 -	149	1758 -	161	1763 -	149	1773 -	319
1754 -	236	1759 -	206	1767 -	200	1774 -	318
1755 -	160	1760 -	137	1768 -	237	1776 -	320
1756 -	186	1761 -	130	1769 -	322	1777 -	366
1757 -	129	1762 -	153	1770 -	306	1778 -	252

The general ſtate of the trade of St. Peterſburgh in 1778 was,

In exports - -	2,042,097l.	8
Imports	1,318,428	16
	3,360,526	4

In 1799, the exports from St. Peterſburgh amounted to 38,169,925 roubles; the imports 19,790,779.

In 1778 the following number of veſſels arrived at Cronſtadt:

Engliſh -	252	Dutch -	147	Hamburgh -	2
French * -	1	Daniſh -	39	Stralſund -	1
Spaniſh -	6	Pruſſian -	26	Bremen -	3
Ruſſian -	12	Lubeck -	38		
Portugueſe	2	Roſtock -	29	Total - -	607
Swediſh -	47	Dantzick -	2		

Beſide the metropolis, the Ruſſian trade in the Baltic is carried on at Riga, Revel, Narva, and Wiburgh. From Riga † a conſiderable quantity of corn is exported by the Engliſh, Swedes and Dutch, which is ſent down the Duna from the provinces of Pleſcof, Smolenſko, and Novogorod: the maſts are alſo ſhipped from the ſame port. The other exports from this, and the above-mentioned maritime towns, are ſimilar to thoſe of St. Peterſburgh.

* The French exports and imports are, in time of war, moſtly conveyed in Dutch bottoms, which is the reaſon why, in 1778, but one French veſſel arrived at Cronſtadt, although their exports and imports for that year amounted to 148,753l. † See the account of Riga in the 2d volume.

Additions

Additions to the Account of the Engliſh Commerce.—Auguſt 1801.

BY the kind communication of a friend well verſed in the Ruſſian commerce, I am enabled to ſubjoin a ſtatement of the mode in which the Britiſh trade is principally conducted.

To enter into all the details of the Ruſſian commerce, from the growth of the raw article in the interior provinces to its arrival at the port for exportation, would require a diſtinct, and indeed, a voluminous treatiſe. But a few obſervations may give a general idea of an intereſting part of the ſubject, namely, the manner in which the commerce is conducted between Great Britain and Ruſſia.

The particular privileges attached to the guilds, into which the Ruſſian merchants are enrolled, appropriate to them the interior commerce of the country.

A foreigner who imports goods into Ruſſia, muſt ſell them to Ruſſians only, and at the port where they arrive, none but natives being allowed to ſend merchandize into the interior of the empire for ſale. A few foreigners, indeed, ſettled in Ruſſia, and having connections with natives, do carry on a trade with the interior; but it is contrary to law and the goods are liable to ſeizure.

The late Empreſs, probably with a view to induce foreigners to weave their intereſts more cloſely with Ruſſia, by engaging their capital in every department of commerce, propoſed certain advantages to thoſe foreigners who would inſcribe themſelves in guilds, and put themſelves on the ſame footing with her own ſubjects. The advantages were, under a commercial point of view, very conſiderable. They greatly diminiſhed the heavy duties on ſeveral articles *, and permiſſion was granted to trade into the country, that is, to carry imported articles to the beſt market, and to purchaſe the native products either by themſelves or agents. Notwithſtanding, however, the probability of being underſold by foreigners, and even by ſome few of their own countrymen, a large majority of the Britiſh merchants refuſed to reſign, or even to riſk that character and independence which they had ſo long and honourably ſuſtained as Britiſh ſubjects, protected by Ruſſian laws.

If their determination did honour to their firmneſs, the event proved (what could not be foreſeen) that it even promoted their intereſt. The Ruſſians ſoon perceived, that if foreigners, with all their intelligence and large capitals at command, could, like themſelves, penetrate the country, the principal emoluments would paſs into other hands, and they counteracted the attempts of the new ſpeculators. Even when the privilege was granted to Britiſh ſubjects, by the Treaty of Commerce concluded by His Majeſty's late miniſter at the court of St. Peterſburgh, it was impoſſible to derive any ſolid advantage from it; for although the right of ſending goods into the interior was no longer diſputed, yet by the revival of corporation laws, till that time conſidered as obſolete, it was found that goods belonging to foreigners in paſſing through different towns would be ſubject to ſuch heavy duties, that the Ruſſians were able conſiderably to underſell the Britiſh merchants who engaged in theſe adventures.

The Ruſſians, therefore, as connected with Britiſh commerce, form two diſtinct claſſes, firſt, the grower of the raw articles, as hemp, flax, &c. or the proprietor of them, as of tallow, briſtles, &c. Theſe are, generally ſpeaking, the owners of the ſoil and of the peaſants where the articles are produced.

* Foreign merchants were obliged to pay theſe duties in foreign coin, inſtead of Ruſſian bank notes, or copper money, which made a difference of 25 or 30 per cent.

The manufacturers of linens, ſailcloth, &c. purchaſe the yarn of the peaſants, who grow the flax, and make the yarn; it is then manufactured into ravenducks, ſlems, and drillings, entirely in their own fabrics, and theſe articles are ſeldom, if ever, ſold on contract, previous to their arrival at St. Peterſburgh. The Ruſſia linens (known in this country by the name of flaxen linens, craſh, and diaper,) are made entirely by the peaſants; and for this article the Ruſſian merchant is in a manner only the factor, as he buys them ready made, and carries them to St. Peterſburgh for ſale. In the manufacture of their ſail-cloth, the ſame circumſtance occurs.

The ſecond claſs of Ruſſian merchants are, more properly ſpeaking, factors; theſe alone make the contracts with the Britiſh merchant at the ports of Ruſſia, and while moſt of them poſſeſs neither capital nor goods, they derive large profits from their commercial tranſactions.

From the month of November, till the ſhipping ſeaſon in May, the Ruſſians, who trade in hemp, flax, tallow, briſtles, wax, oil, hides, iron, and many other articles, (except manufactures and linens,) either come themſelves to St. Peterſburgh, or employ agents to ſell their goods to foreigners, to be delivered according to agreement, in May, June, July, or Auguſt. The payments are made according to the circumſtances of the ſellers and buyers; and ſometimes the buyer pays the whole amount, in the winter months, for the goods which are to be delivered in the ſummer or autumn; at others, he pays a part on concluding the contract, and the remainder on delivery of the goods. The manufacturers and dealers in linens uſually come to St. Peterſburgh in March, and ſell their goods for ready money.

The foreign goods were formerly almoſt entirely ſold on twelve months credit, and ſome on a ſtill longer term; but lately, ſeveral articles, ſuch as coffee and ſugar, are ſold at St. Peterſburgh for ready money; ſtill, however, the interior is ſupplied with foreign goods on credit, and moſt of the woollen trade in St. Peterſburgh is carried on by allowing the Ruſſians a long credit with the goods. Many, I might almoſt ſay all the Ruſſians, who buy goods on credit of foreigners, for the ſupply of the interior, have no other connections or trade with St. Peterſburgh, than merely coming there once or twice a year to purchaſe goods on credit, which having accompliſhed, they ſet off with the goods, and the foreigner neither ſees nor hears of them again till the bills become due. By the laws of Ruſſia, none but merchants inſcribed in the guilds are allowed to trade; and in caſe any perſon not inſcribed (that is, a peaſant) contracts a debt for more than five roubles, he cannot be proſecuted, nor is he liable beyond that ſum. Notwithſtanding this law, a great many peaſants do trade, and actually purchaſe goods of foreigners on long credit.

It may not be improper here to notice the fallacious though ſpecious ſtatement of the author of the Secret Memoirs of the Court of St. Peterſburgh reſpecting the trade between Great Britain and Ruſſia. He ſays, the Engliſh take away leather, and bring ſhoes; take grain, and return beer; and ſend ſhips laden with hardware in exchange for iron, timber, &c. In the firſt place, it may be remarked, neither ſhoes, beer, nor hardware are allowed to be imported, nor has any timber been received from Ruſſia for a conſiderable time.

The author has carefully kept in the back ground an eſſential point which proves the mutual intereſts of Great Britain and Ruſſia to be inſeparable. It would, in the preſent ſtate of things, ſubject Ruſſia to great inconvenience, were ſhe merely to carry on, as the above-mentioned author propoſes, an immediate exchange of produce. Before this produce can be brought to the ports of Ruſſia, a very conſiderable capital is required;

and by the advance of this capital, not by the exchange of manufactures againſt raw articles, Great Britain renders her trade reciprocally beneficial to Ruſſia.

It will be evident that to conduct an extenſive commerce on this ſyſtem, requires conſiderable intelligence, an intimate acquaintance with, and unlimited confidence in the native merchants. Nothing can reflect more honour on the Ruſſians, as a commercial people, than that the Britiſh merchants are in conſtant habits of intruſting to them the immenſe ſums employed in the trade with that country, without any ſecurity beyond a perſonal knowledge.

The trade has thus been conducted for upwards of three centuries; and if the favourable diſpoſition, and the character of Alexander did not preclude reflection on paſt tranſactions, the interruption which has lately taken place, and the temporary ſuſpenſion of confidence could never be too deeply lamented. So many comforts have been derived from a reſidence in the metropolis of St. Peterſburgh, that not only Engliſh capital has been employed in the commerce, but the poſſeſſors of that capital have themſelves directed its employment; ſo that, excepting in one or two inſtances, the commerce with Great Britain is not conducted through the medium of mere agents, as formerly; but the Engliſh merchant reſident in St. Peterſburgh has the ſole and independent command of the capital which he embarks in commerce.

Another circumſtance connected with the Britiſh trade is too curious to be paſſed in ſilence. Every mercantile houſe in St. Peterſburgh employs certain men, called in the language of the country, Artelſchicks, who are the counting-houſe men, and employed by every merchant to collect payment on bills, to receive money, as well as in many inſtances to pay it in very conſiderable ſums. This is an important part of their truſt. There being no bankers in Ruſſia, every mercantile houſe keeps its own caſh; and as the payments between merchants, and for bills of exchange, are made entirely in bank notes of no higher value than five, ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred roubles, moſt of them in ſo tattered a ſtate, as to require ſeveral hours to count over a ſum of two or three thouſand pounds; this buſineſs is performed by artelſchicks, and very few inſtances have occurred of loſs by their inattention, either in miſcounting the notes, in taking falſe notes, or, where they are much torn, in receiving parts of different bank notes.

Theſe artelſchicks are alſo employed to ſuperintend the loading and unloading the different cargoes; they receive the moſt valuable into the warehouſe, where they are left ſolely under their care; and in theſe warehouſes not merely merchandiſe, but often large quantities of dollars are depoſited. Theſe Ruſſians are moſtly natives of Archangel and the adjacent governments, of the loweſt claſs, are often ſlaves, generally of the crown; and the only ſecurity of the merchant ariſes in ſome degree from the natural reluctance of the Ruſſian to betray confidence repoſed in him; but in a much greater from the nature of their aſſociation, which is called an Artel.

An Artel conſiſts of a certain number of labourers, who voluntarily become reſponſible, as a body, for the honeſty of each individual. The ſeparate earnings of each man are put into the common ſtock, a monthly allowance is made for his ſupport, and at the end of the year the ſurplus is equally divided. The number varies in different aſſociations from fifty to one hundred; and ſo advantageous is it conſidered to belong to one of theſe ſocieties, that 500, and even 1000 roubles are paid for admiſſion. Theſe ſocieties are not bound by any law of the empire, or even written agreement; nor does the merchant reſtrain them under any legal obligation; yet there has been no inſtance of their objecting to any juſt claim, or of protecting an individual whoſe conduct had brought a demand on the ſociety.

CHAP. XXIII.—*Riſe, Progreſs, and Termination of the Engliſh Trade on the Caſpian Sea.—Commerce of the Ruſſians in the ſame Quarter.—Deſcription of the principal Ports.—Exports and Imports.—Average Value of the Trade.—Commerce with the Bucharians and Chineſe.*

IN the fourteenth century, the Venetians and Genoeſe drew, by means of the Caſpian, through Aſtracan to their ſettlements at Azof* and Caffa, the Indian, Perſian, and Arabian merchandize, with which they furniſhed the ſouth of Europe. The northern part of this continent was ſupplied likewiſe, through Aſtracan, with Aſiatic goods, by the Ruſſian merchants of Ladoga on the Volkof, who ſent them to their principal ſtorehouſe at Wiſby, a Hanſeatic town in the Iſle of Gothland. The devaſtation occaſioned by the wars of Tamerlane, at the end of the fourteenth century, turned this trade from Aſtracan to Smyrna and Aleppo. The commerce of Arabia, more commodious for thoſe ports, never returned to Aſtracan; but part of the Perſian traffic was afterwards reſtored to its old channel.

While the provinces of Caſan and Aſtracan were under the government of the Tartars, the cap, or head-quarters of the Khan, was a mart for the Ruſſian and Perſian merchants. But as, according to the cuſtom of the roving Tartars, it was frequently changed, Aſtracan and Terki† became at length two principal places of reſort. This commerce, impeded and frequently interrupted by the numerous banditti, was precarious; until the conqueſt of Caſan and Aſtracan opened a ready communication between Moſcow and the Caſpian Sea; Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. having garriſoned Aſtracan with troops, rendered it the chief emporium of the eaſtern trade. This conqueſt being completed in 1554, ſoon after the diſcovery of Archangel, the Engliſh obtained the Tzar's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions into Perſia, and carry on an excluſive trade over the Caſpian.

Jenkinſon was the firſt Engliſhman who navigated that ſea. In 1558, he landed at Manguſhlak upon the Eaſtern ſhore, paſſed by land through the country of the Turkoman Tartars to Boghara, capital of Great Bucharia, and returned to Moſcow the following year. In 1561, he again ſailed over the Caſpian, and proceeding to the coaſt of Shirvan, went by land to Caſbin, the reſidence of the ſophy, from whom he obtained a permiſſion of trading into Perſia. Several merchants followed his example. The laſt expedition was made, in 1597, by Chriſtopher Burroughs; whoſe ſhip being, on its return, ſhattered by the ice in the mouth of the Volga, he and his crew eſcaped with difficulty, and arrived at Aſtracan after many dangers‡. During theſe expeditions the traffic was chiefly confined to the ports of Tumen, Derbent, Baku, and the coaſt of Ghilan.

The diſaſters which attended the voyage of Burrough, the banditti frequenting the ſhores of the Caſpian, and the wars between the Turks and Perſians, obſtructed the infant commerce; and during above a century and a half no Engliſh veſſel appeared upon this

* See Guldenſtaedt's Treatiſe Von den Hafen am Caſpiſchen Meere, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1777.
The Indian goods were brought, for the moſt part, through Perſia, acroſs the Caſpian to Aſtracan, from thence up the Volga, then by land to the Don, and down that river to Azof.

† Terki was ſituated near the river Terek, upon the weſtern ſhore of the Caſpian: no traces of it remain, as the ſite is covered by the ſea.

‡ Hackluyt, p. 324—430. S. R. G. viii. 426—473.

ſea. At length, in 1741, the Britiſh merchants of St. Peterſburgh, at the perſuaſion of Captain Elton, an Engliſhman in the Ruſſian ſervice, renewed the commerce, and eſtabliſhed a factory at Reſhd in the province of Ghilan. Some diſputes unfortunately ariſing, as well between the Engliſh themſelves, as between the Ruſſians and Elton, he entered into the ſervice of Nadir Shah, and aſſiſted in conſtructing ſome veſſels on the Caſpian. This circumſtance gave umbrage to the court of St. Peterſburgh, and Elizabeth, in 1746, withdrew her permiſſion to the Engliſh merchants, of paſſing through her dominions for the Caſpian commerce. On the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, who, in conſequence of Elton's influence, had permitted the Engliſh to trade to Perſia, their factory was pillaged by one of the pretenders to the throne, and their commerce annihilated *.

The Ruſſians purſued with perſeverance the track opened by our merchants, and under Alexèy Michaelóvitch, Aſtracan became the centre of the Perſian trade; to which place merchants from Bucharia, Crim Tartary, Armenia, Perſia, and even India, reſorted. The veſſels of the Ruſſians being rudely framed, without decks, and of courſe expoſed to conſtant ſhipwrecks †, the Tzar drew from Amſterdam ſeveral ſhip-builders, for the purpoſe of conſtructing veſſels more calculated to weather the ſtorms of this ſea; but theſe deſigns being fruſtrated by the rebellion of the Coſſacks of the Don, under Stenko Razin ‡, the trade of Ruſſia was annihilated by their devaſtations. On the quelling of the revolt, and puniſhment of their leader, the greater part of the commerce fell into the hands of the Armenian merchants eſtabliſhed in Aſtracan, who ſettled factories both in the Ruſſian and Perſian territories §.

During this whole period the Ruſſian and Armenian traders penetrated no further than Niezabad, a port between Derbent and Baku; and their chief ſettlement was at Shamakee, capital of Shirvan, until 1711, when that town was taken by the Leſgees, and the factory deſtroyed.

In 1721, this commerce was again revived: Peter having marched an army into Perſia, over-ran the provinces of Dageſtan, Shirvan, Ghilan, and Maſanderan, on the eaſtern and ſouthern coaſts of the Caſpian, and obtained their ceſſion by a formal treaty. Soon afterwards, he eſtabliſhed a Ruſſian company trading to the Caſpian; but the whole capital conſiſted only of four hundred ſhares, of the value of 30l. each. The chief ſettlements were formed at Aſtracan and Kiſlar.

The poſſeſſion of theſe diſtant provinces proving expenſive and of little advantage, Anne reſtored them to the ſophy ‖ on condition that the Ruſſian merchants ſhould enjoy liberty of trade to all the havens of the Caſpian without paying duty, ſhould be allowed to build houſes and magazines, and not be ſubject to the laws of the country ¶. The privileges of this company were confirmed by Anne and Elizabeth; but the commerce was inconſiderable until the reign of Catharine II. who, in 1762, aboliſhed this excluſive right, and permitted all her ſubjects to trade with Perſia; prohibiting, on account of the numerous banditti who infeſt the roads, the inland traffic from Kiſlar, and the other Caſpian ports to Shamakee. Two Ruſſian conſuls reſide at Baku and

* See Hanway's Britiſh trade over the Caſpian Sea, in his Travels, vols. i. and ii.; and chap. xxxiii. in the ſecond volume of Cooke's Travels through the Ruſſian Empire to Perſia. Both theſe accounts, however contradictory to each other, ſufficiently prove the unfortunate miſunderſtandings which had ariſen between the Engliſh who engaged in this trade.

† S. R. G. vii p. 499.

‡ Buſching, ix. 80—88. For an account of Stenko Raſin, ſee Schmidt, Ruſſ. Geſ. vol. ii. p. 32. Motley's Hiſtory of Catharine, vol. i. p. 227.

§ S. R. G. vii. p. 505. ‖ S. R. G. i. p. 154, &c. ¶ Guldenſtaedt.

Einzellee.

Einzellee *. Theſe regulations, however, cannot prevent the contraband trade which is carried on at Shamakee, and the other inland towns of Perſia, by the Armenian merchants; who, from their knowledge of the country and language, underſell the Ruſſians.

Aſtracan, ſituated on an iſland in a branch of the Volga, is the great ſtaple of the Caſpian commerce; and, by means of that river, is readily ſupplied with European merchandize from the ports of the Baltic †. Although Aſtracan is only in the 47th degree of latitude, yet the cold is extremely intenſe in winter; and for two months the Volga is generally frozen ſo hard as to be paſſed over by heavy-laden ſledges ‡. Large tracts of foreſt on the banks of that river, in the province of Kaſan, furniſh ſufficient oak and timber for the conſtruction of veſſels for the Caſpian ſea.

The Caſpian is ſix hundred and eighty miles in length, from Gurief to Medſhetiſar, and in no part more than two hundred and ſixty in breadth. It has no tide; and, on account of ſhoals is navigable only by veſſels drawing from nine to ten feet water; it has ſtrong currents, and, like all inland ſeas, is ſubject to violent ſtorms §, which the Ruſſian veſſels, wretchedly conſtructed, weather with difficulty: the waters are brackiſh. The Uralian Coſſacs enjoy the right of fiſhing on the coaſt forty ſeven miles on each ſide of the river Ural; and the inhabitants of Aſtracan poſſeſs the excluſive privilege on the remaining ſhores belonging to Ruſſia. The roe of ſturgeons and beluga ſupply large quantities of caviare; and the fiſh, which are chiefly ſalted and dried, form a conſiderable article of conſumption in the Ruſſian empire. The Caſpian abounds with ſea-dogs, which are hunted and caught in great numbers ‖.

The ports of the Caſpian may be divided into Ruſſian, Perſian, and Tartar.

The Ruſſian ports and trading places are, 1. Gurief; 2. Kiſlar.

1. Gurief, ſituated on the mouth of the Yaik or Ural, near a bay of the Caſpian, is a ſmall but ſtrong fortreſs, which guards the frontiers of the Ruſſian empire towards the territory of the Kirghees Tartars. The place contains ſcarcely a hundred houſes, and, except the garriſon, has no inhabitants but a few merchants from Aſtracan, who trade with the neighbouring Tartars ¶. 2. The fortreſs of Kiſlar ſtands near the eaſtern coaſt, and covers the frontiers towards the limits of Perſia. Veſſels formerly entered the ſouthern branch of the Terek; but as the mouths of that river are now choaked up, the merchandize is landed in a ſmall bay at the diſtance of thirty-four miles. Kiſlar draws from Aſtracan the European commodities neceſſary for the Perſian traffic, together with corn and proviſion for the Ruſſian colonies on the Terek, and for the neighbouring diſtrict of Mount Caucaſus. Beſide the goods which are diſpoſed of at Kiſlar, and ſent to the Perſian ports, the inhabitants carry on a contraband trade to Shamakee, Derbent, and even Tiflis in Georgia, which is exceedingly precarious from the numerous banditti who pillage the caravans.

Before I enumerate the principal Perſian havens, it would be neceſſary to acquaint the reader to whom belong the provinces of Shirvan, Ghilan, Maſanderan, and Aſtrabad, in which countries the ports reſorted to by the Ruſſians are ſituated. But the unſettled ſtate of Perſia, and the civil wars which continue to harraſs that divided empire, render it difficult to aſcertain that point **. In general thoſe provinces are governed by

* Guldenſtaedt, p. 248. † Hanway, p. 141. ‡ Gmelin, vol. ii. p. 84.

§ Hanway, vol i. p. 393. ‖ Jour. St. Pet. p. 253; S. R. G. vii p. 525. For a liſt of the fiſh in the Caſpian, ſee Gmelin, vol. ii. p 246. ¶ Pallas Reiſe, I. 424, &c.

** On the aſſaſſination of Nadir Shah, in 1747, various competitors preſented themſelves to fill the vacant throne; and in leſs than two years eight ſovereigns had reigned, been depoſed, or aſſaſſinated; when Kerim

by their own khans, who, though tributary to the ſophy, render themſelves occaſionally independent; and as they are continually at war with each other, their governments are the ſeat of almoſt perpetual hoſtility, rapine, and devaſtation. Meanwhile, the trade flouriſhes or diminiſhes in proportion as the exactions of the ſovereigns are more or leſs frequent and exorbitant.

The Perſian havens are, 1. Derbent; 2. Niezabad; 3. Baku; 4. Einzellee; 5. Farabat; 6. Medſhetiſar; 7. Aſtrabad.

1. Derbent is the worſt port in the Caſpian; if it can be called a port, where veſſels can ſeldom approach the ſhore, on account of ſands and ſhoals, but are generally obliged to anchor, at the diſtance of three quarters of a mile: from this circumſtance, joined to the inconſiderable degree of commerce, it is little frequented. Derbent in the province of Shirvan, is a Perſian fortreſs, ſurrounded by high brick walls; the inhabitants are chiefly Perſians, Tartars, and a few Armenians. Two or three Ruſſian ſhips are annually bound for Derbent; they are uſually laden with oats and rye, and carry iron, ſteel, and lead for the Leſgees and other Tartar nations, who inhabit the Eaſtern chain of the Caucaſus. The neighbourhood produces ſome corn, but not ſufficient for the conſumption of the place. 2. Nieſovaia Priſtan, or Niezabad, was formerly the port moſt frequented by the Ruſſians, and chiefly viſited by the merchants of Shamakee, who ſupplied the province of Shirvan with European commodities. Near the harbour are ſeveral wretched villages. 3. Baku is eſteemed the moſt commodious haven, as veſſels may ſecurely anchor in ſeven fathoms water; but the number of ſhoals, iſlands, and ſand-banks, render the entrance extremely difficult and dangerous, particularly to the Ruſſians who are not expert ſailors. Baku is a fortreſs ſurrounded with high brick walls: the inhabitants like thoſe of Derbent, are Perſians, Tartars and a few Armenian merchants. The principal articles of exportation are naphta, and rock ſalt, of both which there are mines on the eaſt ſide of the bay. The inhabitants cultivate ſaffron and the cotton-tree, but not to any conſiderable advantage. The trade of Baku, though more valuable than that of Derbent, is ſtill inconſiderable, and chiefly carried on with Shamakee, from whence it draws raw ſilk and ſilken ſtuffs. A Ruſſian conſul is reſident at this place *. Before we quit the province of Shirvan, it may not be improper to mention its capital, the inland town of Shamakee, which is only ſixty-ſix miles from Baku, and ſupplies that port with raw ſilk and ſilken ſtuffs. Shamakee owed its commercial importance to the ſilk which is cultivated in the neighbouring diſtrict, and ſtill preſerves the town from ruin, though the traffic is greatly reduced by the exorbitant exactions of the Khan of Kuba; it was alſo crowded with Turkiſh and Greek merchants but at preſent contains only a few Armenian and Indian traders. The inhabitants manufacture ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, far inferior to thoſe made in the beginning of the century. The ſilk of this province is exported into the interior part of Perſia, Turkey, Georgia, and Ruſſia. Shamakee ſtill ſupplies part of Georgia, and the inhabitants of the Eaſtern chain of Mount Caucaſus, with European commodities, principally by means of the traffic with Baku, and the contraband trade with the Armenians and Ruſſians †. 4. Einzellee, though a wretched village, is the moſt frequented for the

Shirauz. On his death, in 1779, Perſia was again expoſed to all the horrors of a diſputed ſucceſſion, and divided between the two principal competitors. Akau Mahomed Khan, a Perſian of high diſtinction, who was caſtrated in his infancy by order of Nadir Shah, and who, like Narſes, poſſeſſed great civil and military talents, was, in 1788, maſter of Mazanderan and Ghilan, as well as the cities of Iſpahan and Tauris. Jaafar Khan, nephew of Kerim Khan, was at that period ſovereign of Shirauz, the capital, and of the ſouthern provinces.—Franklin's Tour from Bengal to Perſia, p. 278—351.

* Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 52, &c. Guldenſtaedt. † Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 60, &c.

Perſian commerce: formerly veſſels entered through the channel into a bay; but this bay being choaked up, are obliged to lay at anchor in the road. Einzellee is ſituated on the ſouth-weſtern coaſt, a few miles north of Reſhd, capital of the province of Ghilan: it conſiſts of Old and New Einzellee; the former inhabited by the Perſians and Armenians, under the juriſdiction of the ſophy, the latter by the Ruſſian merchants, and thoſe Armenians who are ſubject to Ruſſia. A garriſon of thirty ſoldiers is ſtationed under the command of the conſul. It contains a Ruſſian and Armenian church and about three hundred houſes, moſtly formed with reed. The refuſe only of the Perſian and European commodities is expoſed to ſale at Einzellee; the Great mart being at Reſhd, where the Ruſſians have erected booths, to which place a conflux of merchants from Tauris, and the principal cities of Perſia, Armenia, and even Turkey, reſort, in order to purchaſe the raw ſilk and manufactures of Ghilan. Hence the Ruſſians diſpoſe of their European commodities to conſiderable advantage, and obtain in return the productions of this rich province. The manufactures * and ſilk of Ghilan, eſteemed the beſt in Perſia, have been in ſuch repute for theſe laſt fifty years, that Reſhd is become one of the firſt commercial towns in this part of Aſia. The fineſt ſort is uſually white, and chiefly ſent into the interior cities of Perſia, or ſold to the Turks; the inferior kind is yellow, and principally diſpoſed of to the Ruſſians. There is ſuch a conſtant demand for the ſilk of Ghilan †, that the price riſes every year. Reſhd ſupplies the bordering provinces of Perſia, and the independent neighbouring ſtates as far as Georgia, with European merchandize, except the goods which are tranſported immediately from Aſtracan, through Kiſlar and Moſtok, to the neareſt parts of Georgia, and of the neighbouring mountains; and thoſe ſent from Shamakee, to the Leſgees Tartars, and other independent tribes ‡. 5. Farabat, and 6. Medſhetiſar, are ſituated on the ſourthern coaſt, in the province of Maſanderan; they are both ſmall villages, of which Medſhetiſar is moſt commercial, from its vicinity to Balfruſch, capital of the province, where the Ruſſians and Armenians convey their merchandiſe: the traffic, however, is much leſs conſiderable than formerly, a circumſtance owing to the impoſitions of the Khan of Maſanderan. The chief productions of this country are ſilk, far inferior to that of Ghilan, rice and cotton, of which articles there is a large exportation. Merchants from Kaſkan, Iſpahan, Schiraſs, and Khoraſan, reſort to Balfruſch, and bring for ſale the Perſian and Indian commodities §. 7. The bay of Aſtrabad, where the Ruſſians land and proceed to the capital. The productions of this province, and its exports and imports, are nearly ſimilar to thoſe of Maſanderan. The commerce of Aſtrabad is chiefly with Candahar.

The Tartar havens are, 1. The bay of Balkan; 2. Mangufhlak, both of which, but particularly the latter, afford a ſecure harbour. 1. the Ruſſians frequent the iſlands in the bay of Balkan; inhabited chiefly by pirates of the race of Turkoman Tartars: theſe iſlands produce rice and cotton, and one of them called Naphthonia, abounds in naphtha. The traffic might be increaſed to the advantage of Ruſſia; as it would be far more commodious to trade with the Tartars of Khiva and Bucharia from theſe parts than from Orenburgh, through the country of the warlike and independent Kirghees. 2. The commerce of Mangufhlak is moſt conſiderable: the neighbouring Tartars bring to this place the productions of their own country, and even of Bucharia, ſuch as cotton, yarn, and ſtuffs, furs and ſkins, and rhubarb ‖.

* See, in Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 415, a liſt of the manufactures of Ghilan.

† For an account of the ſilk of Ghilan, ſee Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 412. Hanway, vol. ii. p. 16. S. R. G. VII. p. 515.

‡ Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 414. § Gmelin, vol. iii. p. 459. ‖ Guldenſtaedt, p. 265—267.

The

The principal commodities exported from Aſtracan to the ports of the Caſpian ſea, are cloths, chiefly Engliſh, Dutch, French, and Sileſian; vitriol, ſoap, alum, ſugar, Ruſſian leather, needles, and cotton ſtuffs, coarſe linen manufactured in Ruſſia, velvets, glaſs ware, and looking-glaſſes, writing paper, a few furs and ſkins, a ſmall quantity of tea, proviſions, chiefly corn and butter, wine, brandy, wooden furniture, ſea-horſe teeth; alſo iron, braſs, tin, lead, hardware, watches, &c. &c. In 1775, the value of the cloths exported amounted to 52,600l.; the cochineal to 45,600l.; and the indigo to 7,000. Imports: Raw and manufactured ſilks, but chiefly the former, from the provinces of Shirvan and Ghilan; which article, in 1775, amounted to 43,800l. Bucharian lamb-ſkins, rice, dried fruit, ſpices and drugs, coffee, wine, ſaffron, ſalt, ſulphur, and naphtha. The Indians and merchants of Khiva bring occaſionally to Aſtracan gold and ſilver in bars, gold-duſt, precious ſtones, and pearls.

The trade of the Caſpian ſea had conſiderably declined before the acceſſion of the late Empreſs: by the abolition of monopolies, and by other uſeful regulations, it has lately increaſed to ſuch a degree, that within the ſpace of fifteen years the average ſum of the exports and imports has been nearly tripled:

			Total exports and imports.
1760.	Exports 36,100l.		
	Imports 42,100	- -	78,200l.
Balance againſt Ruſſia -	6,000		
1768.	Exports 87,700l.		
	Imports 63,700	- -	151,400
Balance in favour of Ruſſia	24,000		
1775.	Exports 125,400l.		
	Imports 64,120	- -	189,520
Balance in favour of Ruſſia	61,280		
Traffic with Georgia and the natives of Caucaſus		-	10,000
Total in 1775. - . -			199,520

The contraband trade is not included in this calculation *.

Commerce with the Bucharians and Chineſe.

Under the commerce with the Bucharians † I comprize that with the Calmucs, and other Tartar nations beyond the frontiers of Siberia; becauſe it is of ſuch little importance as ſcarcely to deſerve a ſeparate article.

* The reader who wiſhes to trace the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the commerce on the Caſpian ſea, muſt conſult and compare Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 324 to 431; Hanway's Britiſh Trade of the Caſpian Sea; Cooke's Travels; S. R. G. vii. 103—546; Gmelin's Reiſe, vol. iii.; and Guldenſtaedt's Treatiſe mentioned above.

† Having before mentioned the commerce with the Bucharians upon the Eaſtern coaſts of the Caſpian, it is needleſs to enter upon any further detail of it in this place.

The Bucharians, who inhabit the ſouth-weſtern part of Independent Tartary, are a commercial people; their caravans travel through the whole continent of Aſia *, and traffic with Ruſſia, Thibet, China, India, and Perſia. Ruſſia contains ſeveral colonies of Bucharians, who are ſettled in many large towns of the ſouthern provinces, and maintain a conſtant communication with the merchants of their own country. Their principal marts are Tomſk, Kiacta, and Orenburgh, which is the moſt conſiderable, and chiefly trades with Kaſkar, Taſhkent, and Khiva †. Their caravans are expoſed to pillage from the Kirghees Tartars, through whoſe country they are obliged to paſs. Their imports are gold and ſilver, chiefly in Perſian coins and Indian rupees, gold-duſt ‡, precious ſtones, particularly rubies, lapis lazuli, ſpun and raw cotton, cotton ſtuffs in great abundance, both Indian and Bucharian, half-ſilks, unprepared nitre, native ſal-ammoniac, lamb-ſkins, raw ſilk in ſmall quantities, and rhubarb. large droves of ſheep and horſes §. Exports: Cloth, Ruſſian leather, beads and trinkets, hardware, indigo, cochineal, &c.

The Chineſe trade is by far the moſt important part of its Aſiatic commerce, and is now carried on at Kiacta, ſituated upon the frontiers of the Chineſe and Ruſſian empires. But having in a former publication ‖ given a circumſtantial account of this commerce, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that in 1777, the total ſum of importation and exportation, as entered at the cuſtom-houſe, amounted to 573,066l.; but if we include the contraband trade, which is very conſiderable, and make an allowance for the deficiencies of the above-mentioned year, which was not ſo favourable as the preceding, we may fairly eſtimate the groſs amount of the average trade to China, in exports and imports, at near 800,000l. ſterling.

CHAP. XXVII.—*On the Commerce of the Black Sea.—Havens.—Exports and Imports.—Ports and Territory ceded by the Turks to Ruſſia.—Zaporogian Coſſacs.—Productions of the Southern Provinces.—Navigation of the Don and Dnieper.—Attempts of the Ruſſians to proſecute the Commerce through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean.—Precarious State of that Trade.*

PETER the Great firſt attempted to open a commerce through the Euxine, and to export, by that channel, the productions of Southern Ruſſia. By his victories over the Turks, the poſſeſſion of Azof, and the conſtruction of Taganroc, he ſeemed on the eve of realizing this favourite project; but all his vaſt ſchemes were baffled by the unſucceſsful campaign of 1711, which terminated in the peace of Pruth: a peace purchaſed by the ceſſion of Azof and Taganroc, and by relinquiſhing the commerce of the Euxine. Since that period the Turks have jealouſly excluded the Ruſſians from all ſhare in the navigation of their ſeas, until Catherine finiſhed a ſucceſsful war againſt the Porte by the glorious peace of 1774. By this peace Ruſſia obtained a free navigation

* S. R. G. vii. p. 7. † Rytſkof Orenb. Top. vol. i. p. 263.

‡ This gold-duſt is found in the ſand of the rivers of Bucharia. This was the principal inducement to the firſt expeditions of the Engliſh merchants over the Caſpian into Bucharia, which are related in Hackluyt's Collection. Peter the Great ſent ſeveral Ruſſian merchants into the country for the ſame purpoſe. See S. R. G. iv. p. 183, &c. Rytſkof, vol. i. p. 263. Ruſſia Illuſtrata, vol. ii. p. 141.

§ Pallas Reiſe, vol. i. p. 232, &c. The ſheep and horſes are brought for ſale by the Kighees Tartars. Pallas ſays, that above ſixty thouſand ſheep, and ten thouſand horſes, are yearly ſold at Orenburgh, p. 234.

‖ See an account of the tranſactions and commerce between Ruſſia and China, in Ruſſian Diſcoveries, Book iii. chap. ii.—v.

in

in all the Turkiſh ſeas, a right of paſſing through the Dardanelles, all the commercial immunities granted to the moſt favoured nations in amity with the Porte, the towns of Azof and Taganroc, the three fortreſſes of Kinburn, Kertſh, and Yenikalè, and a large diſtrict between the Bog and the Dnieper.

Many ſpeculations have been made concerning the extent and value of the traffic which Ruſſia is likely to eſtabliſh in the Black Sea, and the revolution which it may effect in the commerce of Europe, by transferring part of the Baltic trade to the ports of the Mediterranean. In conſequence of this change, it is aſſerted, the ſouthern provinces will find a vent for their ſuperfluous productions; the Ruſſian veſſels will open a profitable trade with Crim Tartary, with the Auſtrian provinces at Kilia-Nova, with the Turks at Conſtantinople, and with the Greeks in the Levant. The iron of Siberia, the corn, hemp, and flax of the Ukraine, and the contiguous provinces, will be ſent from the havens of the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, to ſupply the ports of the Mediterranean; and thus France and Spain will be furniſhed with naval ſtores by a cheaper and more expeditious navigation than through the Baltic and the Northern Ocean. As the completion of this great and extenſive project can only be the work of time, and depends on a variety of contingencies, we cannot pretend to form any abſolute deciſion on the probability of its failure or ſucceſs; but a conſiderable light may be thrown on this intricate ſubject by an attention to the following objects of inquiry *.

I. The traffic on the Turkiſh Seas before the peace, with an account of their havens and exports. II. The ports and territory ceded to Ruſſia, and the new towns conſtructed by the Empreſs. III. The productions of the ſouthern provinces, and the navigation of the Don and Dnieper. IV. The progreſs hitherto made by the Ruſſians to eſtabliſh an intercourſe between the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, with the ports of the Mediterranean.

I. The traffic on the Turkiſh Seas before the peace of 1774, was chiefly carried on by the Greeks, Armenians, and Turks; and the Ruſſians poſſeſſed no port, either on the Sea of Azof or the Euxine; Tcherkaſk, capital of the Don Coſſacs, was the place where the productions of this empire and Turkey were reciprocally exchanged. The Greek and Armenian merchants ſailed to Taganroc, where they performed quarantine, and then proceeded with their merchandize to Tcherkaſk; having firſt paid the duty at Temernik, a ſmall village on the Don, now the fortreſs of St. Dmitri. Tcherkaſk was alſo the emporium of an inland commerce with the merchants of Kuban and Crim Tartary. The imports were chiefly Greek wines, raiſins, dried figs, almonds, oil, rice, ſaffron, painted linens and cottons; the exports, hides and leather, coarſe linen, hard-ware, and caviare †, &c. The Greek and Armenian merchants, in returning to Conſtantinople, ſupplied the ports of the Sea of Azof and the Euxine with Ruſſian and European commodities.

In order to form a general idea of the traffic in the Turkiſh Seas, we muſt take a curſory view of their havens, imports and exports.

Among the harbours o the Black Sea reſorted to by the Greek and Armenian merchants, the moſt frequented were thoſe of Crim Tartary, now called Taurida; namely, Yenikalé, one of the fortreſſes lately ceded to Ruſſia, Balaklava, Koſlof, and Caffa, now Theodoſia, which merits a particular deſcription. Caffa and the whole peninſula, which were before under the dominion of a khan, who was a vaſſal to the Turks, were,

* In this enquiry I have principally followed Guldenſtaedt's Eſſay Von der Hafen am Azowſchen Schwartzen and Weiſſen Meere in Journ. St Pet. for 1776.

† See Tarif of the Imported and Exported Wares. Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. xi. p. 373.

by an article in the late peace, declared independent, and ſubject to a khan, elected by the natives, though confirmed both by the Empreſs and Grand-Signor. It was the capital of the Crimea; and the Tartars diſtinguiſhed it by the name of Half-Conſtantinople *. The bay is capable of containing ſeveral hundred merchant ſhips; and the inhabitants are the richeſt, and drive the moſt extenſive trade in the Black Sea. The productions of Crim Tartary, exported from Caffa and the other havens of the peninſula, conſiſt chiefly in corn, wine, wool, fine black and grey lamb-ſkins, and ſalt. The imports are fine and coarſe linens, printed cottons, nankeen, Ruſſian leather, fine cloths, velvets, taffeties, furs, ropes, paper, ſalted fiſh, and caviare, tobacco leaves, copper and tin, hard-ware, gold and ſilver thread, beads and corals, earthen wares, a coarſe ſort of porcelain, and glaſs-ware †, &c. &c.

The port of Taman lies oppoſite to Yenikalè, at the extremity of the ſtraits of Caffa, on a ſmall iſland in the mouth of a river Kuban: it was ſubject to the Khan of Crim Tartary, and traffics with the Circaſſians from Mount Caucaſus, the Coſſacs dwelling near the rivers which fall into the Kuban, and the Tartars inhabiting the deſert between the Kuban and the Don. The exports are honey, wax, ſalt, wool, fox-ſkins, martens, ſheep, &c.; the imports nearly ſimilar to thoſe at Caffa.

The ports of the Eaſtern and Southern coaſts of the Black Sea are ſituated in the Turkiſh provinces of Mingrelia, Georgia, and Anatolia: the principal are, 1. Poti, where the merchants of Georgia reſort; 2. Trebizond; 3. Cherſon, which is diſtant only ſixty miles from Tokat, at which town the caravans from Perſia aſſemble and ſeparate, in order to proceed by different routes to Smyrna and Conſtantinople. Sinope, the neareſt port upon the Black Sea to Angora, is the only place hitherto known that ſupplies the fine goats-hair, generally called camels-hair, from which the beſt camlets are manufactured, that equal if not ſurpaſs thoſe of Bruſſels. The hair ſpun into yarn, is chiefly purchaſed at Tokat by the merchants of the caravans in their way to Smyrna, from which port Europe is moſtly ſupplied with this commodity. The Greek and Armenian merchants draw from theſe parts honey, wax, fox-ſkins, martens, and ſheep, raw and manufactured ſilk, both Perſian and Turkiſh, cotton, callicoes, rice, ſaffron, dried fruit, &c. They are ſupplied in return with Ruſſian and other European productions. 4. Tios or Tilios, where the Turks have a dock for repairing ſhips, and at which place ſails, cordage, anchors, and other naval ſtores, are advantageouſly diſpoſed of.

The ports on the Weſtern ſhore of the Black Sea, beſide Kinburn, are Varna in Bulgaria, which is diſtant about one hundred miles from Adrianople; Kilia-Nova, at the mouth of the Danube in Wallachia; and Akkermen, on the mouth of the Dnieſter, in Beſſarabia, ſixty miles from Bender. Theſe ports furniſh wool, dried fruits, Hungarian and Moldavian wines, buffalo ſkins, &c. The traffic to Varna and Akkermen might be conſiderably increaſed by forming a more regular communication with Adrianople and Bender; and that of Kilia-Nova might be rendered highly important, by vending the productions of Auſtria and Hungary, if the navigation of the Danube was not obſtructed by the jealouſy of the Turks. The imports conſiſt in European and Ruſſian productions, for the moſt part ſimilar to thoſe of Caffa.

* Nennen ſolche di Tartary nur *Jarim Stambul.* Kleeman's Reiſe von Wien nach Conſtantinopel. See a curious account of Caffa, in that work. The author obſerved there ſeveral ruins of the buildings which the Genoeſe conſtructed when Caffa was in their poſſeſſion, particularly the remains of the ancient citadel, of churches, of angels and ſaints groſsly carved on ſtone, and ſeveral Latin inſcriptions, p. 168, &c. He deſcribes Crim Tartary as a very fruitful country.

† Guldenſtaedt, p. 12—14.

Conſtan-

Conſtantinople and Gallipoli are the principal havens in the ſea of Marmora. The Ruſſian imports are furs and ſkins, leather, ſail-cloth, cordage, anchors, tar and pitch, ſteel and iron, ſalt fiſh, caviare, butter, ſea-horſe teeth, wax, tea, muſk, caſtor-oil, colours, paper, coarſe cloth, linen, and corn: the exports to Ruſſia are raw and manufactured ſilk and cotton, muſlins, rich Turkiſh ſtuffs, and carpets, wool and Angora-goats-hair, Grecian wines, oil, all kinds of European and Aſiatic fruit, lemons and oranges, tobacco and ſnuffs, ſpices, ſaffron, opium, and other ſpecies of drugs, pearls and precious ſtones, gold and ſilver *, &c.

II. The ports and territory ceded to Ruſſia, and the new towns ſince conſtructed by the Empreſs. The ceded places are, 1. The diſtrict on the Sea of Azof; 2. Kertſch and Yenikalè, in Crim Tartary; 3. The fortreſs of Kinburn; 4. The territory between the Dnieper and the Bog.

1. The diſtrict bordering on the Sea of Azof compriſes, beſide a large tract of territory to the eaſt and weſt of Azof, the fortreſſes of Azof, Taganroc, and Petroffſk. Azof is no longer of the ſame importance as it was in the reign of Peter the Great; the branch of the Don, on which it ſtands, being now ſo choaked with ſand as ſcarcely to admit the ſmalleſt veſſels. The merchandiſe therefore is uſually depoſited at Taganroc or Petroffſk; and the frigates and merchant-ſhips, which were formerly conſtructed at Azof, are now built either at St. Dmitri or Roſtof, and paſs down the Don into the Sea of Azof through another branch of that river. As the harbour of Taganroc contains upon an average, only ſeven feet of water, the veſſels muſt draw no more than five or ſix feet; the town has been rendered commodious by the conſtruction of ſeveral warehouſes and other buildings during the late war; and is eſteemed for the ſalubrity of the air. The fortreſs of Petroffſk, which ſtands at the mouth of the Broda, and commands the Turkiſh frontiers, was alſo erected during the late war. It is advantageouſly ſituated, as forming a direct communication with the havens of Crim Tartary, and might eaſily be rendered more ſecure than that of Taganroc, from the ſuperior depth of water. By the poſſeſſion of theſe fortreſſes, the navigation of the Sea of Azof is perfectly ſecured. The frontiers of this ceded territory, to the weſt of that ſea, are guarded by a chain of ſmall forts, extending from Petroffſk to the Dnieper.

2. The fortreſſes of Kertſch and Yenikale, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſts of Crim Tartary, and near the northern entrance of the ſtraits of Caffa, are of the greateſt importance, by commanding the paſſage which forms the communication between the Sea of Azof and the Euxine.

3. Kinburn is the only port poſſeſſed by the Ruſſians on the coaſts of the Black Sea; it ſtands cloſe to the frontiers, at the mouth of the Dnieper, oppoſite the Turkiſh fortreſs Otchakof, which being a place of ſuperior ſtrength, muſt, while it continues in the hands of the Turks, obſtruct, in caſe of a rupture, the navigation of the Dnieper. Kinburn was intended for the principal repoſitory of the merchandize ſent from the provinces bordering on the Dnieper; but as the harbour, on account of its quickſand, affords no ſecurity for anchorage, the new town of Kherſon is at preſent the great emporium of this trade.

4. The poſſeſſion of the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper opens a ſecure communication between the Black Sea, and thoſe rich and extenſive provinces watered by the Dnieper. This important territory, ſo eſſential to the exiſtence of the new commerce, was chiefly inhabited by hordes of roving Tartars; and by the Zaporogian Coſſacs, who by their piracies rendered the navigation of the Dnieper extremely hazar-

* Guldenſtaedt, p. 21—25.

dous. The origin of thofe Coffacs is thus traced by the Ruffian hiftorians. In the beginning of the 15th century, a tribe of the Coffacs, of the Ukraine, who inhabited the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper, were known under the denomination of Zaporogian*, from the fituation of their fetcha †, or principal fettlement near the cataracts of the Dnieper.

This fetcha was a fortrefs furrounded with a wooden wall, and at firft merely intended as a place of aflembly, to deliberate on the method of carrying on their cuftomary depredations, or for the purpofe of electing a chief. By degrees it was filled with habitations, and afterwards appropriated to a feparate community of perfons, who devoted themfelves folely to arms, and totally excluded all women from the precinct of their military refidence. The inhabitants were divided into claffes; each of which elected its refpective leader, and were all under the jurifdiction of a hetman or fupreme chief, chofen by the whole fociety.

Thefe Zaporogian Coffacs became fo diftinguifhed for their bravery and fkill in defultory war, that perfons flocked from diftant regions to this fociety of warriors. The inhabitants of the fetcha were not obliged to continue in it for any fettled term; being only bound, while they remained, to conform themfelves to the regulations and difcipline of their affociates; thofe who were difpofed to marry, quitted the fetcha, but were permitted to fettle in the neighbouring diftrict, with the privilege of re-admiffion, provided they were not attended with their wives and families, whom they were allowed occafionally to vifit. The Zaporogians increafed their numbers by affording an afylum to deferters ‡, and by forcing and enticing youths and children from the Ukraine and Poland, whom they trained to a military life, and admitted into their community. The place of their refidence was occafionally varied; when their numbers increafed, or when the hordes wandered at a confiderable diftance from each other, different parties erected and occupied diftinct fetchas. The firft fetcha of this extraordinary fociety feems to have been fituated on an ifland of the Dnieper below the cataracts; the laft which they inhabited, at the abolition of their government, and which at that period was the only one they poffeffed, ftood near the rivulet Bufulak, at the point where it falls into the Dnieper, in the government of Kiof §.

The members of this community being collected from various nations, and from the nature of their conftitution perpetually changing, their number could never be exactly afcertained: Manftein relates, that in the war in which he ferved againft the Turks, they brought eight thoufand horfe into the field, and on an emergency could have raifed twelve thoufand or fifteen thoufand. They frequently performed incredible feats of valour in the campaigns of the Ruffians againft the Turks and Tartars, nor were their fervices confined folely to land: by their fkill in navigating the Dnieper, they occafionally defended the mouth of that river, and attacked with fuccefs the armed veffels on the contiguous coafts of the Black Sea. But while they were thus terrible to their enemies, they were fcarcely lefs formidable to their allies. Nominally dependant on the hetman of the Ukraine, they were claffed among the fubjects of the Ruffian empire; but the peculiarity of their manners, their feparation from all other fociety, their popular form of government, together with their warlike difpofition, rendered them a barbarous and

* Porogi fignifies cataracts.

† Setcha means any place furrounded with a wall, or fortification, feparated from the neighbouring diftrict. S. R. G. iv. p. 414.

‡ S. R. G. iv. p. 441.

§ M. Muller has accurately and circumftantially defcribed the fetcha of the Zaporogian Coffacs, from which account I have felected this fhort extract. S. R. G. iv. p. 411—472.

unruly

unruly banditti. Accuſtomed to live by rapine and devaſtation, they pillaged the Ruſſian merchants who paſſed through their country, and interrupted the navigation of the Dnieper by continual piracies *.

Soon after the concluſion of the Turkiſh war in 1774, the Ruſſian government ſeized a favourable opportunity to deſtroy their ſetcha, and diſperſe the inhabitants. General Belmain marched from the Turkiſh frontiers at the head of twelve thouſand regulars, and encamped about eighteen verſts from the ſetcha; taking his departure before midnight, he made a forced march, and ſurrounding it at four in the morning, compelled the inhabitants to ſurrender. He found forty-ſix pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition. By this ſalutary act of power, Ruſſia has ſecured the merchants from the dread of perpetual depredations, and put an end to the ſyſtem of piracy.

III. The Ruſſian countries which are moſt intereſted in this commerce, are thoſe contiguous to the Dnieper and Don; or the provinces of Smolenſko, Mohilef, Ukraine, New Ruſſia, Bielgorod, Voronetz, Ukraina-Slobodſkaia, and Azof; a large tract of territory which furniſhes in great abundance every ſpecies of grain, hemp, flax, hides, maſts, planks, honey, wax, tobacco, &c.

In theſe ceded diſtricts the Empreſs has already raiſed ſeveral new towns; the principal are Kherſon, Catharinenſlaf, and Marianopoli.

Kherſon †, ſituated on the Dnieper, about ten miles below the mouth of the Ingul, is chiefly built with hewn ſtone. It is intended to be the principal mart for all the commodities of export and import; but if an extenſive trade ſhould take place in this quarter, the great depoſitory for the merchandize will be more conveniently fixed on ſome ſpot below the bar of the Dnieper, and twelve miles ſouth of Kherſon. It contains a dock ‡ for the conſtruction of large veſſels, from which ſeveral men of war and frigates, as well as merchant ſhips, have been already launched. Catharinenſlaf, or the Glory of Catharine, is built near the ſpot where the ſmall river Kiltzin falls into the Samara, and is appointed to be the capital of the government of Azof; it is colonized by many Greeks and Armenians from Crim Tartary, and by others who ſerved in the late war againſt the Turks. Another town, called Marianopoli, has been alſo raiſed on the borders of the Sea of Azof, between the rivers Myus and Calmius. Theſe three towns, as well as the [illegible] lately reared their heads in a country formerly inhabited only by lawleſs banditti, or traverſed by roving hordes, are filled with Ruſſians, with Tartars reclaimed from their wandering life, and with numerous coloniſts, particularly Greeks and Armenians, who migrated from the adjacent provinces of the Turkiſh empire.

The navigation of the Don and the Dnieper, which form the communication between thoſe provinces and the Turkiſh Seas, remains to be conſidered.

The Don § takes its riſe from the ſmall lake of St. John, near Tula, in the government of Moſcow, and paſſing through part of the province of Voronetz, a ſmall portion of the Ukraina-Slobodſkaia, and the whole province of Azof, divides itſelf near Teher-

* The boats of theſe Zaporogian Coſſacs were rowed by fifty or ſixty men, had no ſail, and generally carried two ſmall cannon. S. R. G. ix. p. 5.

† Kherſon is celebrated as the place where the Empreſs Catharine principally reſided during her memorable journey to the Crimea, when ſhe took poſſeſſion of the provinces conquered from Turkey, and where ſhe was viſited by the Emperor Joſeph II.

‡ A new town, Nicolaief, now the principal dock, was built by Potemkin, on the confluence of the Ingul and the Bog.

§ S. R. G. ix. p. 11, 12.

falls into three ſtreams, and falls into the Sea of Azof. The river has ſo many windings, and abounds with ſuch numerous ſhoals and ſand-banks, as to be ſcarcely navigable excepting in the ſpring, on the melting of the ſnows. The banks of the Don, and of the rivulets which fall into it, are clothed with large tracts of foreſt, whoſe timber is floated down the ſtream to St. Dmitri and Roſtof, where the frigates for the Sea of Azof are chiefly conſtructed. The navigation of the Don may hereafter be rendered highly valuable, by conveying to the Black Sea the iron of Siberia, the Chineſe goods, and the Perſian merchandize, which latter commodities, as well as the products of India, formerly found their way into Europe through this ſame channel *.

Since the acquiſition of Ruſſian Lithuania, the ceſſion of the diſtrict between the Don and the Dnieper, and the diſperſion of the Zaporogian Coſſacs, the Dnieper, from its ſource to its mouth, now flows through the Ruſſian dominions; and through this whole courſe, of above eight hundred miles, the navigation is only once interrupted by a ſeries of cataracts †, which begin below the mouth of the Samara, and continue for a ſpace of forty miles. They are not, however, ſo dangerous as they have been repreſented; for they may be paſſed in ſpring, without much hazard, even by loaded barks. In other parts of the year the goods are landed at Kemenſk, oppoſite the mouth of the Samara, and tranſported forty miles by land to Kitchkaſe, above [illegible] miles from the fo[illegible] Alexandrovſk, where they are again embarked, and deſcend the ſtream without interruption, to Kherſon ‡. If the trade ſhould increaſe, the cataracts might, at a conſiderable expence, be rendered navigable at all ſeaſons of the year.

IV. The progreſs hitherto made by the Ruſſians to eſtabliſh an intercourſe between the ports of the Black Sea and thoſe of the Mediterranean.

To encourage her ſubjects to engage in this branch of traffic, the Empreſs has leſſened the duties of import and export §, and contributed towards forming a Ruſſian houſe, or company trading to the Black Sea. Soon after the peace of 1774, four merchant-ſhips ſailed from Peterſburgh, and not, as might have been expected, from the ports of the Black Sea: they were laden with iron, flax, hemp, hides, ſail-cloth, and coarſe linen, at the ſole expence of the Empreſs, who granted to the company all the profits ariſing from the ſale of the cargoes. This plan, however, [illegible] not attended with the ſucceſs ſeemed to promiſe; and the failure aroſe from [illegible] ſhips were, under ſpecious pretences, prev[illegible] Dardanelles; the cargoes were ſold in the Levant and the Mediterranean, and they returned to the Baltic without effecting the main object of the voyage. Before the Ruſſians could make any further attempts to open this channel of commerce, differences took place between the Empreſs and the Porte, concerning the independence of the Crimea, and the free election of a khan, which threatened an immediate war, and ſuſpended all commercial exertions in regard to the Black Sea, until a new pacification was concluded on the 21ſt of March 1779.

Since that period, beſide ſeveral Greek veſſels, which ſailed from the Sea of Azof and the Euxine, under Ruſſian colours, and were allowed to paſs the Dardanelles, a Ruſſian ſhip, manned with ſeamen in the ſervice of government, and laden with ſalted beef, took its departure, in 1780, from Kherſon to the port of Toulon; and ſoon after-

* The iron of Siberia, and the merchandize of China, are ſometimes ſent by an inland navigation to the Volga; the Perſian commodities are conveyed across the Caſpian to the ſame river; from thence they might be tranſported by a land carriage of only forty miles to the Don.

† Muller has deſcribed theſe cataracts. S. R. G. iv. p. 411.

‡ Muller. S. R. G. ix. p. 16. and Gludenſtaedt.

§ See a liſt of the duties of export and import, in Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. xi. p. 373.

wards

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